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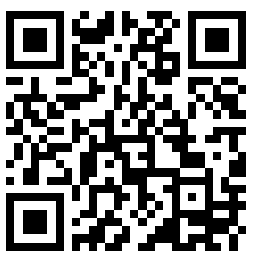

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A MILITARY HISTORY OF PERTHSHIRE

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A High-lander, that Stands centry, and walking with his cloke gathered up by half.
Ein Schildvacht stehender, und mit halb über geschlagenen Decke daher gehender Berg-Schott.
Un Montagnard d'Ecosse, étant en sentinelle et allant avec son manteau demi enveloppé

ENGRAVING SHOWING UNIFORM OF THE BLACK WATCH IN 1743. Signed "V.G. del."

(*See Explanatory Note, page* 53)

Frontispiece.

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A MILITARY HISTORY OF PERTHSHIRE

1660 - 1902

EDITED BY

THE MARCHIONESS OF TULLIBARDINE

WITH PORTRAITS, ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

PERTH
P. A. & J. HAY
LONDON EDINBURGH
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO. LTD. WILLIAM BROWN
1908

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K.M.R.S. Atholl

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ERRATA

Page 51, *note* 3, and *page* 52, *line* 4. The Atholl Estate Rentals show that in 1735 James Campbell of Stronslanie was an ensign in Carrick's Independent Company; according to the same authority he had previously been a sergeant in the same company.

Page 288, *line* 6, *for* "200" *read* "2000."

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TO

PERTHSHIRE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

PAST AND PRESENT

AS A SMALL TRIBUTE TO THE SERVICES THEY HAVE RENDERED TO THEIR COUNTRY

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PREFACE

THE aim of this volume is to present an outline of the services rendered to the Empire by Perthshire men and Perthshire regiments since the inauguration of the Standing Army in the year 1660. As explained in the Preface to "A Military History of Perthshire, 1899–1902," I undertook, some four years ago, at the request of Miss Jane C. C. Macdonald, to edit and complete a book already begun by her, in which, under the title of "The Muster-Roll of Perthshire," were to be set forth individual records of service of Perthshire men in the late South African War. Two articles dealing with events prior to 1899 had already been contributed, but since then the scope of the book has been considerably extended, and the idea of illustrating the records of the present day by the story of Perthshire's military achievements in the past has taken definite shape. It has consequently been thought advisable to change the title, and so much historical material has been amassed that a division of the book into two volumes has become a necessity. Except therefore in the case of three articles—those on the Militia, the Volunteers, and the 1st Battalion The Black Watch—in which the narrative is continued to the years 1901 or 1902—this volume deals only with events prior to 1899; while the companion volume is chiefly concerned with the work done by Perthshire men and Perthshire regiments in the South African War of 1899–1902.

From a glance at the Table of Contents the reader will see that the narrative in this volume is not continuous, but that it consists of a series of articles from different pens, grouped in sections according to subject. This arrangement at first sight may appear disjointed, but I regard it as inevitable. Perthshire is but a stone in the national structure, and her military history cannot by itself form a complete whole. Individual threads with an interest and continuity of their own are woven into the great web of the nation's history, but there is no complete pattern to represent the county. If the complete pattern, however, be wanting, the threads are many and varied. Perthshire's military history may be read in the story of the regiments contributed by her to the Regular Army; in the roll of her Militia, Fencibles, and Volunteers; in the campaigns which have taken place within her borders; and last but not least, in the lives of her soldier sons. And as for two generations a lost cause absorbed in the main the martial ardour of the county, any record of her military history would be incomplete which

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did not include a mention of the part played by Perthshire men in the 'Fifteen, the Affair of Glenshiel, and the 'Forty-five.

Under these heads then the various articles in this book are grouped, and in each group the articles are arranged in chronological order. Each article forms a separate whole; the treatment of the subject varies with the author; but the book will gain in interest if the articles in each section are read in the order in which they are here presented, if sections I. and II., and III. and IV., are read together, and if the biographies are read last. Taken as a whole the five sections form a fairly complete record of Perthshire's military history since the Restoration.

In three respects the limits fixed in the title of the book have been overstepped. Following the precedent established in the companion volume, which records the services of Perthshire sailors, as well as soldiers, of the present day, a mention of some distinguished seamen has been included in the biographical section. That section opens with a short biography of James, first Marquess of Montrose, whose brilliant career ended ten years before the date at which the narrative proper commences; and the account of the battles fought in Perthshire since 1660 is preceded by a note on the principal conflicts which have taken place in the county since the days of Agricola onwards. Situated as it is in the centre of Scotland, astride of both Highlands and Lowlands, guardian of a great waterway and of the principal pass to the North, Perthshire, owing to her strategical position, has been the scene of many a conflict of great national issue, and he who would win Scotland by the sword must woo alike the rugged mountains and fair straths of this county. I hope therefore that the brief narrative of the principal battles fought in Perthshire prior to 1660 will not be considered out of place; and surely no apology is required for including a biography of Perthshire's greatest soldier.

The quantity of material available for the different articles has varied considerably, and in cases in which the writer has had access to sources hitherto unpublished or little known, a larger amount of space has been allotted than in those in which the subject could without difficulty be studied elsewhere in more detail. Again, when it has been necessary either to elucidate some hitherto obscure historical point, as in the article entitled "The Historic Succession of the Black Watch," or to discriminate between the conflicting accounts of previous writers, as in the account of the battle of Killiecrankie, the subject has been treated at length; and throughout the volume all points bearing on the history of the Black Watch, the Perthshire regiment of to-day, have been brought into prominent relief. Occasional overlapping has been inevitable, but it will be found that when biographies have been included of several officers who served

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in the same campaign, the references to the campaign in question are usually fuller in the earliest article of the series.

The first two sections of the book contain a record, however brief, of all the regiments raised in Perthshire or by Perthshire men for the Regular and Reserve Forces since the year 1660, but to select the officers whose biographies should fill the last section in this volume has not been an easy task. With the exception of two officers who won the Victoria Cross, and three men—Colonel the Marquess of Tullibardine, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Erskine, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara—all of whom were killed in action at the head of their respective regiments—the list includes only men who, having been on active service in a capacity not lower than that of field officer or naval captain, afterwards rose to the rank of general or admiral. Within these limits I hope that none of the more distinguished of Perthshire's soldiers and seamen have been overlooked; but there are many others whose biographies I would gladly have included had not space forbidden an extension of the list. Biographical notes supply some of the deficiencies, but I would ask the indulgence of my readers for the many cases in which no mention at all has been possible. As mentioned in the text, I have included biographies of famous men such as Lord Duncan and Lord Keith, on whom counties other than Perthshire have a personal claim, but whose connection with this county could not be ignored.

Considerations of space suggested that the biographies of several of the best-known men should aim at being character sketches rather than detailed narratives, but in many other instances, owing to lack of material, the personal note is wanting. None the less it may not be without interest to Perthshire people of to-day to follow their predecessors through the chief military events of the past two hundred and fifty years.

Lists of officers, which may, I hope, prove useful to the genealogist or the student of regimental or county history, accompany the articles dealing with the Perthshire regiments proper. In most of these lists, owing to want of space, it has been possible to include only the officers originally appointed; and, except in the case of the first Volunteer regiment raised in the county, the large number of Volunteers raised during the Napoleonic era has prevented my mentioning more than the field and company officers who served in that Force.

The list of those to whom I am indebted for help in the production of this volume is a long one. In the first place my warm thanks are due to those who have generously assisted me by contributing articles—more especially to Mr. Andrew Ross, Ross Herald, Mr. W. B. Blaikie, Mr. Allan McAulay, and Miss Eleanor C. Sellar, each of whom is responsible for several chapters in the book. My obligation to the first two named is particularly heavy. From Mr. Ross I

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have received not only the interesting papers entered under his name, embodying the results of much valuable research among original documents in the General Register House, Edinburgh, but I am also indebted to him for untold advice and encouragement, and for information on many points connected with articles contributed by me. To Mr. Blaikie I owe not only articles, covering, as will be seen, a wide range of subjects, but also much kind advice and general help; and students of the 'Forty-five will understand how much this book has gained from having nearly the whole of the section entitled " Jacobite Perthshire " contributed by one who is admittedly such an authority on that period.

The list of manuscripts consulted gives the names of most of those who kindly supplied me with information or family papers, but I must here record my special thanks to the Duke of Atholl for giving me access to his charter-room; to Lord Breadalbane for his kindness in placing at my disposal the regimental books of the Breadalbane Fencibles; to Lord Kinnoull for lending me papers relating to the Yeomanry and Volunteers; to Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Holden for allowing me to make use of the interesting notes he has compiled from various War Office papers at the Record Office; and to Miss Murray MacGregor for her kindness in furnishing me with information with regard to her clansmen. Others who should be mentioned are Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, Colonel Campbell of Achalader, Mr. Charles Dalton, editor of " English Army Lists and Commission Registers," Major Peter Chalmers, and Miss J. L. Small. But many are the correspondents both within and without the county who have kindly replied to my inquiries, and to all I would tender my thanks.

To Mr. W. Skeoch Cumming I am indebted for helpful advice with regard to the illustrations generally, and for the note on page 53 with regard to some rare old prints reproduced here. And my debt of gratitude to Mr. Ross is not yet fully recorded, for to him I owe the descriptions of the flags, the List of Authorities, and, last but not least, the very careful Indexes to Persons and Military Units which he has compiled with the aid of his son, Mr. Alastair Ross.

In the matter of illustrations my thanks are due to Lord Lovat, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce a fine portrait of Prince Charles Edward, hitherto, I believe, unpublished; to Lord Rollo for permission to include not only the portrait of one of his ancestors, but photographs of two interesting old flags at Duncrub; and to Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, who has kindly supplied me with reproductions of two portraits and a colour at Inverawe. Lady Strathallan, Mrs. Small of Dirnanean, the Misses Macdonald (late of Dalchosnie), Miss E. C. Grant, the Duke of Atholl, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Breadalbane, Lord Kinnoull, Lord Elgin, the late Lord Mansfield, Lord Effingham, Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava, Lieutenant-Colonel Home Drummond of Blair Drummond, Captain Grant

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of Kilgraston, Captain Graham Stirling of Strowan, Mr. Erskine of Cardross, Mr. Macduff of Bonhard, Mr. W. H. G. Bagshawe of Ford, Mr. S. M. Milne, and the Senatus of Edinburgh University, are others to whom I am under an obligation for leave to reproduce portraits, flags, medals, or trophies, in their possession.

I am indebted to my husband for the originals of the maps of Killiecrankie and Sheriffmuir, and the papers on those two battles have benefited much from his military knowledge. The stamp of the county arms on the cover of this volume is from a drawing by Captain Drummond Moray of Abercairny.

I am under a deep obligation to Mrs. William J. Watson (Miss E. C. Carmichael), editor of *The Celtic Review*, who has been kind enough to read over the proofs and to give me much valuable advice with regard to the book in general. I have also derived much help from the researches made on my behalf at the Record Office and British Museum by Miss E. M. Thompson, and in Edinburgh by Miss C. G. Barclay and Mr. John MacLeod.

My thanks are due to Mr. J. T. Clark and Mr. W. K. Dickson, past and present curators of the Advocates' Library, for their kindness in allowing me access to that Library; also to their staff for facilitating my work there. Mr. A. D. Cary has kindly allowed me to make some researches in the War Office Library, and Mr. B. E. Sargeaunt, assistant curator of the Royal United Service Institution, with never-failing courtesy has procured me information from the excellent military library in Whitehall. I am also indebted to Mr. Ross, Mr. Blaikie, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, for the loan of several books which have been of invaluable service.

With the exception of the collotype reproduction of the Culloden Orders, which has been kindly presented by Mr. Blaikie, the illustrations are the work of Messrs. Carl Hentschel, Limited. The printing has been entrusted to the Ballantyne Press, and I must here record my appreciation of the clearness and accuracy with which that firm have executed their work.

Lastly, I must tender my apologies for the delay in the publication of this and the accompanying volume, and express my gratitude for the forbearance shown by the subscribers to both. To record Perthshire's military history under so many different headings has been no light matter, and I can only hope that they may find something in the history of county men and county regiments, as here set forth, to make amends for the long period during which the book has been in course of preparation.

K. M. TULLIBARDINE.

BLAIR CASTLE,
1907.

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I.—THE PERTHSHIRE REGIMENTS OF THE REGULAR ARMY

THE EARL OF ATHOLL'S AND MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM DRUMMOND'S TROOPS OF HORSE, 1666–67

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

The first corps raised in Perthshire after the Restoration of Charles II. were two troops of horse, levied in consequence of the war which broke out with France, Holland, and Denmark in March 1666.[1] An invasion was feared, and two regiments of foot and eleven troops of horse were accordingly added to the Regular Army in Scotland. Two of these eleven troops were raised in the county of Perth by John, second Earl of Atholl,[2] and Major-General William Drummond of Cromlix [3] respectively, and appear on the establishment under their commanders' names.

A contemporary account of the muster of the Earl of Atholl's Troop at Edinburgh on the 14th of August 1666 has been preserved. "This day my lord Duke of Hameltoune againe mustered his troupe 95, and Sir William Murray lieutenant to the Earle of Atholl also his troop, 60 verie well apoynted and hansome gentlemen, most pairt all old officers, not many under the qualetie of a captain of hors . . . Everie weel apoynted hors recevs £20 at ther randevous of leving money. Wee want neither men nor goodwills to serve his Majestie against all Deedlie." [4]

[1] *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 2nd March 1666. England had been at war with Holland since 1664, but Scotland did not definitely join in hostilities until this date.

[2] Born 1631. Succeeded his father as second earl, 1642. Created marquess, 1676. Died 1703. Frequently referred to in subsequent pages.

[3] See his biography, p. 360 *et seq.*

[4] Letter, dated 14th August 1666, from Robert Mein, merchant, and keeper of the letter office of Edinburgh, to Joseph Williamson, who had recently started the *London Gazette*. From original in Public Record Office, London. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1666–67, p. 252. Archbishop Burnet of Glasgow, in a letter to Williamson, 20th August 1666, incorrectly terms these fresh levies "the new militia."—*Ibid.*, 1666–67, p. 55.

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Exactly three months after the enrolment of the new troops in the ranks of the Regular Army the insurrection known in history as the "Pentland Rising" took place, the inducing cause being the severities practised by Sir James Turner upon the Covenanters in Galloway, in obedience to orders from the Privy Council. The insurrection, which was quite unpremeditated, broke out in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright on November the 13th, and spread rapidly. The insurgents, after capturing Sir James Turner at Dumfries on the 15th, proceeded by forced marches to Ayr and from thence to Lanark, gathering strength as they went, until on November the 26th they numbered nearly 3000 men.[1] From Lanark they marched towards Edinburgh, expecting to obtain there both provisions and recruits, but finding their hopes of assistance shattered by the energetic action of the Provost, Sir Andrew Ramsay, they withdrew, weary and dispirited, to the skirts of the Pentland Hills, and took post at Rullion Green, about eight miles from the capital, on the afternoon of Wednesday the 28th of November.[2]

Lieutenant-General Dalziel—who was then commanding the forces in Scotland—had left Edinburgh for the west on November the 17th with two regiments of foot and seven troops of horse,[3] but ten days' hard marching and countermarching had not enabled him to overtake his nimble opponents. On November the 27th, however, he reached Torphichen, and on the following day, marching over the Pentlands by Currie, found the adversary who had hitherto so skilfully eluded him, brought at last to bay.[4]

The number of the insurgents had been reduced by defections to 900, of whom about one-half were horsemen.[5] The royal troops included the regiment of Foot Guards under the Earl of Linlithgow, and Lieutenant-General Dalziel's Regiment of Foot, each of 1000 men.[6] The cavalry present were the two troops of the Life Guards under the Earl of Newburgh and the Earl of Rothes, 120 and 80 strong respectively.[7] In addition, there were six of the new independent troops of horse—the Duke of Hamilton's, the Earl of Atholl's, the Earl of Airlie's, Lieutenant-General Dalziel's, Major-General Drummond's, and Charles Maitland of Halton's—numbering in all 390, a total of 2000 foot and 590 horse.[8]

[1] Wodrow (1828 ed.), vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] M'Crie, *Life of Veitch and Brysson*, p. 415.

[3] Law's *Memorialls*, p. 16, where the General's force is set down at 600 horse and 2000 foot.

[4] *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250.

[5] All the authorities, with the single exception of Mein, who states the numbers at 1200–1400, agree that at the last stand they mustered about 900. Sir James Turner, who certainly had ample opportunities of observation, says they never exceeded 1100 horse and foot (*Memoirs*, p. 170). Three days before the battle he estimated their numbers at 450 horse and 500 foot, exclusive of detached parties (*Ibid.*, p. 167).

[6] The Foot Guards down to 1666 consisted of seven companies of 100 men each. Three additional companies were added in that year. In 1667 the regiment was reduced to its former strength. —*Privy Council Reg.*, 9th October 1667.

[7] Establishment of the Army, 1667. *Army Papers*, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

[8] For enumeration of the cavalry present see the *Lauderdale Papers*, vol. i. p. 250. The totals for the independent troops of horse are from their muster-rolls. Sir James Turner states the strength of the

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Notwithstanding this disparity in numbers, the insurgents were handled so skilfully by their leader—Lieutenant-Colonel James Wallace of Auchans, an old Scots Guards officer [1]—that the issue for several hours remained doubtful. Colonel Wallace placed his foot—very few of whom carried firearms—in the centre of his line. The horse he disposed on either flank. In Dalziel's line, Major-General Drummond's Troop formed part of the right wing, the Atholl Troop part of the left.[2] The foot was in the centre. Three attacks on Wallace's left wing by the cavalry of Dalziel's right were repulsed. At length, moving in a south-easterly direction and keeping the left and centre of the insurgent army occupied with his own right and centre, Dalziel threw the whole force of cavalry on his left against his opponent's right wing, which occupied the lower slopes of the field of battle. The body of horse posted there was overpowered and driven in confusion upon the infantry, who in their turn were compelled to retreat. A contemporary account of the conflict, written by one not favourable to the insurgents, states, "ther was not 1200 of those rebells but all of the armye affirmes they never saw men feght mor gallantly, and abyd better then they did, the Generall being forced to uss strattagems to break them." [3] And a few days afterwards the same chronicler writes: "I hev speak to most . . . officers in the army and all of them agreeth that they never saw men fight [more] couragiously in their lyffe, then they did, for three severall chairges." [4] About fifty men fell on the side of the Covenanters, and upwards of 100 were taken prisoners. The loss of the Royal troops was small.[5] "It was almost dark night before the defeat, and the horsemen who pursued were most part gentlemen and pitied their own innocent and gallant countrymen." [6] This description of pursuers and pursued at Pentland fight rests not on the authority of Wodrow alone. His statement is corroborated by every contemporary historian.

Those who yielded themselves prisoners upon the field did so upon quarter,[7] and the subsequent trial and execution of ten of these men was bitterly resented by General Dalziel and his officers, at whose instance the best counsel in Scotland, including Sir George Mackenzie and Sir George Lockhart, were retained for the defence. But, to the great wrath of the General, their skill was of no avail,

Regulars at 2000 foot and 600 horse (*Memoirs*, p. 173). Mein gives Dalziel's forces at 2000 foot and 500 horse (Letter to Williamson, 20th November 1666).

[1] *Life of Veitch*, p. 357. Rev. Charles Rogers, *The Book of Wallace*, vol. i. p. 140.

[2] For disposition of the royalist cavalry, see letter in *Lauderdale Papers* quoted above.

[3] Mein to Williamson, 30th November 1666.

[4] *Ibid.*, 4th December 1666.

[5] Naphtali (1693 ed. p. 233) states Wallace's loss at 40 killed and 130 prisoners, and Dalziel's at 4 or 5 men. Kirkton says 5 or 6 for the latter, and puts the loss of the insurgents at 50 killed and as many wounded; Wodrow agrees (vol. ii. p. 31). Mein, writing on the day of battle, gives the numbers as 500 slain and 100 prisoners. Burnet (*History of his own Time*, 1818 ed., vol. i. p. 262) says 5 or 6 were killed on the King's side, while 40 Covenanters were killed and 100 taken.

[6] Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 1.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 42, *note*.

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and from that day onwards his relations with the Privy Council consisted of a series of bickerings and mutual complaints in which the King was frequently compelled to interfere.

Among the papers preserved relating to the Pentland Rising is a petition to the Treasury by Patrick Chisholme, one of the Earl of Atholl's Troop, "representing the deidlie wounds he receaued at the defeatt of the rebells in cureing wherof he wes at greit chairges. The Lords in consideration of his caice and condition appoynt him £20 ster. out of the first and reddiest of the forfaulted estaites as soon as these rents come in." [1]

After the suppression of the rising the independent troops of horse were employed in patrolling the coasts of Lothian and Fife to guard against a possible descent of the Dutch fleet.[2]

Peace, however, having been proclaimed on the 30th of August 1667,[3] the King intimated his intention of disbanding all the Regular troops except the garrisons, the two troops of Life Guards,[4] and the Foot Guards.

The Atholl Troop was accordingly mustered for disbandment at Duns on the 16th of September 1667, and Major-General Drummond's at Stirling on the 18th of September 1667. Both muster-rolls have been preserved, and are as follows :—

A List of the Earle of Atholle his troop, mustered by me under subscriwand at Dunce the 16 day of September 1667 yeers.

Liewtenant	Gen. Will. Murray.[5]
Cornet	Geo. Murray.
Quarter Master	Allex. Murray.

[*Captain's Squadron*]	[*Lieutenant's Squadron*]	[*Cornet's Squadron*]
Capitaine Ramsay, *Corporall.*	Capitaine Innis, *Corporall.*	Ja. Murray, *Corporall.*
Will. Murray.	Will. Stewart.	Harie Douglase.
Charles Karr.	Mark Hume.	Charles Achinmoutie.
Jo. Hume.	Ro[t] Lewingstone.	Harie Scott.
David Ramsay.	Ja. Welsh.	Ja. Adamsone.
Geo. Morray.	Jo. Arroll.	Jo. Johnstone.
Abraham Hume.	Ja. Oiswalld.	Will. Stewart; Atholle.
Jo. Murray.	Ja. Monteith.	Patrik Murray.
Ja. Hume.	Will. Hendersone.	Will. Aitchisone.
	Ja. Murray, Tillibarden.	Will. Duncan.

[1] *Treasury Sederunt Book*, H.M. General Register House, 3rd March 1668.
[2] Mein to Williamson, 2nd July 1667. [3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 28th August 1667.
[4] The Rothes Troop of Life Guards was disbanded on Kirkcaldy sands on 1st March 1676.
[5] Designed *Sir* William Murray in *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* (collected and arranged by John, seventh Duke of Atholl), vol. i. p. 159.

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Adam Haswell.	Jo. Moncreiffe.	Patrik Chisholme.
Allex. Byers.	Jo. Kirk.	Nicoll Carnecroce.
Patrick Œdmistoun.	Tho. Hunter.	Ro^{t} Deane.
Laurence Brace.	Arch. Campbell.	Will. Wilsone.
Walter Maxwell.	Will. Cowper.	Ja. Smyth.
Jo. Broun.	Geo. Hamiltoun.	Ja. Achinmoutie.
Ja. Fyffe.	Jo. Edger.	Jo. Murray, Falkland.
Jo. Murray Atholl.	Gedeon Watsone.	Edmond Burion.
Henrie Moncreiffe.	Allex. Seatton.	Walter Rodome.
Allex. Murray.	Ja. Murray.	
Ja. Lindesay.		

in all 59 corporalls and souldours.
Will Smyth, *Trumpet.*

By wertew of an order directed to me from my Lord Commissionare his Grace and remnent commissionaires of the Thesaurie the above named officiers and souldiours of the foirsaide troope was exactlie mustered by me day and yeere and place foirsaide as witnes my hand. (S) ROBERT MAINE.

DUNCE 16 SEPTEMBER 1667.

From the other Syd 59 men,
qrof three corporalls; remaines 56 soldiers
Item; then absent four men, viz.
Geo. Murray, minor.
John Strange.
Ja. Moncreef.
Jon. Thomson. } 04

60 men

Item; absent the Captan.
Item; absent one trumpet cald Jno. Ferguson.
Item; absent Ja. M^{c}Gie, *clerk.*
Item; absent John Brown, *Ferior.*

Wee Sir William Murray, *Livtenant*, George Murray, *cornet*, and Alexander Murray, *Quarter Master*, Declares that the four men above named with the trumpet, clerk, and ferior, are absent upon forlof and realy upon pay conforme to the establishment. In Witnes qrof wee have sub these pnts day and place forsaid.

(S) W. MORAY, *Lewtenant.*
G. MURRAY, *Coronet.*
ALEX. MURRAY, *Quarter Mr.*

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MUSTER ROLL OF LIVTENENT GENERALL DRUMOND'S TROOP AS IT WAS MUSTERED AT STIRLING UPON THE 18 OF SEPTEMBER 1667.

[*Captain's Squadron*]	[*Lieutenant's Squadron*]	[*Cornet's Squadron*]
Major Hary Drumond, *Brigadeir.*[1]	Major Hewgh Crawfoord, *Brigadeir.*	Patrick Cramond, *Brigadeir.*
Archibald Rollo.	George Murray.	James Graham of Breaco.
Robert Sincklare.	William Fleming.	Robert Graham of Cairnie.
George Hoome of Argadie.	Captain James Edmiston of Newton.	John Strawchan
Hary Osburne.	John Dalap.	James Dumbar.
Captain George Monro.	William Graham.	James Linton.
Captain Walter Leslie.	Mungo Graham.	James Landaills.
Captain George Norwall.	Alexr. Hamilton.	George Lawson.
William Moncreife.	Vmphray Stewart.	Alexr. Cramond.
William Paton.	William Drumond in Pitkenatie.	Lawrance Graham.
Thomas Drumond.	Robert Graham in Monteith.	Hewgh Kenedie of Ardmillan.
Patrick Drumond of Dubheids.	William Crawfoord of Sillihow.	Robert Dumbar.
James Taillor.	David Moncreife of Tippermalloch.	Willam Lenox.
Captain William Kenedie.	Hewgh Moncreife.	James Hanna.
Archibald Auchinlek of Balmano.	John Watters.	Thomas Dawling.
William Blaire.	Captain James Crichton.	Edward Makbryd of Balmurie.
Adam Bell.	Livtenent John Crichton.	Captain John Drumond of Strathell.
Francis Brown.	William Drumond of Cowhallie.	John Chalmers.
Alexr. Glass.	Captain Robert Forbus.	James Moore.
Thomas Lidell.	John Haliburton.	William Moore.
	Thomas Sime.	John Fraizer.
	John Dove.	

Stirling, 18 Sep. 1667. The troop conform to the list abonwritten, wes seen and mustered this day by me conform to the publik order given. As witnes my hand the day and date foresaid. GEO. ERSKINE.

[1] In the seventeenth century each troop of horse had a captain, lieutenant, cornet, and three corporals, "who begin now to be qualified with the title of Brigadeers."—*Pallas Armata* (1683), p. 234.

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According to the instructions given to Captain Erskine and Thomas Bunten the whole troop had intimation given them, and all of them declared they wold keep them for the King's service as long as they livd.[1]

Stirling, the 20 Sep. 1667. Jo. DRUMMOND.

Since the preceding note was written an interesting addition to the contemporary accounts of the battle of Rullion Green has been made by Miss Sidgwick's discovery, in the Bodleian Library, of a letter from Lieutenant-General William Drummond to the Earl of Rothes dated "Pentland 29th November 1666," printed in the *Scottish Historical Review* for July 1906. The severity of the short campaign told upon the General's usually accurate and scholarly penmanship, and portions of the letter apparently are difficult to decipher. Its chief value consists in the information it affords regarding the route followed by Dalziel's troops in pursuit of Wallace's force. On some unimportant points the General is at variance with Turner, Halton, Wallace, and other authorities, particularly in regard to the numbers of the Covenanting army at its final stand and the numbers of killed and prisoners. The letter fully bears out the statement of other contemporaries as to the determined nature of the resistance offered to the Regular troops.

[1] At the disbanding of the troops in 1667 it was directed that all arms delivered to the foot out of His Majesty's magazine be returned, and that the pistols and "hulsters" belonging to the troops of horse be apprised and bought for His Majesty's use.—*Treas. Sed.*, vol. i. p. 21. The Perthshire men preferred to keep their arms.

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THE KING'S LIFE GUARD OF HORSE, 1678

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

THE first corps reorganised in Scotland after the Restoration of 1660 was "The King's Life Guard of Horse,"[1] which was mustered on the Links of Leith on the 2nd of April 1661, under the command of the Earl of Newburgh.[2] The rank and file consisted entirely of the sons of noblemen and gentlemen; they were denominated "the private gentlemen of the King's Life Guard," and they received pay at the rate of two shillings and sixpence sterling per diem, the pay of the officers being proportionally high. Taking into account the value of money in the time of Charles II., it will be readily understood that the command of the Life Guards was one of the most powerful instruments of patronage of the period. It is therefore interesting to find that the three first captains of the troop were successively James, first Earl of Newburgh, 2nd April 1661 to 16th July 1670;[3] John, second Earl and first Marquess of Atholl, 13th July 1670 to 26th October 1678;[4] and James,[5] third Marquess of Montrose, 26th October 1678 to April 1684;[6] all Perthshire men.[7] Originally the troop mustered 120 men besides officers, and at that strength it remained until the 25th of September 1677, when the Marquess of Atholl received a warrant to add 40 horsemen without additional officers. On the 4th of September 1678, however, by another Royal warrant, the strength of the troop was reduced to 100 private gentlemen.

The Earl of Newburgh's resignation of his command in 1670 was probably owing to ill-health, for he died a few months afterwards; the Marquess of Montrose was captain at the time of his death in April 1684; but the Marquess of Atholl lost this much-coveted post owing to his opposition, in the spring of 1678, to the policy of Lauderdale and the prelates. As a preliminary to his resignation, an exact muster of the troop was held at Linlithgow on the 5th of June 1678, when each member was called upon to give an account of himself. The list then prepared has been preserved in the General Register House,

[1] *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 14.

[2] Wodrow (1828 ed.) vol. i. p. 243.

[3] *Treasury Records.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Warrant Book, Scotland.*

[7] Sir James Levingstoun of Kinnaird, who was created successively Viscount and Earl of Newburgh, was served heir to his father (19th March 1629), in the lands of South Bandirrane and others in Perthshire, which along with certain lands in Fife were then united into the barony of Kinnaird.—*Perth Retours*, Nos. 375 and 376.

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Edinburgh, and is of peculiar interest from a genealogical point of view. In view of the fact that the first three commanders of the Life Guards were Perthshire men, it is not surprising to discover that while an analysis of the list shows that twenty-two counties in Scotland were represented in the ranks, and that an Englishman, a German, and cadets of Scottish families which had migrated to France and Ireland, are also to be found, nearly one-fourth of the private gentlemen mustered belonged to Perthshire families. The list has therefore been reproduced in this volume, and the names of the Perthshire men, so far as they can be identified as belonging to the county, have been marked with an asterisk. Wherever the identity is doubtful a query appears. The muster-roll of the rank and file is preceded here by a list of the officers and under-officers who were holding commissions in the Life Guards in June 1678. This list, like the old one, is arranged according to squadrons, not according to precedence in the corps.

Captain—John, first Marquess of Atholl.
Brigadier[1]—Captain James Scott.[2]
Lieutenant—Patrick, Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn.[3]
Brigadier—Captain [George] Buccam.[4]
Under-Lieutenant—Major William Cockburn.[5]
Brigadier—Major George Bruce.[6]
Cornet—George Murray.
Brigadier—Sir Mongo Murray.
Chirurgeon—Christopher Irwin.[7]
Clerk—James Murray.[8]

[1] *i.e.* Corporal.

[2] Served in the troop throughout the Marquess's command.

[3] Commission dated 23rd July 1672.—*Warrant Book, Scot.* The previous lieutenants were Sir Mongo Murray (second son of John, first Earl of Atholl), who served under Lord Newburgh and remained in the troop for some months after the Marquess of Atholl obtained command, and John Napier, whose commission was dated 20th December 1670.

[4] Son of John Buckholme in Belshiemilne in Teviotdale. By reason of sundry exploits, such as the capture of Mr. Rae, minister of Symington, his memory is green among the Border Covenanters. He held his commission until 5th November 1688.

[5] Frequently mentioned in Wodrow. He captured Mr. Alexander Peden the prophet in June 1673, at Knockdow in Carrick.—*The Life and Prophecies of Alexander Peden.*

[6] See his designation *intus.*

[7] *Warrant Book, Scotland.* Appointed physician and chirurgeon-major to all the forces in Scotland, 23rd December 1674. Dr. Irvine had two mates. The second surgeon to the Regular troops was John Jossie.—*Treas. Seds.*, 15th July and 18th December 1675.

[8] Appears in the *Treasury Warrants* as drawing the pay of the troop from March 1672 (account audited 26th February 1676), and continued during the Marquess's command.—*Treas. Seds.* The previous clerk was Captain James Kerr of Deanbrae, a cadet of Dalcore and brother-german of John Kerr of Schaw. He died 1672.—*Inventory of Writs*, H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

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AT LINLITHGOW 5TH OF JUNE 1678.

THE names of His Majestie's Troop of Guaird (quhairof the Marquess of Atholl is Capitan) as they were given up by themselues day and place abone specifiet, in presens of the Earle of Argyll and the Lord Halton,[1] His Majesties Thesaurer Deput, with their depositions and declarations as followis.

CAPTANS SQUADRON

In presence of the Earle of Argyle and Lord Halton, His Ma. Thes^{r} Deput, Compeared Capt. James Scot, Brigadeer, who being solemnly sworn and examined, Deponis, That Archbald Fisher who was mustered at Glasgow and did not compeir at Linlithgo this day, wes the Marquess of Athols servand, and that Patrik Grahame, James Moncreife, and William Moray, are out upon parties.[2]

Compeired Alexander Wilson, borne in Ed^{r}, and sone to Robert Wilson, being sworn and examined Depones that he receives the Kings pey except 16^{s} Scots given to the Clerk p. mensem, and that he hes bein in the Troop 7 or 8 yeirs.

Alexander Crawford, son to Mr. Jon Crawford in Monkland paroch, sworn and examined Depones he hes served in the Troop since the 1 Nov^{r} last and hes received full pay conforme to the Kings establishment for the 3 moneths of November, December, 1677, and January, 1678, except the clerks dues of 16^{s} Scots per mensem.

Alex^{r} Ogilvie, son to Jon Ogilvie in Bamfeshyre, being sworn and examined Depones as the other two anent the clerks dues, and hes bein in the Troope many yeers.

Adam Scot, son to Walter Scot, born at Burnfoot in Tiviotdaill, sworn and examined Depones that he entered in the Troop 1st Apryle last and that he was taken on at Glasgow.

*Alexander Robertsone, sone to the deceist Jon Ro^{t}son, borne in the Fermeheid in Perthshyre, sworn and examined Depones, That he entered to the Troop in Jan^{y} last, and hes received pey at 28^{s} Scots per diem.

David Balfoure, sone to David Balfour of Balloch neir Lochlevin in Fyfe, being long in the Troop Depons he hes received pey *ut supra*.

David Cuninghame, born in Germany, hes been long in the Troope.

Francis Stewart, son to Francis Stewart in the Merse, entered in Nov^{r} last.

Francis Scot, sone to William Scot of Whitslaid, and born in Swallingsyde, hes bein long in the Troop.

[1] Brother of John, Duke of Lauderdale; succeeded as third earl, 1682.

[2] *i.e.* "on command" or detached duty.

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Francis Scot, son to William Scot who was born in Irland in the County of Carven, entered the Troop 1st of November last, hes received pay at 28^{s} Scots per diem.

George Lewing, son to Jon Lewing in Amber, within four myles of Annick, hes beine in the Troope 5 yeirs.

George Douglas, son to James Douglas of Chesters, hes bein these 16 moneths in the Troop.

*Henry Graham, son to George Grahame in the paroch of Forth in Monteith,[1] hes bein longe in the Troope.

Henry Scott, son to W^{m} Scott in Lindselie, hes bein fourtein moneths in the Troop.

Hugh Kennidy, sone to Patrik Kennidy of Daljaroch in Carrict, hes bein long in the Troop.

John Blyth, sone to Richard Blyth of Pittachin in the parioch of Flisk in Fyfeshyre, hes bein 14 yeirs in the Troop.

*John Cairny, sone to Robert Cairny of Tulcho in Perthshyre, hes bein in the Troop since the beginning.

*John Bisset, sone to John Bisset, born in the parioch of Kilspindy, hes bein in the Troop long.

James Hannay, sone to Mr. James Hannay, dean of Ed^{r}, hes bein long in the Troop.

John Thomsone, son to Alexander Thomsone in the paroch of Dressy, rydes in the Troop as the Marquess his servant, but gets no pey.

James Farquhar, sone to Walter Farquhar in Fettercairn, hes bein fourtein yeiris in the Troope.

James Ramsay, sone to Andrew Ramsay of Edmieston in the parioch of Fettercairn, hes bein in the troope since the first raising therof.

*John Moray, sone to Mr. John Moray of Coudoun in Perthshyre, hes bein thrie yeiris in the Troope.

John Arroll, sone to John Arroll, merchand in Stirling, hes bein thrie yeiris in the Troope.

John Duncan serves as the Marquess his servant and receives no pay. *Putt off.*

John Dundass, sone to Geo. Dundass, brother to Dundass of Newlistown, hes bein since the first of Novem^{r} last in the Troop.

*Mr. John Oliphant, sone to Mr. W^{m} Oliphant sometyme Clerk to His Ma. Wardrobe, hes bein in the troope since November last.

John Glaidstains, sone to Walter Glaidstains of Locklaw,[2] hes bein in the troop since the first of Nov^{r} last.

James Ronald, sone to Paul Ronald in Gronoble in Dauphany in the Kingdome of France, entered in November last.

James Scott, sone to Andrew Scott of Tussielaw, entered the first of Januarylast.

[1] Presumably Port of Monteith.
[2] ? Cocklaw.

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Robert Crawford of Powmill hes served in the Troope since the beginning.

Robert Auchmoutie, son to Daniell Auchmoutie of Drumelder, hes served long in the Troope.

Captan William Ramsay, unckle to the Earle of Dalhousie, hes served long in the Troope.

William Leggat, sone to Mr. William Leggat in the parioch of Cavers, entered in Nov^{r} last.

Putt off. John Fuird, servant to Captan Scott, Brigadeer, serves for Walter Scott, sone to the said Captan.

LIEUTENANTS SQUADRON

Captan Buccam, sone to John Buccam in Belshimilne in Tiviotdale, Brigadeer, being sworn and examined Deponis that Hary Hamiltowne gott his pass after the muster at Glasgow, and Hugh Cunyngham *alias* Incum came in his place. That William Lindsay mustered at Glasgow wes his own servand and that Robert Gordon is in his place and gets no pay bot what the deponent drawes for him.

Andrew Scot, ... to Robert Scott of Bowhill in the parioch of Selkirk, hes bene long in the Troop.

Andrew Coall, sone to John Coall, sadler in Edinburgh, hes bein eight yeirs in the Troope.

Andrew Gordone, sone to Andrew Gordon, Shreff deput of Aberdein, entered in Nov^{r} last.

Andrew Bell, sone to Andrew Bell of Bellfoord, entered in January last.

Charles Elphinston, sone to the laird of Quarrell, entered the first of Nov^{r} last.

Duncan Stewart, sone to George Stewart of Duchill in Murray, hes bein sex yeirs in the troope.

Putt off. Francis Erskin, servant to the Earle of Strathmore.

George Kerr, sone to John Kerr of Gaitshaw in Tiviotdaill, hes bein long in the Troope.

*George Moray, sone to George Moray of Tibbermoore, hes bein long in the Troope.

Captane George Auchmowtie, sone to Sir John Auchmoŭtie of Gossfurd, hes been long in the Troope.

*Hugh Moray, brether german to Sir W^{m} Murray of Newtoune, hes bein in the troope since the beginning.

Hugh Cunyngham, sone to David Cunynghame of Glengarnok (*alias* Jinkin), hes bein in the Troope these two moneths.

Putt off. George Moffat declaris that he hes ridden thir two yeires in the Troope for James Moray (being bot elleven yeirs old), sone to James Moray, brother to the deceist Philiphauch.

John Bannatine, sone to James Bannatyne, brother to Bannatyn of Newhall, hes bein sexteen yeiris in the Troope.

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James Boyd, sone to James Boyd of Racharie in Ireland, hes bein in the Troope four yeires.

James Kerr, sone to Kerr of Gradden, hes bein in the Troop thir twelve yeires.

James Auchmowtie, sone to Sir John Auchmowtie of Gossford, hes bein these eight yeires in the Troop.

James Colvill, sone to Mr. Alex^{r} Colvill, late Justice Deput, hes served fyve yeires.

David Erskein, servand to the E. of Strathmore. *Putt off.*

*John Ratray, son to Thomas Ratray at Kinclevin, hes served since Nov^{r} last.

Lewis Gordon, son to George Gordon of Archanachie in Aberdeen shyre, hes served 5 yeers.

Patrik Scot, sone to Mr. William Scott of Crightown in the parioch therof in Edr shyre, hes served since the beginning.

Patrik Ker, sone to Thomas Ker, a Major Generall in Ireland, hes served since the beginning.

Robert Moray, sone to Moray of Ravelrig, hes served these sevintein yeiris.

Robert Spotiswoode, sone [to] Jon Spotiswood of Dairsly (suffered at Ed^{r} Cross), hes served 6 years.

Robert Cockburn, unckle to the present laird of Ormiestowne in Hadingtownshyre, hes served long in the Troope.

Robert Gordon, servant to Capt. Buccham. *Putt off.*

Thomas Windrahame, sone to Sir George Windraham of Libbertown in Ed^{r}shyre hes served since the beginning.

Thomas Spence of Innerchatt in Moray hes served these eightein moneths.

Thomas Kennoway, sone to James Kennoway of Ketlestowne, entered the first of Nov^{r} last.

William Hay, sone to Alex^{r} Hay of Couburtie in Aberdeinshyre, hes served these 17 yeirs.

William Cairncross seik at Air in his own house of Kilslapp.

William Ker, son to Ker of Graden, hes served four yeers.

William Lyon, sone to William Lyon of Easter Ogill in Forfarshyre, hes served four yeers.

[?] John Moray appeirs for one of the Marq. of Athol's servants. *Putt off.*

William Auchmoutie, sone to Sir John Auchmoŭtie of Gossfurd, entered in Nov^{r} last.

William Douglas, sone to James Douglas of Mortoun in Nithisdaill, entered 1st Nov^{r} last.

Major William Muirhead, sone to Lauchop, entered in November last.

Under Lieutenants Squadron

Major George Bruce, Grand unckle to the Laird of Clackmanan, Brigadeer, being sworn and examined deponis, That James Barclay who rydes in the

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Troope is his owne servant, and that Lewis Gordon doeth duty for his brother George Gordon, and that James Adamsone, servant to Keir,[1] never did duty bot did only enter this day, and that the person who rydes for Ballechan does not duty bot only appeirs on Musterdayes.

*Alexander Moncreife, sone to William Moncreife of Kintillo in Perthshyre, hes bein these nyn yeeres or therby in the Troope.

Archibald Bannatyn, sone to John Bannatyn of Lewchie in East Lothian, hes bein in the Troope since the first of Nov^r last.

Charles Lawder, sone to W^m Lauder of Wynparke in the paroch of Lawder, hes bein these 6 yeeris in the Troop and that he served five moneths for nothing.

David Lindsay, sone to David Lindsay in the paroch of Kennetlis, hes served these ten yeirs.

*Hary Moncreife, brother german to Sir John Moncreife, hes served ever since the Marquess of Athol wes Capitan.

Hary Montgomery, sone to Ro^t Montgomery of Cummingburne in Ireland, hes served since the first of Nov^r last.

James Logan, sone to Robert Logan of Couslane, hes served twelve moneths.

John Crightowne,[2] sone to Alex^r Crichtovn of Leslenan in Irland, hes served 4 yeiris.

Putt off. James Gordon is the Under Lieuten[ant's] man.

John Lindsey, sone to the Laird of Edzell, hes bein 4 yeiris in the Troop.

Putt off. Lewis Gordone, sone to John Gordone of Craigiehoode in the paroch of Craigiehoode, serves for his brother John Gordon and his brother getts the Kingis pey qrof his brother allowes him a parte, and hes bein twelve moneths in the Troope.

John Midletoune, sone to the present Ensigne Midletoune, Lieu^t to the Lord Livingstown, hes bein in the Troope since August last.

Major John Lyon, sone to Thomas Lyon of Corsane, hes served in the Troop five yeires.

John Drumond, sone to John Drumond of Carnock near Stirling, hes served since the Troope wes first levied.

Putt off. John Strang, servant to the Marquess of Atholl.

John Lausone, sone to Alex^r Lausone of Southsyde besyde Ed^r, hes served two yeires.

John Stewart, sone to Alex^r Stewart in the County of Antrim in Irland, served since 1st November last.

John Vanderdoram, a German, hes served since the first of Nov^r last.

James Stevinson, sone to Thomas Stevinson in the towne of Hamiltowne, hes served since November last.

Putt off. [?] James Adamson, not appearing untill this day, is rejected.

[1] Apparently Sir John Stirling of Keir, but no commission to him has been discovered.

[2] Author of *Creichton's Memoirs*, referred to later in this volume.

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John Muirhouse, sone to Alex[r] Muirhouse in the paroch of Peebles, entered in Nov[r] last.

John Rotsone, sone to William Rotsone in the paroch of St Fergus in Aberdein shyre, hes served since the 20th of Jan[y] last.

Mathew Hamilton, who served as Adjutant in the Expedition to the West.

Michael Bruce, unckle to Bruce of Balfoules in the paroch of Airth in Stirlingshyre, entered in Nov[r] last.

[?] Daniell Reid appears for Ballachan.[1] *Putt off.*

Patrik Hamilton, son to Pat Hamilton in the Cownty of Clanybowies in Irland, entered two yeires ago, served thrie moneths without pey.

Patrik Lin, sone to Fergus Lin of Larg in Wigtownshyre, entered the first of November last.

Robert Nall serves for Quarter Master Dalmahoy. *Putt off.*

Robert Drumond, brother to Hawthorndean in the paroch of Laswaed in East Lothian [*sic*], hes served since the Troop was first levied.

William Stewart, sone to Alexander Stewart of Clary in Galloway, hes served thir elleven yeires.

*William Blair, sone to Gilbert Blair and born at Inchshyra, hes served this long tyme.

Patrik Cockburn serves for William Cockburn, the under Lie[ts] sone. *Putt off.*

*William Moncreife, brother german to Sir Jon Moncreife, hes served thir many yeares.

Cornets Squadron

Compeired Sir Mongo Moray, Brigadier to the Cornet, being sworn and examined Depones that George Dowie is the Cornets servant, as also Jon Veitch and Robert Cowper, and that Walter Smith is his own servant.

Alexander Forbes, sone to the deceist laird of Rires, hes bein in the Troope since it was first levied.

*Andro Naper, sone to Alexander Napier in the paroch of Watstown in Perth shyre, hes served twelve yeirs.

*Adam Masterton of Grange, near Culross, hes served these eightein yeiris.

Andrew Ker, sone to Andrew Ker of Fairnietoun in Roxbrughshyre, being sworn and examined Depones he hes served a yeir and that his horse wes gifted to him by the Marques of Atholl his master.

*Archibald Moray, brother german to Sir W[m] Moray of Newtown, hes served fyve yeires.

Alexander Clerk, sone to Clerk of Pittencreife, hes bein in the Troop 2 moneths or therby. Rejected becaus bot a young boy. *Putt off.*

David Moray, sone to James Moray of Romano in the paroch of Newlands in Peebles shyre, served 5 yeeris.

*George Home of Argettie hes served these ten yeires.

[1] See Brigadier's deposition.

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Gawen Muirhead, sone to the Laird of Lauchop, hes served since the Troop wes leavied.

*Hary Drumond, sone to Hary Drumond of Pittcairns in Perthshyre, hes served two yeiris.

*Hary Home, brother to Argettie, hes served since the Troop wes first leavied.

Hary Scot, sone to Scott of Spencerfeild neir Innerkeithing, entered four yeires since.

Hugh Montgomery, sone to Hugh Montgomery living neir Irving, hes served since the first of Novr last.

John Grant, sone to John Grant of Mylnetown of Duffett, neir Spey, hes served thrie yeirs.

*John Moray, sone to John Moray of Ardbeny in Perth shyre, hes served this long tyme.

Putt off. John Veitch, the Cornetts servand, hes served sex yeers.

James Russell, sone to George Russell in Carnwath, hes bein in the Troop since the beginning.

John Hamiltown of Kinglassy hes served in the Troop these 16 yeeris.

John Hamilton, sone to John Hamilton of Braes in Cliddisdaill, entered in January last.

John Paterson of Shanwell hes served 18 moneths.

Putt off. John Carrudders, sone to Carudders of Rammerskailes, entered this day. Rejected.

James Brown, bailyie in Stirling, entered the 1st Novr last.

James Irving, sone to Doctor Irving, hes served since November last.

Putt off. *Lieuetenant Mongo Hadden [1] entered the 22nd of May last. Rejected.

*Patrik Moray, sone to Sir Wm. Moray of Newtowne, hes served these seven yeires.

Peter Forbes, sone to Alexander Forbes of Drumlathy in Aberdein shyre, hes served two yeires.

Patrik Agnew, sone to Patrik Agnew of Airds in Galloway, hes served since Novr last.

Putt off. Robert Couper, the Cornetts servant.

Captain Rot Jonston in Stirling entered in Novemr last.

*Robert Sandes, sone to John Sandes of Overtown in Perthshyre, entered in Novr last.

Thomas Hay, brother to Hay of Nauchtown, hes served since November last.

Thomas Hamilton, sone to Sir Patrik Hamiltown of Litle Preston, entered in November last.

Captan William Seton hes served thir 12 yeeris.

William Moray, brother to the Lord Elibank, hes served these fyve yeires.

[1] In a list of those outed is designed "L. Col. Mungo Haldin."

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*Walter Stewart, sone to Robert Stewart of Killbyrde, hes served thir fourtein yeires.

William Leckie, brother to the laird of Leckie, entered in November last.

[?] Walter Smith, servant to Sir Mongo Moray. *Putt off.*

List of Officers seruands who wer listed in His Maj. Troop of Guaird, wherof the Marques of Atholl is Capitan, and are outed at the muster made at Linlithgow the 5th of June 1678. As also a list of such who appeared for others who wer listed, and of such who never appeired befor that muster.

Capitans servands—

[?] John Thomson. [?] Jo^{n} Duncan. [?] Jo^{n} Moray.
Jo^{n} Strang.

Leiuetennents servands—Francis and David Erskeene.

Vnder Leiuetennents servands—James Gordoun, Walter Innes.

Cornets servants—John Veatch, Ro^{t} Cuper, Geo. Dowie.

Cap. Buckam, Brigadeir—Ro^{t} Gordoun.

Cap. Scott, Brigadeir—Jo^{n} Fourd appeared for Walter Scott, sone to the said Capitan.

Sir Mungo Murray, Brigadeir—[?] Walter Smith.

Major Geo. Bruce, Brigadeir—James Barclay.

Quarter Master—Ro^{t} Hall.

List of those who appeared for others and are outed—

George Moffet appeared for James Murray, son to Cap. James Murray.

Lewes Gordoun appeared for John Gordoun his brother.

[?] Daniell Rid appeared for Pat. Stewart of Ballachan.

Pat Cockburne appeared for W^{m} Cockburne, sone to the wnder leu^{t}.

List of such who never appeared before this dayes Muster and are outed—

James Adamson. Jon Carruthers. *L. Col. Mungo Haldin.
Alex^{r} Clark, a young boy, outed.

Dead—

Ja. Bothwell.

List of such as did not appear—

[?] James Moncreife, *d.* [?] Pat Menzies. Ja. Montgomerie.
Jo^{n} Erskine. [?] Pat Graham.

Seik—

Alex^{r} Jonsoun. W^{m} Cairncross. Philip Garrok.

Vpon pertie—

[?] Pat Graham. [?] W^{m} Murray. Alex^{r} Innes.
Gawin Ellot. W^{m} Douglas.

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After the Union of 1707 the Scottish Life Guards became the fourth troop of Life Guards on the British establishment, and served with distinction at Dettingen and Fontenoy. It was disbanded on the 25th of December 1746. The officers then serving received annuities in addition to their half-pay and were placed as officers *en seconde* to the other troops. Many of the private gentlemen were enrolled in the first and second troops, those of long service retired upon pensions, others received annual allowances until they were provided for in the service, and to a great number His Majesty gave commissions in regiments of the Line.[1]

[1] *Historical Record of the Life Guards.*

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STANDARD OF LORD ROLLO'S TROOP OF HORSE

(*Preserved at Duncrub Park*)

Made on a foundation of linen, covered on each side with white silk. In the centre is represented, in coloured needlework, a warrior on horseback, with an open-hilted sword resting on the left thigh, slung by a broad belt from the right shoulder. Above is the motto, "La Fortune pase partout." In each corner, wrought in fine silk rope, is the monogram "A L R" (Andrew, Lord Rollo), reversed and interlaced. Size of flag, $26\frac{1}{2} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$ inches. No fringe.

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INDEPENDENT TROOPS OF HORSE

1689–91

BY THE EDITOR

THE Convention of Estates which met at Edinburgh on the 14th of March 1689 had no sooner decided to offer the Crown of Scotland to William and Mary, than the establishment of a large body of forces was voted, to enable the new Government to meet the dangers with which it was threatened by the supporters of the dethroned king. Several complete regiments, in addition to eleven independent companies of foot,[1] were accordingly raised, and ten troops of horse of fifty men each were levied out of the "shyres of the Kingdom"—two more troops being subsequently added.[2] Perthshire, though not as a whole particularly well disposed to William of Orange, was called upon to contribute a troop of horse, which, curiously enough, was placed under the command of William Blair of Blair, an Ayrshire man, and his lieutenant, Robert Pollock, of that Ilk;[3] while Andrew, third Lord Rollo, who was commissioned to raise another of the troops, had to recruit his men in the counties of Forfar and Kincardine and in the Earl Marischal's part of Aberdeenshire—a task which he found by no means easy.[4] But as matters turned out, it was perhaps fortunate for him that his troop was not raised in Perthshire.

Early in May the Laird of Blair and his lieutenant were busily recruiting at Perth, when Viscount Dundie,[5] who was believed to be far out of reach in the north, suddenly swooped down from Inverness. Three days sufficed him for a march of some hundred miles, and by two o'clock on the morning of Saturday, the 11th of May, he had entered Perth. The Lairds of Blair and Pollock with "the trumpet, standard, and all the troopers that were in the town"[6] were taken prisoner, and the arms and horses belonging to the troop were also seized.[7]

After a halt of a few hours, Claverhouse was off again, carrying his prisoners and booty with him, and this time he directed his march on Dundee, in the hope of rallying to King James' cause two troops of the Royal Regiment of Scots

[1] For four of these see article entitled *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, pp. 40, 41.

[2] Raised respectively by Patrick Hume, younger of Polwarth, and William Bennett, younger of Grubbett. The commissions for the first eleven troops bore date 19th April 1689; the commission for the twelfth (William Bennett's), 23rd April 1689.—*Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 54.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XIV.*, Pt. III., p. 117.

[5] See note *re* spelling, p. 253.

[6] *Letters of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, p. 56.

[7] *Atholl Chronicles*, vol. i. p. 277.

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Dragoons,[1] who were quartered there and were known to be disaffected to King William.

Lord Rollo was encamped outside Dundee recruiting for his troop, and but for the fact that the Jacobite raiders did not come by the shortest route from Perth, and that their horses were worn out by the long march and the scarcity of forage,[2] he might have shared the fate of the officers who were made prisoners at Perth. As it was, Claverhouse took two days to reach Dundee; word of his coming preceded him; and though the news threw the citizens into a state of indescribable confusion and alarm, by the time he arrived before the town at five o'clock on the afternoon of the 13th of May, the gates were shut, the streets barricaded, and Lord Rollo and his troop were helping to defend the walls. Dundie's attempts to draw the Government forces into the open were frustrated by Captain Balfour of the Dragoons, a staunch Whig, who, fearing that the men might desert if they got within reach of the Jacobite leader, prevailed upon the Lieutenant-Colonel (William Livingstone) to remain within the walls. Dundie's force was too weak and his time too precious for him to attempt the reduction of the town by siege. He therefore withdrew at nightfall to his house in Glen Ogilvie, and on the next day[3] set off once more for the Highlands.

A short while after the events above recorded, Lord Rollo's Troop was mustered at Dundee. The roll (which has been preserved at the General Register House), shows the troop divided into three squadrons, with a total strength of 46, and gives the names of the following officers and under-officers,[4] three of whom, besides the Captain, may probably be claimed as belonging to this county. As the men were not recruited from Perthshire, their names have not been included in this paper.

DUNDEE, 1*st June* 1689.

Captain . . .	Lord Rollo.	Corporals .	John Drummond.
Lieutenant . .	William Prestoune.[5]		David Rollo.
Cornet . . .	James Hamilton.[6]		James Rollo.
Quartermaster	Lodowick Cant.	Trumpeter . .	William Lennox.

During the months of warfare which followed, the Rollo and Perthshire Troops were stationed at various places on the borders of the Highlands, to quell local risings, and to prevent, as far as possible, the incursions of the Jacobite army. They were not with General Mackay at Killiecrankie, and very little has been

[1] Now the Royal Scots Greys.

[2] Balcarres, *An Account of the Affairs of Scotland relating to the Revolution in* 1688 (1714 edition), p. 90.

[3] C. Sanford Terry, *John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee*, p. 282.

[4] *i.e.* non-commissioned officers.

[5] "Son to the deceased Sir Robert Prestoune of that Ilk."—*Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 55.

[6] "Son to the deceased Laird of Bangour, one of the gentlemen volunteers that came over with the Prince of Orange, now King of England."—*Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 4.

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handed down with regard to them—more especially with regard to the Perthshire Troop.

It is known, however, that Lord Rollo's Troop was reviewed at Aberdeen on the 25th of September 1689, and that in the early spring of the following year it was quartered at Dunning. During this period an officer of the troop may be said to have played the part of hero in an affair which, however insignificant in its origin, afterwards led to serious trouble. On the 28th of February 1690, Lieutenant Patrick Græme of Inchbrakie, David Oliphant of Culteuchar, George Græme of Pitcairnies, and two others described in the Privy Council Records as "Ensign Drummond" and "Ensign Mowat,"[1] met in a tavern at Dunning and "drank the health of King James without naming him the late king." Moreover, not satisfied with this overt act of disloyalty, they endeavoured to persuade Ludovic Cant, quartermaster of the Rollo Troop, to join them in drinking the toast. He refused and attempted to leave the room, whereupon Mowat levelled a pistol at him, which Inchbrakie prudently seized and fired up the chimney. The brawl, however, continued, until finally Cornet James Hamilton arrived on the scene with some of the Rollo Troop, and having arrested the offenders, escorted them to Perth. We read that on the way thither the prisoners, nothing daunted, persisted in their "insolencies," and that Inchbrakie, furious with his captors, broke the face of Alexander Ross,[2] one of the Rollo Troop, "with ane pynt stoup when he was standing centinell at the door." A good deal of violent feeling was displayed at the subsequent trial, with the result that the two civilians were heavily fined, and the three officers sentenced to imprisonment on the Bass Rock.[3]

The Rollo Troop is next heard of as being "mustered in the night at Dunblane" on the 5th of September 1690. The roll then made out shows that the numbers had increased to 56. The officers and under-officers present were:—

Captain . . .	Lord Rollo.	Corporals .	John Drwmond.
Lieutenant . .	William Preston.		John Bothwell.
Cornet . . .	Robert Drwmond.		David Ogilvy.
Quartermaster	David Rollo.	Trumpeter . .	William Lennox.

The Lieutenant and two others will be recognised as having been present at the previous muster, but the Cornet and the stout-hearted Quartermaster had left.

[1] There is nothing to show the identity of Ensign Drummond. Ensign Mowat may be Ensign Sir William Mowat, whose name appears in the list of officers of the Royal Scots (then Douglas's), 15th May 1686. Andrew Ross, *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p. 71.

[2] Alexander Ross's name heads the list of the troopers in Lord Rollo's squadron at the muster in June 1689.

[3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 21st April 1690. The prisoners were released on the 20th of January 1691, Inchbrakie giving a bond for £200 stg., and each of the others one for £50 stg., to live peaceably under the Government, and to appear when called upon.—*Ibid.*, 20th January 1691. For an account of the further trouble between Inchbrakie and the Rollo family, see Miss Græme's *Or and Sable*, p. 265 *et seq.*

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But to return to the Perthshire Troop. The unfortunate Lairds of Blair and Pollock, after accompanying Dundie in his marches over hill and dale, were sent to Mull, where—according to the Memoirs of General Mackay—Blair succumbed to privation or ill-treatment. He is said to have been succeeded in the command of the Perthshire Troop by Sir George Gordon of Edinglassie, whose commission dated from the 18th of December 1689.[1] Sir George, however, died within a few months, and the command of the troop devolved upon the Lieutenant, Robert Pollock.[2]

The twelve troops of horse raised in 1689 remained on the establishment until 1691, when, owing to the exigencies of the Treasury, they were formed into two regiments which became known respectively as Colonel Richard Cunningham's and Lord Newbattle's Dragoons. Six troops were allotted to each regiment, and both the Rollo and Perthshire Troops were drafted into Cunningham's. This regiment, after successively bearing the name of Jedburgh's and Kerr's Dragoons, was reduced at the Peace of Utrecht, and many of the men then enlisted into the Scots Dragoons—so many, indeed, that three entire troops were added to that regiment. George I., however, immediately after his accession to the throne, ordered the re-embodiment of Kerr's Dragoons; the three troops were therefore restored and formed the nucleus of a regiment which, replaced on the establishment under its former title, and down to the middle of the eighteenth century regarded as being as exclusively a national regiment as the Scots Greys, is now known as the 7th or Queen's Own Hussars.[3]

The troops raised by Andrew, Lord Rollo, and the Laird of Blair during the troubles of 1689 may thus be said to have jointly contributed one-third to the original formation of a regiment which for well over two hundred years has upheld the best traditions of the British Army.

[1] Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers*, vol. iii. p. 38.

[2] Robert Pollock was in command of the troop by May 1690. *Old Scottish Regimental Colours*, p. 49.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 50.

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JOHN, LORD MURRAY'S REGIMENT OF FOOT

AFTERWARDS KNOWN AS

THE EARL OF TULLIBARDINE'S REGIMENT

1694–97

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

To assist William the Third in his efforts to oppose the victorious progress of the French Marshals in the Low Countries, two regiments on the Scottish establishment—Strathnaver's and Moncreiffe's—were ordered to join the army in the Netherlands early in 1694. But in order to guard against a Jacobite invasion, it was thought necessary to increase the force left at home, and four new regiments were therefore voted by the Estates of Parliament, one of which was raised by John, Lord Murray,[1] eldest son of John, first Marquess of Atholl.

The regiment was mustered and placed on the establishment on the 4th of May 1694,[2] under the title of "John, Lord Murray's Regiment of Foot," and consisted of thirteen companies, with a strength of some 700, all ranks. An examination of the table at the end of this paper shows that, although the officers appointed represented many Scottish counties, Perthshire contributed the largest share, and each officer would of course bring the necessary complement of men from his own district. The regiment was employed chiefly in watching the east coast of Scotland in view of a possible descent from France, companies being stationed at Montrose, Arbroath, Pittenweem, Dysart, the Anstruthers, and Kirkcaldy. From August 1695 to April 1696 a detached party, consisting of a sergeant, corporal, drummer, and 26 sentinels, under the command of Captain Anstruther, was on duty in the Orkneys, where a garrison had been maintained by the successive military authorities of Scotland ever since Montrose's descent in 1650.[3]

[1] Born 1660. Created Earl of Tullibardine, 1696; succeeded his father as second Marquess of Atholl, 1703; created duke, 1703. Died 1724.

[2] *Army Papers*, Portfolio XVI., H.M. Gen. Reg. House. Lord Murray's commission was dated 23rd April 1694. *English Army Lists and Commission Registers*, vol. iv. p. 9.

[3] *Army Papers*, Portfolio XIX.

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Between 1694 and 1697 the regiment was stationed at the following places :—

June 1694	Perth	October 1695 . . .	Falkirk
July 1694	Crieff	February 1696 . .	Stirling Langton Camp
September 1694 . .	Kirkcaldy		
October 1694 . . .	Kirkcaldy	May 1696.	Leith
November 1694 . .	Perth	June 1696	Langton Camp[1]
December 1694 . .	Leith	October 1696 . . .	Edinburgh
August 1695 . . .	Leith	Feb. to Nov. 1697 .	Glasgow[2]

On the 14th of January 1696 John, Lord Murray became secretary of state for Scotland,[3] and in the following July he was created Earl of Tullibardine for life. The regiment accordingly became known by his new title. In this year also he was appointed lord high commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, and while his regiment was stationed in Edinburgh it was appointed to guard the Palace of Holyrood, one company being detached for duty in Edinburgh Castle.[4]

The power and responsibility so placed in the hands of the Marquess of Atholl's son were not viewed with equanimity by his neighbours. The loyalty of his officers was called in question, and Carstares, the confidential adviser of King William in Scottish affairs, was urged to direct that Sir Thomas Livingstone, then commanding in Scotland, "be ordered to tender the oath of allegiance and assurance to all the officers of the Scots army, for sure I am that there are officers that have been in the late King's service within these four years that carry considerable commissions and have not yet taken the oaths, particularly in Lord Murray's regiment, as for example one Captain Ghrame."[5]

At the Peace of Ryswick (11th September 1697) it became necessary to reduce a large part of the forces, and Tullibardine's Regiment accordingly came to an end. Mr. Secretary Ogilvie, afterwards the Earl of Seafield, writes to Carstares on the 12th of October: "Some of our regiments in Scotland will be disbanded. This matter should be well considered, for first they are very good troops, at least most of them are, and then the Colonells are men that have interest in the country. Tullibardine's regiment is very full, and will be very well cloathed."[6] A week later he writes: "The Earl of Tullibardine does take the loss of his regiment patiently enough, but he says he hopes to know to whom he owes it."[7]

[1] The strength of the regiment at Langton Camp, on June the 16th, 1696, was 700, all ranks. Lieut. Simon Fraser, yr of Beaufort, writing to Lord Murray on June the 30th, says "Blessed be God your Lops Regtt makes ye best figure in ye camp, both for men & cloathing. The Lievtt Coll: keeps ym all to yr duty, and I cannot tell whither it be emulation or duty that moves him, but he is truly reputed on of ye most diligent Field Officers in ye Army."—*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 376.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 379. *Army Papers*, Portfolio IX.

[3] *The Scots Peerage*, vol. i. p. 478.

[4] Lovat's *Memoirs* (Edin. 1797), pp. 17, 18.

[5] Carstares, *State Papers and Letters*, p. 275.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 355.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

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The last muster of the regiment took place at Glasgow in November 1697, and later in the same month a part of the regiment was ordered to Dunkeld to co-operate in the proposed expedition against the Frasers of Beaufort. But while on the march, orders for instant disbandment were received, and twelve companies laid down their arms at Linlithgow on November the 25th.[1] Captain Robertson of Straloch's Company, which was then quartered at Ruthven in Badenoch, was not disbanded until some time later. The men of this company, acting without orders, joined their fellow-Athollmen as they marched north in November, and, after sharing in their fruitless expedition against the Frasers, were disbanded at Perth.

Heavy arrears of pay were due to the regiment at the time of disbandment, and the Earl of Tullibardine was not relieved by Government of the contracts for clothing, for which he had become personally liable, until April 1699.[2]

The following list of officers is based upon the one which appears in the "Atholl Chronicles" (vol. i. pp. 354–5), with the addition of some notes, dates, and christian names which appear in Mr. Dalton's "English Army Lists and Commission Registers." The notes appended to the list explain why the dates given in the two authorities referred to appear occasionally to conflict.

OFFICERS OF JOHN, LORD MURRAY'S REGIMENT OF FOOT, *15th October* 1694.

Captains.	*Lieutenants.*	*Ensigns.*
1. John, Lord Murray, *colonel.*	William Veitch, *capt.-lieutenant.*	Hugh Moncreiffe, *adjutant.*[3]
2. John Stirling,[4] *lieut.-colonel.*	Alexander Stirling.	Robert Stirling.[5]
3. William Hay,[6] *major.*	Robert Urquhart.	John Grant of Dalrachney.
4. Hugh, 9th Lord Lovat.[7]	Hugh Monro.	—— Fraser.[8]
5. Patrick Murray.[9]	—— Rait.[10]	Pierre Le Morimer.[11]

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 416. Ensign Hugh Hay grants an assignation, dated July the 8th, 1698, of the arrears due to him as an officer in the regiment, in which he gives the date of his commission as October the 14th, 1698, and the date of disbandment as December the 1st, 1697. *Army Papers.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Promotion applied for, 1st November 1695; granted (*i.e.* commission as lieutenant signed), 16th December 1695.

[4] Cadet of Keir. Formerly captain, Royal Regt. of Foot. Died 1694.

[5] Lieutenant, 1696.

[6] Brother of Kirkland. Promoted lieut.-colonel, February 1695 (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 354), or according to *English Army Lists* (vol. ii. p. 47), 1694.

[7] Retired 1st March 1696. Died 1696.

[8] Retired 24th December 1695.

[9] Formerly captain-lieutenant, Sir David Colyear's Regt. of Foot (?).

[10] Died 29th December 1695.

[11] Promoted lieutenant into Captain Simon Fraser's Company; promotion applied for, 15th October 1696; granted, 26th November 1696.

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6. Philip Anstruther.[1]	—— Lenier.	Richard Trotter.[2]
7. John (?) Bellingham.[3]	—— Le Blanc.	William Murray.
8. James Drummond.[4]	Alexander Murray,[5] *quartermaster.*	John Kennedy.[6]
9. Archibald Menzies of Culdares.[7]	David Stewart.[8] / Thomas M'Intosh. }	*Grenadier Company.*
10. John Brodie of Brodie.	James Ruthven.	William Alexander.
11. William Grant.[9]	Walter Lamont.[10]	Hugh Grant.
12. David Graham.[11]	Etienne De Bellot.[12]	Thomas Carmichael.[13]
13. Leonard Robertson of Straloch.	Patrick Moncreiffe, yr. of Reedie.[14]	—— Robertson.[15]

Agent—Patrick Murray of Dollery.

The following officers joined the regiment (so far as can now be ascertained) between October 1694 and its disbandment in November 1697. The dates given in the text are believed to be those of the actual signature of the commissions.

Robert Pollok of Pollok[16]	Major . .	Feb. 1695.	*vice* Major Hay, promoted.
Simon Fraser, yr. of Beawfort[17]	1st Lieut.	29 April 1695.	Grenadier Company, *vice* Lt. D. Stewart, retired.
Thomas Fyfe	Ensign .	16 Dec. 1695.	Colonel's Company, *vice* Ens. Moncreiffe, promoted.

[1] Son of Sir Wm. Anstruther of that Ilk, who was created a lord of session in 1689.

[2] Promoted lieutenant into Captain Drummond's Company, 26th November 1694. Lieutenant, Colonel Geo. Macartney's Regt. of Foot, 29th January 1704.

[3] Left, 16th December 1695. Captain, Lord Lindsay's Regt. of Foot, 2nd March 1696. Believed to have been executed at Tyburn in 1699 for forging Exchequer Bills.

[4] Formerly lieutenant, Lord Newbattle's Regt. of Dragoons (?).

[5] Formerly lieutenant, Royal Regt. of Foot. Died 7th November 1695.

[6] Broke, 20th March 1696.

[7] Grenadier Company. Retired 13th July 1696.

[8] Retired before April 1695.

[9] Captain of one of the Independent Companies of Foot, 24th June 1701. (See article entitled *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, p. 43 *et seq.*).

[10] Brother of Auchegyll. Died in the Darien Expedition.

[11] Lieutenant, Brigadier-General Maitland's Regt. of Foot, 6th January 1700 (?), with precedency from date of his former commission.

[12] Died 31st August 1696.

[13] Adjutant, Lord Carmichael's Regt. of Dragoons, 25th February 1696.

[14] Captain, 16th December 1695; captain Scots Foot-Guards, 6th March 1708. A commission as ensign in the Colonel's Company was granted to Patrick Moncreiffe (possibly the same) on 15th February 1694.

[15] Retired 30th November 1695.

[16] From captain, Cunningham's Dragoons. Lieutenant of the Perthshire Troop of Horse, 1689.

[17] Promoted captain 18th July 1696. Exchanged to McGill's Regt. 1697. Afterwards eleventh Lord Lovat. Executed on Tower Hill, 1747.

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Samuel Stewart . . .	Surgeon	. —— 1696.	
George Murray [1] . . .	Lieut. .	. 25 Feb. 1696.	Capt. P. Murray's Company.
John Murray [2]	Lieut. .	. 25 Feb. 1696.	Capt. J. Drummond's Company.
Thomas Cumming [3] . .	Ensign	. 25 Feb. 1696.	Lord Lovat's Company, *vice* Ens. Fraser, retired.
John Stewart of Airntully [3]	Ensign	. 25 Feb. 1696.	Capt. L. Robertson's Company.
John Stewart [4] . . .	Ensign	. 18 April 1696.	Capt. J. Drummond's Company, *vice* Lt. Kennedy, broke.
Lord James Murray [5] .	Captain	. 4 May 1696.	*vice* Lord Lovat, retired.
William Dunlop [6] . .	Ensign	. 26 Nov. 1696.	Major's Company.
David Moncreiffe [7] . .	Ensign	. 26 Nov. 1696.	Capt. P. Anstruther's Company, *vice* Ens. Trotter, promoted.
Hugh Hay [8]	Ensign	. 26 Nov. 1696.	Captain L. Robertson's Company, *vice* Ens. Stewart, retired.
Alexander Nisbet [9] . .	Captain	. —— 1697.	
William Murray [10] . .	Ensign	. 26 Nov. 1697.	

[1] Son of Colonel George Murray. Appointment taken up, 1st March 1696. Died 1697.

[2] From the Guards. Appointment taken up, 1st March 1696. Appointed quartermaster, *vice* Lieutenant A. Murray.

[3] Both cadets. Appointments taken up, 1st March 1696.

[4] Brother of Kincarrathie.

[5] Third son of first Marquess of Atholl. Formerly captain, Royal Regt. of Foot. Commission applied for, 1st May 1696.

[6] Cadet. According to *English Army Lists*, appointed to Captain Brodie's Company.

[7] Cadet. According to *English Army Lists*, appointed to Lord James Murray's Company.

[8] Paymaster. Commission applied for, 14th October 1696.

[9] Exchanged from McGill's Regt. with Captain S. Fraser.

[10] According to *English Army Lists*, appointed to Captain Anstruther's Company.

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THE HISTORIC SUCCESSION OF THE BLACK WATCH

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross HERALD

THE generally accepted theory of the origin of the Black Watch, otherwise the 42nd or the Royal Highland Regiment of Foot, is that stated by Major-General David Stewart of Garth in his "Military Annals of the Highland Regiments." He writes that, while some Highlanders were armed so early as 1725, when General Wade was commanding-in-chief in Scotland, it was not until 1729 or 1730 that those Independent Companies were formed in the Highlands which ten years later formed the nucleus of the corps destined to become so famous in history.[1] Garth is so deservedly regarded as an authority on the subjects of which he treats, viz. the manners and character of the Highlanders and the military exploits of the Highland regiments, that the few paragraphs in which he dismisses the origin of the Black Watch have been unreservedly accepted by all succeeding writers as the last word on the subject. Thus Cannon, in his official record of the regiment, and Keltie and Forbes the modern historians, each in his own fashion repeats Garth's narrative—Forbes, like a good clansman, giving it with the delightful variation that the Highland companies were embodied in 1729 as the result of a suggestion made to the authorities by Duncan Forbes of Culloden.[2]

It is the object of this paper to prove that Independent Companies similar to those from which the regiment was formed in 1739 were established and in Government pay for more than sixty years before the date 1729–30 assigned by Garth, and that from the date of their first formation in 1667, on to 1739, their services were in requisition not only to prevent the lifting of creachs[3] and the exaction of blackmail, but also for the more purely military purpose of maintaining the authority of Government in those clan feuds and other broils which marked the history of the Highlands during that period.

1667. The "historic succession" of the Black Watch dates from the 3rd of August 1667, when King Charles II. issued a commission under the Great Seal to John, second Earl of Atholl, to raise and keep such a number of men as he should think fit "to be a constant guard for securing the peace in the Highlands," and "to watch upon the braes." This force was to be commanded by the Earl and such officers as he should employ, and his jurisdiction was to embrace "the shyres of Inuernes, Nairn, Murray, Banff, Aberdein, Mairnes, Angus, Perth, Clackmannan, Monteith, Stirling, and Dumbarton."

[1] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 223, 224.
[2] Archibald Forbes, *The Black Watch*, p. 3.
[3] *i.e.* booty—usually of cattle.

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Drawn from the Life & designd by Jn.o Sebastian Müller.
Publish'd Nov.r 4. 1746.
Engrav'd by Js.h Müller
An Highlander standing Centry, another walking; both of them with their Cloaks gatherd cross the left Shoulder.
Two Highlanders with their Cloaks over their Shoulders as in rainy-weather.
Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill

ENGRAVING SHOWING UNIFORM OF THE BLACK WATCH IN 1746. Signed "Jn°. Sebastian Müller."

(See Explanatory Note, page 53)

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The commission was directed against two classes of offences and offenders. These were in the first place the drivers of creachs—termed in the official language in which the commission runs, "thieves and broken men." The offenders were to be secured, and presented "either to the Justice Generall or shreffes of the shyres, stewarts of stewartries, or baylies of the regalities respective, where the crymes were or shall be committed." By this clause the heritable jurisdictions within the bounds of the counties indicated were preserved. The strongholds appointed for the incarceration of offenders were :—

"Inuernes and Nairn—The Castle of Ruthven of Badyenoch.
Murray and Bamff—Balachastell in Strathspey.
Aberdein, Mairnes, and Angus—The Castle town of Brae of Marr.
Perthshyre—The Blair of Atholl.
Clackmannan, Monteith, Stirling, and Dumbarton—The toune of Glengey."

Blackmail offences were to be dealt with in another fashion; the names of those who paid as well as of those who received the illegal impost were to be ascertained, and the Earl was "to requyr all such persons to find caution to appear and underly the law, and if they doe not find the said caution he is hereby warranted and authorised to secure their persons" and present them before the judicial authorities.

1667–69. The commission ran from the 11th of September 1667 until Candlemas 1669.[1] £100 sterling was paid to the Earl to enable him to levy and pay his company, and the Treasury accounts disclose a further grant to him on that account of £200.[2] He was also to receive the escheats of convicted persons.

Such was the origin of the Black Watch—an Independent Company of Highlanders raised by the influence of the chief, clad by him in their national dress,[3] but paid and maintained by the State.

The list of local officers nominated by the Earl has not been preserved, but one of them appears from Mr. Fraser Mackintosh's "History of the Kyllachy Family" to have been William Vic Lachlan Mackintosh, the eighth Laird of

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 3rd August 1667. Original commission in Atholl charter-room.

[2] *Treas. Seds.*, vol. i. p. 15.

[3] The references to the clothing of the Scottish Army after the Restoration are sufficiently voluminous to enable us to state, with an approach to accuracy, the uniform of each corps, but no reference is ever made in the Treasury accounts to the clothing of the Independent Companies. Each captain clothed his own men, and it was no doubt owing to a dispute on this very point that King William's letter of the 18th of November 1701 (quoted on page 44) was written. That letter, expressly providing that each captain was to clothe his own men, may be regarded as settling the controversy as to the uniform down to a certain period. One of the earliest references to the dress is contained in a memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Mackenzie, which appeared in January 1724. The Colonel commanded the 3rd Independent Company from 1704 to 1714, and it is described as being composed of "chosen Highlanders cloathed in their ancient, proper, Caledonian Dress and armed all with Broad Swords, Targets, Guns, Side-pistols, and Durks, alias Daggers." Lord Lovat, General Wade, and Burt (who is described by the General in the list of officers serving under him in Scotland in 1727 as "Edmund Burt, Esq., the King's Receiver on the Seafort Estate") all state repeatedly that the Independent Companies wore the national dress.

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Kyllachy, who was "captain of the Watch from the Lochaber March to the river of Spey," before 1670. Mr. Fraser Mackintosh gives a dramatic account of Kyllachy's pursuit of a party of Lochaber men who had driven a large spoil from the lands of Kilravock and were overtaken and slain on the Braes of Strathdearn.[1] We find Donald of Kyllachy, the son of the above William, an officer of the Watch in 1675.

1669–74. On the 28th of January 1669 the Earl of Atholl relinquished the command to Sir James Campbell of Lawers,[2] who received a commission in almost identical terms, although proceeding not from the Crown, but from the Privy Council. Lawers's territory included "Innernes on the southsyd of Ness, Nairn, Murray, Bamff, Aberdein, Mearnes, Angus, Perth, Argyle, Clakmannan, Monteith, Stirling, and Dumbarton." While the Earl had been empowered to nominate his own officers, certain local deputes or officers were named in Sir James's commission to assist him in its execution. They were :—

"Alexander Chisholme, baylie of Dumblaine, at Dumblaine.
John Stewart, merchand burges of Perth, at Perth.
Duncan Campble in Ochtertyre, at Straphillan.
Donald Dow M^cLean Vic Conochy, at Castletoun in Brae of Marr.
Alexander Cuming, nottar, at Ruthven of Badzenoch."[3]

Sir James received £300 sterling to clothe and arm his company, and £100 sterling per annum for its maintenance—an allowance which he soon contrived to raise to £300 sterling per annum.[4] His commission was renewed annually until his resignation on the 1st of January 1674.[5]

1674–77. Lawers was succeeded by Major George Grant,[6] whose commission ran from the 1st of March 1674 to the 1st of March 1675.[7] In its terms and extent of jurisdiction it was identical with that granted to his predecessor. His local deputes were :—

"—— Campbell of Lochdochart, at Glenfalloch.
William Given at Drymen, near Buchanan.
Alexander Stewart, brother to Bellachen, at Blair of Atholl.
Alexander Ferquherson of Innercald or John Ferquherson of Innerey, at Castletoun of Brae of Mar.
Mr. Alexander Grant at Ballachastell in Strathspey.
Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant at Ruthven of Badzenoch.
Donald M^cIntosh of Kellachy at Stratherne."[8]

In September 1674, on the ground that it was inconvenient to send the prisoners apprehended by the Watch to Edinburgh, the Privy Council empowered the sheriffs and deputes to bring them to trial within their respective bounds.

[1] *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xix., p. 104.
[2] *P. C. Reg.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 11th Nov. 1669.
[4] *Treas. Sed.*
[5] *P. C. Reg.*
[6] Fourth son of John Grant, sixth of Freuchie. "Mr. Alexander Grant at Ballachastell in Strathspey" was probably the third son.
[7] *Ibid.*, 29th Jan. 1674.
[8] *Ibid.*, 11th Feb. 1674.

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The judges appointed for the county of Perth were the Earl of Atholl as sheriff of the county or Mr. Hary Murray his depute, and the three bailies of the regality of Atholl, Patrick Stewart of Ballechin, [Hary] Murray of Lochland, and [John] Murray of Strowan.[1]

Major Grant's diligence being highly approved, his commission was renewed for one year from the 1st of March 1675, and again for another year to the 1st of March 1677.[2] When it terminated, the Privy Council decided to re-entrust Lawers with the duty from the 1st of March 1677 to the 1st of March 1678. No deputies are named in this commission,[3] and on the 14th of September 1677, during its currency, a committee of the Privy Council met to arrange a permanent scheme for the pacification of the Highlands. This committee, which included all the most influential and representative Scotsmen of the time, decided to raise two companies, the commission for the one being given to Æneas Lord Macdonell[4] and the other to Lawers. Both were to run from the 1st of September 1677 and to last for one year, the engagement being terminable provided reasonable notice were given on either side. Each commander was to receive £200 sterling for his pains and charges in the execution of the commission,[5] and each was to form his company of "such a competent number of persons as he should find it necessary to employ."[6] The local deputes or officers were:—

"—— Given at Drumen in the Lennox.
Duncan McNab at Strathphillan in Perthshyr.
Alexander Stewart at Blair of Atholl.
George Lumsden, messenger, at Perth.
Duncan McKenzie, forester, at Castletoun of Braemarr.
James Innes of Drumgask at Aboyne.
David Cumine at Ruthven.
Donald McDonald at Inergary.
The Governor of the garrison of Inverlochy.
Duncan Campbell at Killin."[7]

On the 14th of October 1677 one hundred firelocks were issued to Lord Macdonald and Lawers upon their bond—no doubt to arm the Watch.[8]

1678. The arrangements made by the Committee of Privy Council in 1677 do not appear to have worked satisfactorily, for in September 1678 King Charles II. proposed yet another scheme, by which the number of Highlanders was fixed at two companies of 150 men each, under the command of Sir James Campbell of Lawers and Colonel James Menzies of Culdares respectively. A company of the Foot-Guards[9] was to "march to the Highlands to joyn with these two companies of Highland men," and was to be placed in garrison at Inverlochy. A note appended to the Royal communication states that the commission to Lawers

[1] *P. C. Reg.*, 3rd Sept. 1674.
[2] *Ibid.*, 9th March 1675; 1st March 1676.
[3] *Ibid.*, 19th Jan. 1677.
[4] Æneas Macdonell of Glengarry was created Lord Macdonell and Arros by patent dated at Whitehall 20th Dec. 1660. *Great Seal Reg.*, Bk. lx. No. 8.
[5] *Treas. Sed.*
[6] *P. C. Reg.*, 14th Sept. 1677.
[7] *Ibid.*, 14th Sept. 1677.
[8] *Treas. Sed.*
[9] Now the Scots Guards.

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was recalled and a new one issued to the Earl of Caithness to be captain of the company, Lawers being appointed lieutenant.[1] The Watch was accordingly constituted as follows :—

1. A Company of the Foot-Guards in garrison at Inverlochy.
2. A Highland Company.[2]

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*
Captain . . .	The Earl of Caithness.	5 Sept. 1678
1st Lieut.. . .	Sir James Campbell of Lawers . . .	27 Sept. 1678
2nd Lieut. . .	Alexander Campbell of —— . . .	27 Sept. 1678
Ensign . . .	Alexander Mackartor	27 Sept. 1678

3. A Highland Company.[3]

Captain . . .	Col. James Menzies of Culdares. . .	5 Sept. 1678
1st Lieut.. . .	Archibald Campbell of Inveraw . .	27 Sept. 1678
2nd Lieut. . .	John Campbell of Airdes	27 Sept. 1678
Ensign . . .	—— Campbell of ——.	27 Sept. 1678

The first company of the Watch remained on its former establishment and pay.[4] The pay of the second and third companies was—for a captain 8s. stg. per diem, for a lieutenant 4s., and for an ensign 3s. The sergeants (of whom there were three in a company) received 18s. scots per diem each ; the corporals (four in a company) and drummers (two in a company) 12s. scots per diem each, and a foot-soldier 5s. scots per diem. A chirurgeon at 3s. stg. per diem, with £15 to furnish a medicine chest, was added to the strength, and the "accompt of necessaries" to be furnished to the second and third companies, in addition to 300 firelocks, consisted of the following :—

Item for 300 baggonets for the 300 fyrelocks at 2s. stg. per peice	£360 00 00
For two pair of Collours to them	100 00 00
For four drums at 24li. per peice	096 00 00
For fifteen hundred flint stones	020 00 00
For four pair calmes[5] for casting of bullets, each pair casting 12 bullets at once, at 7li. 4s. the pair, and for two pair calmes for casting bullets to the blunder-bushes at half-a-crown the pair, and for a pair of shiseris for cutting the bullets after they are cast, 8li., inde, in all	039 16 00
	£615 16 00[6]

[1] *Warrant Book, Scot.*, 4th September 1678.

[2] *Ibid.* Establishment of the Forces, 1678. This company is sometimes referred to as "Breadalbane's."

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] The pay warrants for the entire regiment of Guards continued to be drawn as formerly in the name of the Quartermaster, so that it is not possible to ascertain either the company of the regiment or the names of the officers stationed from time to time at Inverlochy.

[5] *i.e.* moulds.

[6] *Treasury Register*, 31st December 1678.

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In addition eight firelocks, four blunderbusses, and three hundred stands of bandoliers were provided. The list of necessaries to be furnished by Lawers and Culdares for the use of the garrison at Inverlochy included "fourty axes, twenty mattocks, brewing loomes for thrie bolls at a tyme, two iron potts, fifty payr of bedplayds, 150 wooden playtts, 300 horn spoones, fourscore two pynt stoopes, ten duzon of timber trencheours, four score tupp horns for drinking." [1]

At the same time a warrant was issued for building a "fitt lodging" for the troops at Inverlochy,[2] and while the barracks were in course of erection, the garrison was stationed at the castle of Dunolly.

It seems highly probable that it was during this period that the now famous epithet of "The Black Watch" or "Am Freiceadan Dubh" was first applied to the Highland companies, the name being bestowed to distinguish them from the Guardsmen, who were called the "Saighdearan Dearg" or "Red Soldiers." [3]

In October 1678 the Watch was employed in its first military service. For many years a feud had raged between the Earl of Argyll and the Macleans, and the Earl now organised an expedition with the intention of finally crushing his opponents. The exact composition of his force is unknown, but according to one authority part of it consisted of "some government troops," [4] and

[1] *Treas. Reg.*, 27th September 1678.

[2] *Treas. Sed.*, 1st August 1681.

[3] Garth, whose authority on such a point few will dispute, states that the epithet "Am Freiceadan Dubh" arose from the colour of the dress of the Independent Companies, and that it was applied in order to distinguish them from the Regular troops. (*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 223.) Highlanders and red-coats were to be seen for the first time in constant juxtaposition when the company of Foot-Guards actually formed part of the Watch, and the Highlanders—whether their kilts were of Campbell or Menzies tartan, or of the "black, green, and blue," which Stewart tells us they wore after 1729—would always look sombre beside the soldiers in their scarlet coats. Mr. W. J. Watson, Rector of Inverness Royal Academy, kindly supplies the following references to the red-coats in Gaelic literature. The poem "Mort Ghlinne-Comhann" (The Massacre of Glencoe), contains the lines :—

"Ach nam bitheamaid 'nar n-armaibh
Mu'n do chruinnich an t-sealg air an tìr
Bhiodh luchd chòtaichean dearga
Gun dol tuilleadh do dh'armailt an rìgh."

Mackenzie's *Beauties* (1872 ed.), p. 375.

Had we been under arms
Ere the hunt convened in the land
The folk of the redcoats
Had returned no more to the host of the king.

The author was a Macdonald of Glencoe who lived in the Isle of Muck. His language is that of a contemporary of the massacre, one who knew Glencoe well before that event, and who could visit it no more without grief. This proves the use of the phrase so far back as 1691. Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, who saw the '15 and '45, has several references to the "Dearganaich," the "Reds." Burt, in one of his letters, relating an incident of the '15, describes his informant as distinguishing between "seidir roy" and "seidir dou." (Jamieson's ed. vol. i. p. 199.)

An Account of the Depredations Committed on the Clan Campbell 1685-86 (Edin. 1816), p. 120, gives another theory for the origin of the name "Black Watch," *i.e.* that the Independent Companies were so termed because they gave protection to property against the levying of blackmail.

[4] *History of the Clan Maclean*, by a Seneachie (London, 1838), p. 176.

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Fountainhall[1] tells us that it included two companies of Highlanders commanded by Lawers and Culdares, and a "commanded"[2] company out of the Earl of Linlithgow's Regiment,[3] which is an exact description of the Highland Watch of 1678. Fountainhall's statement is confirmed by a Privy Council order of the 27th of September, which directs the Muster-Master-General to muster the two Highland companies at Inveraray and Killin on the 15th and 18th of October following.[4] After some desultory fighting the Macleans were obliged to submit, but the services of the Watch had proved too valuable to Argyll for them to be immediately dispensed with. In April 1679 there is a warrant to John Drummond of Lundin, keeper of the magazine at Edinburgh Castle, to deliver to the Earl six hundred-weight of powder and ball proportionate for the use of the Highland companies,[5] and about the same date Robert Campbell receives payment for the conveyance of provisions and ammunition to the garrison at Inverlochy.[6] From February to October 1679 John Campbell of Succoth draws the warrants for the pay of the Breadalbane Company, although the warrant books disclose no commission granted to him,[7] and until December 1679 we find Lawers in correspondence with the Earl of Argyll, requesting his instructions regarding the distribution and services of the three companies of the Watch.[8]

1679–81. Colonel Menzies of Culdares drew the pay of his company from the date of his commission in September 1678 to June 1681, when the last payment was made, two months after disbandment.[9] The Earl of Caithness drew the pay for his company from October 1679 to the same date.[10]

On the 12th of October 1680 King Charles informed the Treasury that to provide for the increased pay of the Regular troops and Militia he had decided to disband the two Highland companies of the Watch as soon as the Earl of Argyll and the Laird of Maclean should have settled their differences. The two companies were accordingly disbanded on the 15th of April 1681,[11] and two additional companies were added to the Earl of Mar's Regiment,[12] to be permanently stationed in the Highlands. One was known as Suddie's Independent Company;[13] the other was officered by Captain Alexander Cairnes, Lieutenant John Levingston, and Ensign —— Wood, all the commissions being dated 7th April 1681.[14] Upon these two companies devolved the duty of maintaining the peace of the Highlands.

1682. It soon became evident that the new companies were quite unequal to the task; and on the 9th of August 1682, a Commission was issued under the Great Seal to some seventy noblemen, gentlemen, and chiefs of clans, who were to be responsible for the peace in their respective districts. The

[1] *Historical Notices*, vol. i. p. 204. [2] *i.e.* "on command," or detached duty.
[3] The Earl of Linlithgow commanded the Scots Guards, 29th October 1667–3rd June 1684.
[4] *Treas. Sed.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Army Papers*, Portfolio IV.
[7] *Treas. Sed.* [8] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report VI.*, App. 619.
[9] *Treas. Sed.*, 17th June 1681. [10] *Ibid.*, 10th February and 17th June 1681.
[11] *Ibid.* [12] Now the Royal Scots Fusiliers (21st). [13] See p. 38. [14] *Warrant Books, Scot.*

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Highlands were divided into the four districts following, each with its own Commissioners, who were to meet half-yearly at the places appointed:—1. Caithness and Sutherland at Lochnaver. 2. Ross, Inverness, Cromartie, Nairn, and Elgin at the head of Lochness. 3. Banff, Aberdeen, Kincardine, and Forfar at Kincardine of Neill. 4. Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Argyll at the Kirk of Balquhidder. The Perthshire names in the Commission are given as follows:—

"James Ramsay of Bamff, John Drummond, sheriff depute of Monteith, Lieutenant-General William Drummond of Cromlix, Sir —— Stewart of Gairntully, Sir John Stirling of Kier, Sir James Campbell of Lawers, Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, Sir John Drummond of Machanie, John Drummond, stewart depute of Stratherne, James Graham of Orchyell, Mungo Hadden of Glennegeis, Patrick Stewart of Ballechin, —— Menzies, yr., of Weem, Alexander Robertson of Strowen, Andrew Spalding of Assintillie."

These Commissioners in turn were empowered to appoint officers in every Highland parish, who were to be responsible to the Commissioners for the Peace of their districts—the jurisdictions of sheriffs, stewarts, and bailies of regalities being always preserved.[1]

At the same time the company of the Watch at Inverlochy was reorganised. The entire force there was in future to carry fire-arms.[2] It was to consist of 100 men with a captain, lieutenant, four sergeants, and four corporals, the force being divided as follows:—three parties—each consisting of a sergeant, a corporal, and 23 men—were to be stationed at the head of Loch Ness, the castle of Braemar, and Aberchalader respectively, and a lieutenant, a sergeant, a corporal, and the remainder of the men at Inverlochy. These parties were stented upon the different counties concerned. The Commissioners of Excise of Inverness were to provide meat and drink for the Loch Ness party, those of Aberdeen for the party at Braemar, and those of Perth and Dumbarton for the party at Aberchalader.[3]

Of the four districts into which the Highlands were divided by the Commission of the 9th of August 1682, the one in which the Commissioners most seriously set about the execution of their duties was that which embraced the counties of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, Argyll, and Tarbat, and a register of their proceedings from the 29th of September 1682 to the 13th of January 1687 is preserved.[4] At stated periods meetings were held at various centres, such as Crieff, Balquhidder, Killin, Kinchlachar, Achalader, Drummond in the Lennox, Dumbarton, and Perth. Two short extracts from the record will suffice to give an idea of the nature of their proceedings.

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 9th August 1682.

[2] Down to 1688 two-thirds of each company in the Guards and Mar's Regiment were musketeers, and one-third pikemen.

[3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 9th August 1682.

[4] *Register of the Commissioners for the Pacification of the Highlands*, 1682-87. H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

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1683-84. "At Kynachlacher at the head of Lochrannoch the tuelt day of June I^mVI^c eightie thrie yeiris the Commissioners of Justiciary for the shyres of Perth, Stirling, Dumbarton, Argyll, and Tarbett, according to their adjournment made at the last court haldine at Killin the tuentie aucht day of December I^mVI^c eightie tua yeiris, did this day meitt, to wit. Sederunt—Leivtennant General Drummond of Cromlix, Sir James Campbell of Laweris, Sir John Drummond of Machaney, Sir Ewine Cameron of Lochziell, Alexander Robertson of Strowane, James Grahame of Orchell, Andrew Spaldeine of Ashintillie, Patrick Stewart of Ballachqueyane, John Drummond of Pitkellony, John Buchanan of Arnepryor, John Drummond of Deanstoune, and John Stewart tutor of Appine. Leiv^t Generall Drummond Præces. . . . The Lord Justice Generall cam to the place of meitting on the seventein day of the said moneth of June . . . Item. Ther was apprehended and produced as pannells Patrick Dow M^cNaughtown in Glenlyon, John M^cInkaird ther, Duncan Fletcher allias M^cGreigor in Camserich in Rannoch, Ewan Fledger alias M^cGreigor his son ther, and Duncan M^cGreigor his son in law ther, who wer all fyve found guiltie be ane assyse, condemned and hanged, except only John M^cInkaird, who begged his life befor them on his knees and offered to be a publict executioner, which the Lord Justice Generall and the Commissioners of Justiciary upon consideration of his Ingenuitie and the necessity of having such a servant to attend their meetings, they upon cautione repryved him, and ordered him to enter on his service, which he instantlie did and hanged his fellowes."

Another court was held at Crieff on the 15th of July 1684. "Dureing the tyme the Court sett at Crieff ane accident fell out which is thus. Ane notorious hectoring thieff hounder out and resaiter of thift, named Alexander Roy M^cGreigor of Ballnacoull, having been lawfully summoned to compeir befoir the Lords Commissioners to ansuer at the instance of severall of his Majestie's leidges and the procurator fiscall of the said court for severall crymes to be layd to his charge, he disdaining the authoritie of the court, and refuseing to come in upon protectioun, after the court rose upon Thursday the seventein instant and adjourned till the morrow at eight aclock, the said Alexander with some others his associats came secretlie to the town of Crieff betwixt 9 and 10 aclock at night, which being discovered to some of the Commissioners that wer in the toune, ordor was immediatlie given to ane sergeant with a small pairtie of his Majestie's forces that were attending the court, to endeavour to aprehend him, which they assaying to doe, the said Alexander being with a number of his clann and otheris about him standing in the fields, discovering ther approach to the pairt wher he was standing made him to flie, and within a littell did betake himself to his heeles, which the pertie seeing hotly persewed, against whom he turned and fyred his gun and afterwards run and charged again which he likewayes discharged together with his pistoll in the perties front, but they still wining ground upon him approached soe near that they desyred him to be taken and take quarters which he refused, wherwpon on of the pertie with his ballgoneit in the muzell killed him dead, to the great satisfactione of all honest people in thes countries.

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that such a great hector and notorious thieff was cutt off, and terrour of all malefactors wanting such a great chiftane as he was." [1]

The presence of soldiers on the above occasion is explained by an order of the Privy Council of the 22nd of February 1683, directing parties of 25 men under command of an officer to attend each meeting of the Commissioners annually from June to November, after which "they were to return to the garrison." The Commissioners for the four districts were summoned to meet at Perth on the 12th of August 1684, to inform the Privy Council of the result of their labours. The Perthshire committee reported that they had held ten chief courts besides smaller courts, and "notwithstanding of the difficulties and oposition in their way," they had "brought the Highland country comitted to their charge to such perfect peace and settlement the lyke wherof hes not been for many years, to the great admiration and joy of all his Majesties good leidges who leive in and wpon the bordours of thes highlands." The Commissioners for the Inverness division reported that they had held twenty-one courts and had been so diligent "that at present the peace of that countrie is so weill setelled that even in Lochaber itself the seatt and chieff residence of the greatest thieves and resaitteris in all Scotland ther was never greater quyet (if thes few who stand obstinatly out wer taken course with)." The Commissioners of Aberdeen not having attended the meeting, "we can give no further information than what is contained in a paper subscribed and sent to us by their convener herewith produced, only we think it very imperfect, and that the commissioners of that jurisdictione have not wnanimously concured for wseing their outmost cair and diligence in executione of the King's comission, intrusted to them." As to the Commissioners for Caithness and Sutherland, they "haveing never communicatt with ws, we can give no report of them bot that we are informed they never keeped court." [2]

1685. In this year we get one of the few glimpses afforded us of the company stationed at Inverlochy. The service in so distant a garrison was not popular with the Lowland troops, and it appears to have been in reply to a request for a change of quarters that the Privy Council on the 9th of April 1685, "being informed that some of the officers and souldiers of the regiment under command of the Earl of Mar are now quartered in the Highlands for secureing the peace thereof, recommend to General Thomas Dalyell to continue the said officers and souldiers quartering in the Highlands until furder orders." [3]

On the alarm of Argyll's invasion, when "those entrusted with the peace of the Highlands" were called out to attend His Majesty's host, the Privy Council nominated "James Drummond of Drumanerinoch, Patrick Morray, elder, of Keillor, John Mitchell, stewart clerk of Stratherne, Mr. Thomas Crichtoun, chamberlane to the Earl of Perth, Alexander Stewart of Annats, Sir James Campble of

[1] *Register of the Commissioners for the Pacification of the Highlands*, 1682–87. H.M. Gen. Reg. House.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 9th April 1685.

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Lawyers, Sir Robert Morray of Abercairnie, and Hary Morray of Lochland," as Commissioners for the protection of the shires of Perth and places adjacent. On the same date Commissioners were nominated for Kincardine and Forfar.[1]

1685–88. On the 15th of October 1685, Captain Kenneth Mackenzie of Suddie received a special commission. He had formerly harried the Covenanters in Ross and Cromarty, and was in command of a company in the Highlands widely known as "Suddie's Independent Company," but which really was his own company (No. 11) of the Earl of Mar's Foot.[2] The officers were :—

Captain . .	Kenneth Mackenzie of Suddie. (Commission dated 7 April 1681.)
Lieutenant [*successively*]	William Sharp. (Commission dated 7 April 1681.)
	John Dalziel. (Commission dated 7 June 1688.)
Ensign . [*successively*]	Christopher McDougall. (Comm. dated 7 April 1681. Pay ceased Aug. 1685.)
	James Buchan. (Commission dated 7 November 1685.)

Before proceeding to the Highlands, Suddie received a series of explicit instructions from the Privy Council relating purely to Watch duty and in effect identical with those contained in the commissions to Lawers, Culdares, and his other predecessors.[3] He was so successful in preserving the peace in the northern Highlands that the Commissioners for Perthshire, at a meeting held on the 11th of March 1686, recommended that another company be raised, to restore order on the Braes of Strathearn and the Ochills.[4] It was no doubt in answer to this representation that it was proposed to build a fort near Stirling, which was to be called "James's Fort," and was to be garrisoned by an Independent Company. The fort, however, remained unbuilt, and the intended garrison, which appears for some time in the warrants as Captain George Barclay's Independent Company (lieutenant, Patrick Ronnald, and ensign, Henry Maxwell), was afterwards formed into No. 11 Company of the Foot-Guards.[5]

Suddie's headquarters were at Inverness, and he kept order in the north until a short month before the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay, when he was called upon to aid the Mackintoshes in executing a commission of the Privy Council against Macdonnell of Keppoch. The latter determined to defend his territory, and the last great clan battle fought in the Highlands took place between the opposing forces at Mulroy, near the house of Keppoch, on the 4th of August 1688. The Macdonnells were victorious, and Suddie and many of his soldiers were killed. An account of the fight has been handed down by a certain Donald McBane (then a recruit in Suddie's), who, surviving Marlborough's wars and the thousand dangers incident to the career of a regimental swordsman, ended his days in peace as a gunner at Fort William.[6] Suddie's widow—

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 25th May 1685.
[2] Muster-rolls of the regiment.
[3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 21st October 1685.
[4] *Register of the Commissioners for the Pacification of the Highlands.*
[5] Foot-Guards muster-rolls. *Treas. Sed.*, 10th July 1685.
[6] Donald McBane, *The Expert Sword-Man's Companion, or, the True Art of Self Defence, with an Account of the Author's Life* (Glasgow, 1728).

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Isobel, daughter of John Paterson, Bishop of Ross—received as a compensation for her husband's death a gift of fourteen score and eleven beeves from the Royal parks at Stirling.[1]

From a paper preserved in the Privy Council Warrants for 1688 titled "Concerning the hieland commissione," we gather that Orchil was to be proposed as commissioner for the district of Balquhidder, and that the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor, intended to recommend to the Council that, in order to ensure the better execution of the Commissioners' decrees, the military parties attending their meetings should be increased to 30 or 40 men. But the Revolution was approaching, and on the withdrawal of the Regular troops from Scotland in October 1688, King James's administrators, thrown upon their own resources, adopted a wise measure which secured at once the peace of the Highlands and the safety of the Lowlands. A Highland force of 500 men, made up of details furnished by the principal chiefs, was called out by the Privy Council and appointed to remain at Stirling during the months of November and December 1688, and a separate account of the disbursements made on behalf of this temporary Watch is preserved among the Army Papers. Its composition was as follows:—

	Soldiers.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Sergeants.	Pyperis.
The Marquess of Atholl's men	200	4	4	8	4
The Earl of Perth's men	50	1	1	2	1
The Laird of Weim	50	1	1	2	1
The Laird of Gairntullie	50	1	1	1	1
The Earl of Breadalbane	100	2	2	4	2
Strowane Robertson and M^{c}Farlane	48	1	1	2	1
The Marquess of Montrose	20	1	...	1	...
The Earl of Monteith	50	...	1	1	1
The Lairds of Luss, Keir, and Lenie	50	1	1	2	1
The Earl of Murray	25	...	1	...	...
The Earl of Mar	100	1	1	2	1
The Duke of Gordon [Unstated]	...	...	...	...	...
Colonell Patricke Grahame [Unstated]	...	...	...	...	...

The rates of pay were:—for a lieutenant 30s. scots per diem, an ensign 20s., a sergeant 14s., a piper 10s., and each soldier 3s. "with a peck of meal ilk seavin dayes to ilk souldier." In addition each officer and man received a pair of shoes and "ane elne of plyding" for stockings. Among the papers preserved is a receipt by Mr. Leonard Robertsone of Straloch for 220 flints for the use of the Marquess of Atholl's men, a fact which seems to show that the Marquess proved

[1] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.

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the victor in his struggle with the Privy Council for flintlocks instead of matchlocks.[1]

The force was not present all at one time, and its numbers were continually varying. The Menzies detachment was first on duty—entering on pay and rations on the 12th of October—but the greater part of the force did not arrive until early in November. It was ordered to disperse by warrant from the Privy Council of the 28th of November 1688,[2] but it continued under arms by relays until the 3rd of December, when, the funds appropriated for its pay having come to an end, what remained of the force returned home. Out of the provisions which had been stored for its consumption in the magazine at Stirling Castle, 800 bolls of meal were later on despatched for the "vse of the Protestants of Londonderry." The meal was conveyed to Dumbarton, whence it was shipped to its destination.

The officers whose names appear in the warrants for the supplies are the four Atholl lieutenants, Alexander Stewart, James Menzies, Donald Robertsone, and Leonard Robertsone of Straloch;[3] John Colquhoun, Fiar of Cambustrodane,[3] for the Laird of Luss; Archibald Menzies and Walter Stewart,[3] for the Lairds of Weem and Gairntullie; Mungo Campbell[4] and Alexander Campbell,[5] for the Earl of Breadalbane; John M'Farland[3] (who signs "Jo M^cpharlane of that ilk"), for the Lairds of M^cFarland, Keir, and Leanie; Alexander Reid in Kealoch Renoch,[3] for Strowane Robertson; Harie Grahame,[3] for the Marquess of Montrose; James Burdone of Feddell,[3] for the Earl of Perth; and Charles Stewart,[3] for the Earl of Moray.[6]

1689. The Commission granted by King Charles II. in 1682, and renewed and confirmed by King James VII. in 1685, came to an end with the declaration of the Convention of Estates in 1689 that, the King having forfaulted his right to the Crown, it had thereby become vacant.[7] From this time we hear no more of the Commissioners of the Peace, but in 1689 a large number of Independent Companies were raised in Scotland, four of which were detached for service in the Highlands:—

1. The Laird of Greenock's Company, commanded by John Shaw, younger, of Greenock. Raised at Greenock, and drawing pay from the 25th of April 1689.

2. The Laird of Macfarlane's Company, under the command of John M^cFarlane, younger, of that Ilk. The Laird offered to raise a regiment of six companies of fifty men each out of his own clan, friends, and followers, and immediately to muster on his own charges a company of fifty men to keep the passes between the Highlands and Dumbartonshire, on condition that he was appointed colonel, with power to nominate the officers. His offer to raise and maintain a company was readily accepted by Government,[8] and explains the rather

[1] See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 106.
[2] *Earl of Mar and Kellie's Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 221.
[3] Styled commanders in the warrants.
[4] Styled captain in the warrants.
[5] Styled lieutenant in the warrants.
[6] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.
[7] *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 34; 4th April 1689.
[8] *Ibid.*, vol. ix. App. p. 22.

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ludicrous entry in the Treasury Records, where the company is stated to consist of one lieutenant, two sergeants, and a piper, the sole force for which the Laird drew pay from the Treasury from May to October 1689.

3. The Laird of Weem's Company. Although the company is so styled in the Treasury Records, it was in reality commanded by Robert Menzies, younger, of Weem, whose commission as captain is dated the 23rd of August 1689.[1] The other officers were Lieutenant Duncan Campbell; Ensign Thomas Fleming; Sergeants Alexander Menzies, James Menzies, and James Stewart; Corporals Thomas Menzies, Collen Campbell, and Robert Menzies; Drummer Alexander Burden, Piper Patrick M^cGrigor, and one hundred private men.[2] Some references to the services of this company have been recently published.[3]

4. The Laird of Balnagown's Company, commanded by David Ross of Balnagown. In 1690 the company was commanded by Mr. Alexander Ross.

1690. In 1690 the Menzies Company was incorporated with Colonel John Hill's Regiment, then in garrison at Fort William, and on the 16th of July in that year Captain Robert Menzies, younger, of Weem, was appointed lieutenant-governor "of the fort and garrison of Fort William, formerly called the Fort of Inverlochie."[4] The other companies were disbanded owing to the exigencies of the Treasury, and they disappear from the warrants in the course of the year 1690.

1691–92. In 1691 five Independent Companies appear on the Scottish establishment:—

1. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Lumsdaine of Innergelly's Company. The muster-roll, dated at Blair Castle the 6th of November 1691, gives the following:—

Captain . .	Ro^t Lumsden.	Corporals	Ro^t Fleiming.
Lieutenant .	Ja. Lumsden.		Ja. Lorne.
Ensign . .	W^m Teisdale.[5]		W^m Mathison.
Sergeants .	Ja. Tarbet.	Drummers	Alex^r Baird.
	Sa. Reid.		Angus Ross.
	Da. Colyer.		

The strength of the company was 100 men.[6] The precepts for pay run from February 1691 to April 1693.[7] In December 1691, while garrisoning Blair Castle, the Captain received orders to march with a detachment of 50 men to Fort William.[8]

[1] *Warrant Book, Scot.*
[2] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.
[3] *The Red and White Book of Menzies*, p. 328 *et seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 333.
[5] John Heigham was appointed ensign in the company, 27th August 1692. *Warrant Book, Scot.*
[6] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.
[7] *Treas. Sed.*
[8] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

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2. Major George Wishart's [1] Company. The muster-roll, dated at Abergeldie the 5th of November 1691, gives :—

Captain . .	Major George Wishart.	Corporals	Thoˢ Black.
Lieutenant .	Mr. Allexʳ Ross.		Nathaniell Brownlie.
Ensign . .	James Murray.		Adam Sleigh.
Sergeants .	Thoˢ Calder.	Drummers	George Archibald.
	Troylus Bailie.		John Sunderland.
	Ja. Yeoman.		

Same strength as preceding.[2] Receipts for pay commence the 1st of February 1691. In December 1691, while in garrison at Abergeldie, Major Wishart was ordered to march with a detachment of 50 men to Inverness.[3]

3. Major George Munro's Company. The muster-roll, dated at Finlayrig the 10th of December 1691, gives :—

Captain . .	Geo. Munro.	Corporals	Roᵗ McFarlane.
Lieutenant .	Roᵗ Taylor.		Wᵐ Keir.
Ensign . .	John Mitchell.[4]		John Gowe.
Sergeants .	John McGregor.	Drummers	John Browne.
	Hector Monro.		Angus McKenzie.
	Hugh Monro.		

Same strength as preceding.[5] In December 1691 in garrison at Finlarig, and the Captain is ordered to send a detachment of 50 men to Fort William.[6]

4. Captain Archibald Murray's [7] Company. The muster-roll, dated at Ballindalloch the 18th of June 1692, gives :—

Captain . .	Archᵈ Murray.	Corporals	Kenneth Morrison.
Lieutenant .	Will. Munro.		Andrew Dick.
Ensign . .	Alexʳ Cuming.		Hector Monro.
Sergeants .	James Murray.	Drummers	John Scott.
	Thᵒ Pulson.		Wᵐ McCulloch.[8]
	Rob. Munro.		

In December 1691 in garrison at Ballindalloch, and a detachment of the same strength as above is sent to Inverness.[9]

[1] Son of the Rev. William Wishart, minister of Kinneil, afterwards lieut.-colonel of Hyndford's Dragoons (disbanded after the Treaty of Utrecht), and first baronet of Cliftonhall.

[2] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[3] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

[4] Commission as lieutenant in the company, 8th September 1692, Hector Monro being appointed ensign on same date.

[5] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[6] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

[7] Son of Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony.

[8] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[9] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

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5. Captain Hugh Mackay's [1] Company. No muster-roll for this company is forthcoming. In December 1691 in garrison at Ruthven of Badenoch, whence it marched to Inverness.[2]

1693–1700. With 1693 begins a period in which we find the Independent Companies borne on the strength of different regiments of the Army, the five companies above named being placed on the pay list of the two regiments then about to be levied (Colonel George Hamilton's and Colonel Robert Mackay's), from the 9th of February of that year. As regiments were sent abroad or disbanded the companies were attached to other corps. In April 1694, for example, we find them carried on the strength of Moncreiffe's Regiment.

1701–3. It is difficult to follow them for the next few years, but in 1701 we find Captain Alexander Campbell of Fonab [3] "captain of a company added to Colonel James Ferguson's Regiment of Foot . . . for the security of the Highlands and adjacent countries," and holding rank from the date of his first commission in Argyll's Regiment.[4] The strength was a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, two corporals two "drums," a piper, and sixty sentinels.[5] The officers were :—

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*
Captain	Alexander Campbell . . .	24 June 1701
1st Lieutenant . .	Colin Fairfoull	24 June 1701
2nd Lieutenant .	—— Campbell of Glendorowell	24 June 1701

On the same date as Fonab's a commission in identical terms was issued to Captain William Grant. His company was attached to Colonel Row's Regiment, and he was to have rank and precedency from the date of his first commission in the Earl of Tullibardine's Regiment.[6] The officers whose names appear under date the 24th of June 1701 are:—

Captain	William Grant.
1st Lieutenant . .	Robert Urquhart of Burrisyards.
2nd Lieutenant .	Alex. Rose, brother to Kilravock.

On the 24th of June 1701 each company was directed to be mustered to sixty sentinels, with officers and non-commissioned officers; Captain Grant's Company was to march to the "Northern District," Captain Campbell's to the "Southern District," of the Highlands, and both were "to be assistant to the courts of justice in preventing thefts and apprehending guilty persons." [7] It will be remembered that the commission of Justiciary for the Highlands created in 1682 lapsed at the Revolution. In 1690 Parliament passed an "Act for repressing depredations in the Highlands," making the heritors of any parish

[1] Yr. of Borley. *Life of Lieutenant-General Hugh Mackay* (1842 ed.), pp. 116, 219.
[2] *Warrant Book, Scot.* [3] See his biography, p. 372 *et seq.* [4] *Warrant Book, Scot.*
[5] The term used in the War Office Estab. lists of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth centuries, to denote private soldiers.
[6] See article entitled *John, Lord Murray's Regiment of Foot*, p. 26. [7] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

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in which a depredation was committed, as well as the heritors of all the parishes marching with it, liable to refund the value of the spoil to the victims, according to their respective valuations. But this remained a dead letter. In 1694, however, an "Act for the Justiciary in the Highlands" empowered the Crown to grant Commissions of Justiciary for two years within the Highland boundary, the rights of the heritable jurisdictions being reserved. This power of issuing Commissions of Justiciary was renewed from time to time during the reigns of William and Mary and of Queen Anne, and was in force at the date of the Union in 1707.[1] No records of the proceedings of these courts appear to be available,[2] but in the light of the parliamentary record the direction in 1701 to the Independent Companies to attend the courts of justice is perfectly intelligible. We find them in fact from 1701 onwards performing duties precisely similar to those discharged from and after 1682 by the "Saighdearan Dearg."

By Royal letter dated the 18th of November 1701, King William informed the Treasury that as in virtue of their intended service the two companies "must be always in motion from place to place, and in different conditions of service from our other regiments and companies, our Privie Councill have recommended them to you for full pay . . . and that the captains must provide cloaths and other necessaries both now and hereafter to their companies, who by reason of their special service will need the same more frequently."[3] Each company drew pay from the 1st of August 1701.[4]

A muster-roll for each of the above companies for the year 1703 is preserved in H.M. Register House. That for Fonab's Company is dated at Kinchlachar the 14th of August 1703, and contains the following names:—

Captain . . Alex[r] Campbell.

Lieutenants { Johne Fairfull. / Johne Campbell of Orchyard.

Corporals { Johne Campbell. / Patrick Campbell.

Sergeants . { Ewan Campbell. / Will. Menzies. / Mungo Stirling.

Drummers { John M[c]entire. / Don. M[c]crumen.

and sixty sentinels.

It is noted that there were present at the muster three commissioned officers, two sergeants, two "drums," and twenty-eight sentinels; at Achalader one sergeant, two corporals, and seventeen sentinels; at Poble one corporal and six sentinels; at Glentarbert four sentinels, and at Kilmahug five sentinels. It may be pointed out that the word "drummer" in these muster-rolls where it occurs should be read "piper." It was not until 1724 or 1725 that drums were added "as a more military instrument"![5] Imagine dubbing a M[c]Crumen a "drummer"!

[1] *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. pp. 233, 324, 461, vol. x. p. 79, vol. xi. p. 27.

[2] Lord Lovat alludes in his memorial to the arbitrary and ineffectual measures adopted by these Commissions of Justiciary. Burt, vol. ii. p. 260.

[3] *Treas. Reg.* 3rd., December 1701. [4] *Treas. Sed.* [5] Burt, vol. ii. p. 66.

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Captain Grant's muster-roll is dated at Killichiumen the 14th of July 1703; the officers are :—

Captain . . .	Wm Grant.		
Lieutenants .	Alexr Rose. Allan Cameron.	Corporals	John Grant. John McDonald.
Sergeants .	Donald McQueen. James Grant. John McCardy.	Drummers	Wm Cumming. Angus McLeod.

and sixty sentinels.

There were present at the muster the Captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, two corporals, and forty sentinels; one lieutenant was on "forloff," one sergeant and ten sentinels "upon party" in Kintail, and one sergeant and ten sentinels in the Braes of Badenoch.

Two companies were insufficient to keep the Highlands in order, and we find the Earl of Tullibardine, writing from Dunkeld on the 4th of February 1703, offering to raise a regiment of 800 men to serve instead of the Highland companies, but stipulating that no Campbells should be in the regiment, as if they and the Athollmen met there would be a fight.[1] The proposal was not accepted.

1704–7. But on the 12th of April 1704 a commission for a third company for the peace and security of the Highlands "by north and west Lochness" was issued to Major Duncan Mackenzie. The company was established by reducing ten men, one sergeant, and one piper out of each of the other two Highland companies; two sentinels out of each company of the Earl of Mar's and the Lord Strathnaver's Regiments; and one sentinel out of each company of the Marquess of Lothian's and the Earl of Hyndford's dragoons.[2] No officers appear in the Warrant Book, but in a muster-roll dated at Inverness the 1st of June 1704 the company is as follows :—

Captain . . .	Lt Col. Duncan Mackenzie.[3]		
Lieutenants .	John Mackenzie. Hugh Fraser 2nd son of Dumballoch.	Corporals	Hector Mackenzie. John Macklean.
Sergeants .	John Mackpherson. John Mackdonald.	Piper . .	Duncan Bayne.
			and fifty sentinels.[4]

[1] *Correspondence of the Earls of Cromartie*, vol. i. p. 184. [2] *Warrant Book, Scot.*, 12th April 1704.

[3] Second son of Colin Mackenzie, second of Kincraig. Fought at Sedgemoor as cadet in his cousin Captain Murdoch Mackenzie's company of Dumbarton's Regiment. Captain and brevet lieut.-colonel Scots Guards, April 1704. Brevet colonel, 1711. Died Christmas Day, 1723, aged 63. There is extant an order dated at Inverness the 7th January 1710, from "Ltt Collonell Duncan McKenzie Commanding ane Highland company one the north syd of the Water of Ness" ordering "Captt Hugh Fraser" of his company to take charge of the same during his absence in South Britain, and requiring him "to doe all thinges proper for the comand and manadgement" of the company, "and that in Respect thatt Captt John McKenzie of Turvie, who by commission is the oldest officer of the said company . . . is valitudinare and not capable of the sd comand." (Charter-chest of Mr. T. R. Biscoe, of Newton.)

[4] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

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The muster at Inverness showed the company then present in its full strength, and the roll is certified by Mr. David Polson of Kinmylies, sheriff depute of Inverness.

In the warrants for 1705 Fonab and Grant are both designed lieutenant-colonels, and from 1705 to 1707 the three Independent Companies appear regularly on the strength of the Army. In 1707 the burghs on the north-east of Scotland complained that the "salmon fishings were much decayed through killing the fish in forbidden time," and they petitioned Colonel Grant to post his company in suitable places to prevent the destruction of the fish. The Colonel did so, to the great benefit of the fisheries.[1] The accounts of the Scottish Treasury close with the Union of 1707, and the last precept for pay issued to the three companies is dated in December of that year.

1707–17. In 1708 we find Colonel Grant's Company employed in watching the north-east coasts of Scotland in view of an anticipated Jacobite descent.[2] In 1709 each company consisted of 50 private men. In 1710 Colonel William Grant's Company mustered 80 private men, besides officers, non-commissioned officers, and pipers, each of the other two having 50 private men. In 1713 the strength of each company was 49 men, officers included. In 1715, 1716, and 1717, 70 private men were mustered in each, and the commanding officers' names are noted as Colonel Campbell, Colonel Grant, and Colonel Monro.[3]

The alterations in the commissions between 1707 and 1717, so far as they have been ascertained from the Warrant Books, were :—

No. 1 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated or renewed*
Captain . . .	Lt. Col. Alexander Campbell of Fonab	21 January 1715
1st Lieut. . .	Colin Fairfull	21 January 1715
2nd Lieut. . .	Colin Campbell	21 January 1715

No. 2 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Comm. dated or renewed*	*Appears in muster-roll of*
Captain .	L[t] Col. W[m] Grant	21 Jan. 1715	22 Dec. 1712 7 Dec. 1714
1st Lieut. [*successively*]	Allan Cameron		22 Dec. 1712
	James Macpherson[4] . . .	20 March 1714	7 Dec. 1714
	Colin Campbell of Skipnish .	21 Jan. 1715	
2nd Lieut. [*successively*]	James Gordon of Barnes . . .	Feb. 1706[4]	22 Dec. 1712 7 Dec. 1714
	Daniel M[c]Neil	21 Jan. 1715.	

[1] *Earl of Mar and Kellie's Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, p. 420.
[2] *Correspondence of the Earls of Leven and Melville* (1843 ed.), vol. ii. p. 220.
[3] *War Office Estab. Books*, Public Record Office.
[4] *Correspondence of the Earls of Leven and Melville*, vol. ii. p. 196.

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Two muster-rolls of No. 2 Company are preserved for the period between 1707 and 1717; the first in the archives of the city of Edinburgh, dated at Abertarff the 22nd December 1712, the second dated at Dalvey, the 7th December 1714.[1] Both show the strength of the company as 50 sentinels, in addition to officers. Along with the first muster-roll is preserved some interesting correspondence between two officers of the company and their agent, Mr. John Innes, W.S. (who was also agent for Colonel Mackenzie's Company). From the 24th of December 1707 one of the two lieutenants (Allan Cameron and James Gordon) in Grant's Company had been reduced to ensign's pay, and they "being resolved to run an equal loss in said reduction for byegones and in time coming, untill the seniority of our commissions be determined friendly or legally, therefore authorise John Innes, agent for the company, to divide in his accompts with us the lieutenant's and ensign's pay of said company by equall halves betwixt us, as well subsistence as arrears" from the 24th of December 1707 onwards "until either of us report to him the seniority of our commissions"—dated at Edinburgh the 20th of February 1712. There is also a letter from Robert Grant of Ballindalloch to Mr. John Innes (dated Ballindalloch the 24th of October 1712), in which the Laird says that he has handed Lieutenant-Colonel William Grant his account, that the latter is surprised to find so great a balance standing against him, and does not believe the accounts can be correct.

No. 3 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*
Captain [*successively*]	Duncan Mackenzie	
	Colin Campbell[2]	12 July 1714
	Robert Munro[3]	9 August 1714
	Simon, Lord Lovat	9 June 1716
1st Lieut. [*successively*]	Roderick Bayne	30 March 1711
	John Campbell of Carrick	9 August 1714
2nd Lieut.	Alexander Fraser of Culduthell	9 August 1714

Not much appears to be on record regarding the share taken by the Independent Companies in the '15. They formed no part of the Duke of Argyll's force at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but it is known that Fonab's Company—along with 400 of the Argyllshire Militia—marched from Inveraray to Finlarig a month later,[4] and that the company was in garrison there until late in January 1716, after which it joined in the pursuit of the Jacobite army along the east coast.[5]

[1] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[2] The commission does not indicate to which company he was appointed, but it appears probable that it was to this one.

[3] The commission is to "Robert" Munro. Lord Lovat's commission proceeds on the resignation of Captain "George" Munro.

[4] *Treas. Papers.* Rae, *History of the Rebellion* (1st Ed.), p. 283.

[5] See Fonab's biography, p. 375.

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The Independent Companies were disbanded in 1717, and a few years later General Wade gave the following description of them:—"They were composed of the natives of the country, inured to the fatigue of travelling the mountains, lying on the hills, wore the same habit and spoke the same language; but for want of being put under proper regulations corruptions were introduced, and some who commanded them instead of bringing criminals to justice (as I am informed) often compounded for the theft, and for a sum of money set them at liberty. They are said also to have defrauded the government by keeping not above half their numbers in constant pay, which (as I humbly conceive) might be the reason your Majesty caused them to be disbanded."[1]

1717–24. As a substitute there was placed in each of the four permanent garrisons then maintained in the Highlands—viz. Inverlochy (Fort William), Killichiumen (Fort Augustus), Bernera in Glenelg, and Ruthven of Badenoch—a company of thirty Highlanders under the command of Highland officers. The chief duty of these companies was to act as guides to the Regular troops on their expeditions through the mountains, which were undertaken with the double object of preventing depredations and an armed rising of the Highlanders.[2] Few references to these small bodies can now be gleaned, but in a "Duplicament of the accounts of Brigadier George Preston for the money imprested to him for defraying the expenses of posting the Regular forces in the Highlands for the service of the year 1721,"[3] there are notes of payments to four lieutenants and six ensigns—all of Highland names—who perhaps were the officers of the interim Highland companies. But this interim organisation was a failure. Lord Lovat in his memorandum of 1724 disposes of it in a few crushing words, and his views being endorsed by General Wade, the re-establishment of the Independent Companies was determined upon.

1725. Accordingly in April 1725[4] King George I. signified his intention of issuing commissions for "the six Independent Companies to be raised forthwith . . . in the Highlands of North Britain";[5] the first three to consist of 114 private men each, and the other three of 71 private men each, in addition to officers and non-commissioned officers. The companies were raised by reducing one private man out of each troop of the four regiments of horse, one man out of each troop of the eight regiments of dragoons, one man out of each company of the three regiments of foot-guards, and two private men out of each company of the eleven regiments of foot then stationed in Great Britain.[6]

[1] Burt, vol. ii. pp. 244, 268.

[2] *Ibid. War Office Estab. Books.* On the 18th March 1721 Robert Gordon of Haughes was commissioned to apprehend "all thieves, robbers, and trafficking priests within the sheriffdoms of Dumbarton, Stirling, Perth, Argyll, Angus, Kincardine, Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness." *Paper Register of the Great Seal.* [3] *Exchequer Roll Accounts*, 1723.

[4] In the *Autobiography* of the late Duke of Argyll, vol. i. p. 9, the date is incorrectly given as 1730.

[5] *Home Office Letter Book, Scot.*, vol. x.

[6] Chamberlayne, *Present State of North Britain* (1726), p. 144.

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The names appearing in the commissions between 1725 and 1739, when the Independent Companies were formed into a regiment of foot, are as follows :—

No. 1 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission Dated*	*Renewed*
Captain [*successively*]	Col. William Grant of Ballindalloch	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
	George Grant, on decease of Col. Wm. Grant	24 May 1733	
1st Lieut. [*successively*]	Lewis Farquharson	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
	Duncan Macfarlane	25 Feb. 1729	
2nd Lieut.	Lewis Grant	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
Ensign [*successively*]	James Grant	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
	Edward Carrick	25 Aug. 1731	

No. 2 Company.

Captain	Simon, Lord Lovat	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
1st Lieut.	Alexander Fraser	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
2nd Lieut.	Dougal Campbell of Craignish	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
Ensign [*successively*]	Paul Macpherson	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
	Dougal Stewart	5 Nov. 1736	

No. 3 Company.

Captain	Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
1st Lieut.	Colin Campbell	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
2nd Lieut. [*successively*]	Robert Stewart	24 April 1725	
	John Frazier	24 Jan. 1727	20 June 1727
	John Mackenzie	23 Jan. 1736	
	George Ramsay	5 Nov. 1736	
Ensign [*successively*]	John Mackenzie	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
	John Menzies	23 Jan. 1736	

No. 4 Company.

Lieut.	Colin Campbell of Skipness[1]	24 April 1725	
	His comm. as capt.-lieut.	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
Lieut.	John Maclean	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
Ensign [*successively*]	John Maclean	24 April 1725	
	John M°Pherson	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727

[1] Skipness was in command of his company at least down to the 19th of May 1739. *Scottish Historical Review*, April 1905, p. 301.

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No. 5 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission Dated*	*Renewed*
Lieut. . . .	John Campbell of Carrick .	24 April 1725	
	His comm. as capt.-lieut.	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
Lieut. . . . [*successively*]	Roderick Bayne	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
	Duncan Campbell. . . .	5 Jan. 1728	
	John Bain	9 July 1739	
Ensign . . [*successively*]	Duncan Campbell . . .	24 April 1725	20 June 1727
	James Cumming	5 Jan. 1728	
	James Campbell	13 May 1735	
	Francis Grant	9 July 1739	

No. 6 Company.

Lieut. . . .	Colonel George Munro of Culcairn	24 April 1725	
	His comm. as capt.-lieut.	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
Lieut. . . . [*successively*]	Alexander Stewart . . .	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727
	Alexander McDonald . .	9 July 1739	
Ensign . . [*successively*]	Duncan Urquhart . . .	24 April 1725	
	Alexander Stewart . . .	1 Feb. 1726	
	Alexander Macdonald . .	25 Dec. 1726	20 June 1727

Peregrine Fury was agent (solicitor) to the six Independent Companies of Foot in the Highlands on the 20th of June 1727.

From the 25th of December 1725 onwards the Independent Companies were borne on the British establishment, and paid as follows :—

1. Each of three companies commanded by captains :—

   Captain 8s. per diem, and in lieu of his servants, 2s. ; total 10s.
   Two lieutenants, each 4s., and in lieu of their servants, 1s. 4d.; total 9s. 4d.
   Three sergeants, each 1s. 6d.
   Three corporals, each 1s.
   Two drummers, each 1s.
   60 effective private men, each 8d.

2. Each of three companies commanded by lieutenants :—

   Lieutenant, and in lieu of his servant, 5s.
   Ensign, and in lieu of his servant, 3s. 8d.
   Two sergeants, each 1s. 6d.
   Two corporals, each 1s.
   One drummer, 1s.
   30 effective private men, each 8d.[1]

[1] *War Office Estab. Books.*

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By 1726 the three smaller companies had increased to 60 private men[1] each, and as shown above their commanders were promoted to the rank of captain-lieutenant.

In view of the dates shown in the official documents, it is difficult to assign any reason for the date 1729–30 fixed by Stewart of Garth as that at which the Independent Companies were first formed into regular companies receiving pay.[2] But although inaccurate upon one or two points, Garth's authority in his own field is unshaken, and his great work remains the inexhaustible mine to which his successors without exception turn for authoritative information on the military annals of the Highlands.

This note may fittingly conclude with the original regimental list of the Black Watch, arranged so as to show to which companies the different officers were allotted. The companies are numbered according to the order of the captains' commissions.

No. 1 Company.	*Commission dated*
Colonel and Captain John, Earl of Crawford . . .	25 Oct. 1739
Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Mackfarland	25 Oct. 1739
Ensign Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie	29 Oct. 1739
No. 2 Company.	
Lieutenant-Colonel and Captain Sir Robert Munro, Bart., of Foulis	25 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant Paul Macferson	26 Oct. 1739
Ensign Archibald Macknab, younger son of the Laird of Macnab	31 Oct. 1739
No. 3 Company.	
Major and Captain George Grant	25 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant John Mackenzie of Rencraig (? Kincraig) .	28 Oct. 1739
Ensign Collin Campbell	1 Nov. 1739
No. 4 Company.	
Captain Collin Campbell, yr. of Monzie[3]	25 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant Alexander Macdonald	29 Oct. 1739
Ensign James Campbell of Glenfalloch	25 Oct. 1739

[1] *War Office Estab. Books.*

[2] *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 224.

[3] It will be observed that there are two captains of the name of Colin Campbell, two ensigns named Dougal Stewart and two named James Campbell. Owing to the fact that the family designations of the officers are not mentioned in the commissions it is impossible to say definitely to which companies the four ensigns above-mentioned belonged. They have therefore been assigned as far as possible according to local or family connection.

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	Commission dated
No. 5 Company.	
Captain James Colquhoun of Luss	26 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant George Ramsay	30 Oct. 1739
Ensign James Campbell of Stronslanie[1]	3 Nov. 1739
No. 6 Company.	
Captain John Campbell of Carrick	27 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant John Maclean of Kingairloch	27 Oct. 1739
Ensign Dougall Stewart (of Appin ?)	26 Oct. 1739
No. 7 Company.	
Captain Collin Campbell of Balliemore	28 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant Malcolm Frazer, son of Culduthel[2]	31 Oct. 1739
Ensign Dougall Stewart	25 Oct. 1739
No. 8 Company.	
Captain George Munro of Culcairn, brother to Foulis	29 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant Lewis Grant of Auchterblair	25 Oct. 1739
Ensign John Menzies of Comrie	27 Oct. 1739
No. 9 Company.	
Captain Dougal Campbell of Craignish	30 Oct. 1739
Lieutenant John Mackneil	2 Nov. 1739
Ensign Gordon Graham of Draines[3]	30 Oct. 1739
No. 10 Company.	
Captain John Monro of Newmore	10 May 1740
Lieutenant Francis Grant, son of the laird of Grant[4]	1 Nov. 1739
Ensign Edward Carrick	28 Oct. 1739
Surgeon George Monro	17 Feb. 1740
Quarter Master John Forbes	25 March 1740
Chaplain Hon. Gideon Murray	25 March 1740
Adjutant John Lindsay[5]	25 March 1740

Captain Monro was nominated in succession to one of the former captains, whose name is unfortunately left blank. The list is otherwise fairly complete. It has been compiled from the "Commission Books" in the Public Record

[1] Stewart of Garth calls him Dougal Campbell, but he appears as James in his commission.

[2] It is not stated to which companies Lieutenants Malcolm Fraser and Francis Grant belonged. No other lieutenants are mentioned for Balliemore and Newmore; they have therefore been assigned respectively to them.

[3] *i.e.* Drynie. A younger son of the Laird.

[4] See note to Lieutenant Malcolm Fraser.

[5] Garth gives the adjutant as being Gilbert Stewart (presumably the Ensign to the Colonel's Company). He probably acted in this capacity until John Lindsay was gazetted to the regiment.

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Office, London, supplemented by original family papers and the information contained in Garth's original list.

In the "Establishment for the Earl of Crawford's Regiment of Foot in the Highlands for 61 days from 25th October 1739 to 24th December following," each company is stated to consist of seventy effective private men, three sergeants, three corporals, and two "drums"—ten companies in all; and the total effective strength, including officers and men, is stated at 815. The same figures appear for 1740, when the regiment was commanded by Lord Sempill.[1]

It is submitted that a sufficient amount of evidence has been set forth to prove the almost continuous succession of a Watch in the Highlands, on the Government establishment, from the date of the first commission to John, Earl of Atholl, on the 3rd of August 1667, to the first muster of the Black Watch as a British regiment between Taybridge and Aberfeldy in the county of Perth in May 1740.

[1] *War Office Estab. Books.*

Notes on the Frontispiece and on the Plates facing pages 29 and 56.

The frontispiece is from a very rare engraving in the possession of the Duke of Atholl, which was probably executed when the Black Watch was in London in 1743. It is signed "V. G. del." and is probably one of a series of five or six plates believed to have been executed by one or other of the brothers Gerard and John Van der Gucht, who flourished as engravers in London at that period. They were the sons of Michael Van der Gucht, engraver in London. Gerard, the elder of the two, was born in 1696, John in the following year, and both died in 1776. The plate is a piece of careful workmanship; the figures are better drawn than most illustrations of Highlanders of that period, and with the exception of the position of the sling of the firelock, careful attention has evidently been paid to detail.

This plate is repeated in the left-hand group of two figures in the plate opposite page 29, where the figures are asserted to be drawn from life and designed by Ino. Sebastian Müller. Müller was born at Nüremberg about 1720, and there is evidence that he was in England before 1744. The date on this plate is the 4th of November 1746. It is in all probability a piracy of Van der Gucht's work. He has omitted the aigulette from the right shoulder of the second figure, and there are some slight alterations in the position of the feet in the Highlander with the musket.

The second group on the plate opposite page 29 of the present volume, and the two groups on the plate opposite page 56, appear to be taken from originals by Van der Gucht, if we have regard to the pose and general outline of the figures. If this supposition be correct, four plates attributable to Gucht were copied by Müller.

In the original edition of Grose's *Military Antiquities*, published in 1788, there are three plates showing Highland dress, one certainly, and another probably, from originals by Van der Gucht. The plate facing page 183 of the first volume of Grose's work is a reproduction of the frontispiece to the present volume, the only difference being that Grose instructed his engraver to show the firelock sling in its natural position, to add a cockade to the bonnet, and to provide a suitable background. He retains the aigulette on the shoulder of the second figure, which Müller had overlooked, showing that Grose's engraver must have had an example of Van der Gucht's work before him. The plate is said to be the publication of S. Hooper, who originally brought out Grose's work.

A third plate which appears in Grose's book, entitled "An Officer and Sergeant of a Highland Regiment," is not improbably Van der Gucht's, owing to the strong resemblance it bears to this artist's work. Thus there is reason to believe that five of Gucht's plates are accounted for.

W. S. C.

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THE FIRST BATTALION THE BLACK WATCH
(ROYAL HIGHLANDERS)
THE OLD FORTY-SECOND[1]
1725–1901

BY ALLAN McAULAY

Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
To all the sensual world proclaim
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name.
—SIR WALTER SCOTT.

"IN forming his military character," writes a well-known historian of the Scottish Highlands, "the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier he was ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him."

The writer then dilates upon the valuable sentiment of *esprit de corps* which bound the Highlanders together in all their military enterprises. "The common soldier of many other countries," he says, with a perhaps pardonable partiality for his own countrymen, "has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience. . . . With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. . . . Hence he acts from motives within himself. . . . He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name, and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious, or die on the ground which he maintains."

For a long time, however—indeed, until many years after the Union—the good qualities of the Highlander were as a sealed book to his fellow-countrymen of the south. The most exaggerated ideas prevailed about the barbarous

[1] From Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, Browne's *History of the Highlands* (the account in which is chiefly taken from Garth's book), Cannon's *Historical Record of the 42nd* (with MS. notes on the Red Hackle), the regimental *Chronology*, and *The Black Watch*, by Archibald Forbes.

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character of the mountain districts of Scotland and their inhabitants. It was gravely questioned, even among well-educated persons, whether the Highlanders did not kill their prisoners and suck their blood, *after the manner of other savages*. The British Government, however, recognised—at a date earlier than is generally supposed—what splendid military material lay to their hand among the mountains of the north. As early as 1667 [1] Independent Companies had existed for "securing the peace of the Highlands"—recruited from the clansmen, and commanded by the representatives of influential families. The disturbed condition of the Highlands before, during, and after the Jacobite Rising of 1715, accentuated the necessity for the continuation of such a system, which is proved, by the comments of contemporaries at a rather later date, to have worked well. In 1725, accordingly, six companies of Highlanders were raised. They were still known as Independent Companies, and to distinguish them from the Regular troops, who were known throughout the Highlands as "Saighdearan Dearg" or "Red Soldiers," they soon received the *sobriquet* of "Am Freiceadan Dubh" or "The Black Watch" from the contrasting sombreness of their attire, their dark-hued tartan, and general lack of military embellishment.

Into these companies readily gathered the gentry of Perthshire and the neighbouring counties, many young men of good family enlisting as privates. They were thankful to bear arms once more (a privilege of which the Disarming Acts passed after the Rising had deprived them), and to have some authorised outlet for their hitherto wasted or chivalrously misdirected energies. "I cannot forbear to tell you," writes an English officer of Engineers, quartered in the Highlands at the time the Independent Companies were being organised, "that many of those private gentleman-soldiers have gillies or servants to attend them in quarters, and upon a march to carry their provisions, baggage, and firelocks"; a state of things which seemed to amuse the *Sassenach* as much as it not unnaturally surprised him. The Highlanders admitted to the companies were chosen for their appearance and deportment, for height, strength, agility, and dexterity in the use of arms. Thus the ranks had a remarkably fine appearance, and the men who composed them bore from the first an excellent character. As before, the companies were used for patrolling and garrisoning the disaffected Highlands, bodies being stationed at Fort Augustus and in the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire, in Ross-shire, Sutherlandshire, Strathspey, Badenoch, in Atholl, Breadalbane, Lochaber, and Appin. It cannot —in view of an unfortunate event which took place later—be made too plain that the Highlanders who now enrolled themselves in these companies, did so as members of an exclusively local force, organised for a service not only to be limited to Scotland, but to "the mountains," *i.e.* the Highlands. Plainly under these conditions, Highlanders of every clan were encouraged to join, but care was taken that the officers should be of Whig opinions.

It was in 1739 that the Government ordered the raising of four additional

[1] See preceding article.

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companies and the formation of the whole body into a regiment of the Line. Letters of service were addressed to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, who was appointed colonel. The regiment was to consist of some 850 officers and men, and it was finally embodied in May 1740, on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth. "The uniform," writes a chronicler of the regiment, "was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace, tartan plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body" (called a "belted plaid" from being "kept tight to the body by a belt"), on which hung pistols and dirk when they were worn. "In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red, and green arranged in small squares, to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the family of Stewart, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy, . . . a small piece of black bearskin. The arms were a musquet, a bayonet, and a large basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by Government: such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of the country." The regiment was actually embodied as the 43rd, and not till 1749 did it finally receive the number it has made so famous. For a long time it bore the name of its Colonel, being successively known as Lord Crawford's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders. The command of Lord John Murray[1] was a particularly notable one, not only from its length (from 1745 to 1787—the year of his death) but from the deep personal interest taken by him in the regiment—an interest to which the Black Watch probably owed, as time went on, the preservation of its Highland characteristics in dress, accoutrements, and music.

The first incident in the record of the Highland Regiment as a Regular corps was a very unfortunate one. After a year or two spent in its old Highland quarters, it was suddenly marched to Perth and told it was immediately to set out for England. It is apparent from contemporary records that the men set out upon this march in a spirit of injury; they considered it was a breach of faith on the part of the authorities to send them out of Scotland, for they had —as has already been shown—enlisted under the impression that they were to be used for home-service alone. However, the march through England was unattended by any disagreeable incident, for the Highlanders were made to believe that they were to be reviewed by the King in person, and were probably pleased by the honour in store. When they reached their destination, however, and were reviewed, not by the King, but by General Wade, their suspicions were thoroughly aroused; rumours of a foreign destination reached them—founded on fact, for they were to be sent abroad immediately—but distorted by the malice of agitators, who made the Highlanders imagine that "after being used as rods to scourge their countrymen they were to be thrown into the fire"—*i.e.* sent to the plantations. They felt themselves to have been decoyed, trapped, and cheated—to have been lied to by their superiors;

[1] See his biography, p. 382 *et seq.*

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Drawn from the Life & design'd by Jn°. Sebastian Müller.
Publish'd Nov^r. 4. 1746
Engrav'd by I. S^t. Müller
The Highlanders common Dress with their Cloaks hanging down.
The Highlanders furnisht with Arms and their Cloaks across the left Shoulder
Printed for John Bowles at the Black Horse in Cornhill

ENGRAVING SHOWING UNIFORM OF THE BLACK WATCH IN 1746. Signed "In°. Sebastian Müller."

(*See Explanatory Note, page* 53)

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their Commander at the time, Lord Sempill, had failed to win their confidence, and it must also be remembered that they were young troops not yet adequately imbued with a sense of the strictness of military discipline. They went through their review on Finchley Common with steadiness and spirit—"did their Exercises and Firing extreamly well," writes Lord John Murray to his brother, the Duke of Atholl. But later, just before the first division of the regiment was to set out on the march to the port of embarkation, a considerable body of the men decamped in the night, carrying their arms with them, and made a dash for the north. They were pursued to the Midlands, there captured, and every man of them sentenced to be shot. This sentence, however, was commuted, and only three of the deserters were shot—Samuel and Malcolm MacPherson, corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private. The rest were ordered to serve in different corps abroad, and it is unlikely that they ever saw the regiment again. The remainder of the Highlanders, in the meantime, were restored to order and confidence, and embarked for Flanders in excellent spirits. Although this early mutiny can hardly have been said to affect the character of the regiment—a regiment which at once set out to inaugurate a record second to none in the annals of the British Army—it was nevertheless a very regrettable occurrence, deeply affecting the whole population of the Highlands, where the men who had been punished were regarded as martyrs to the treachery of the Government. The Highlander's simple faith in his superior had received perhaps its first shock—a circumstance which led the way to many changes in his character and in the patriarchal system under which he had lived for so many centuries.

An anecdote, illustrative of the mingled pride and simplicity of the Highland character, is related of some men of the Black Watch while on their first visit to England. The King had never seen a Highlander at close quarters, and, as he expressed a wish to do so, three men—a Grant, a MacGregor (called Gregor the Beautiful), and a Campbell of Duneaves—gentlemen privates, distinguished for their good looks and their proficiency in Highland accomplishments—were selected by their officers to appear before His Majesty, and sent to London some time before the regiment marched south. Grant died before leaving Scotland, but MacGregor and Campbell—in the Great Gallery of St. James's Palace, before the King, the Duke of Cumberland, and General Wade—displayed their native dexterity in the broad-sword exercise and that of the Lochaber axe. So pleased was the King with their performance that he gave them each a guinea, which they in turn *gave to the porter at the gate as they went out.* "Doubtless," they said, "the King had mistaken their character and condition in their own country."

From this time it may be said that to epitomise the history of the Black Watch—the oldest Highland regiment now on the establishment of the Army—is to epitomise the making and defending of the British Empire at some of the most important stages of its existence. It is a long and varied record, covering as it does more than a hundred and sixty years of the history of a fighting and a colonising people—embracing, as it also does, the whole period

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of European resistance to Napoleon. It was soon seen that the experiment of making soldiers of the Highlanders was one of the most successful military experiments ever tried. For two qualities they speedily became distinguished—for the patient and heroic endurance of every hardship, and for a peculiar kind of fiery impetuosity in action, extremely disconcerting to the foe. It soon came to be understood that wherever hardihood was most essential, wherever activity was most required, wherever the ground was most broken and hazardous, the enemy most subtle and elusive, the country most inhospitable—there were sent the willing Highlanders. In action it was sometimes found impossible to hold them; they would rush from their posts, and to the skirl of their pipes and the shouting of their ancient battle-cries, carry all before them or, in the desperate attempt to do so, leave half their number dead upon the field. Yet in times of inactivity these men were found easy to manage, and it was noticed that in the countries where they sojourned for any length of time, they readily made friends with the people. Indeed, so law-abiding were they proved to be, that the Highland Regiment was often chosen to protect the property and guard the rights of citizens amid the disturbances of a campaign.

To enumerate the engagements of the 42nd Highlanders during the whole of the regiment's career is not a very easy task within the limits of a short article. Such brief enumerations are necessarily lifeless and fail to give any adequate idea of the endurance and the gallantry, the patriotism and devotion, that made such a record possible. No attempted story of the regiment, however, would be complete without the mention—even if by name only—of the many famous campaigns in which it played a part.

Fontenoy is the first upon the list. Here the gallantry of the Highlanders in covering the retreat of the Allied forces received the special praise of the Commander-in-Chief (the Duke of Cumberland). It was their maiden experience of a foreign foe, and their courage "was the theme of admiration through all Britain" (so writes a contemporary), while their characteristic method of attack and of fighting obviously inspired their enemies with a wholesome awe. They returned to England after this campaign, as the Jacobite Rising of 1745 necessitated the recall of the Duke of Cumberland and practically all the forces under his command. The headquarters of the regiment, however, were not employed in Scotland, though three newly-raised companies (severally commanded by the Lairds of Mackintosh, Ochtertyre, and Inverawe) served against the Jacobites—Ochtertyre's Company fighting at Prestonpans, where it was mostly killed or taken prisoner. The regiment remained in England until after the suppression of the rising in 1746, when the Highlanders again became available for foreign service and were sent on an expedition to the coast of France. Returning home in the autumn of that year, they were sent to the Netherlands again in 1747, but in this campaign they were not engaged in any manner calling for special comment. When recalled, in December 1748, they were stationed in Ireland for several years.

In the spring of 1756, war having broken out between English and French

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in North America, the 42nd was despatched to the New World. On this occasion the regiment was largely recruited from the Highlands, three additional companies following to join it at Albany. This campaign was made famous by the Highlanders at the first and unsuccessful attack on Fort Ticonderoga in 1758, in which they distinguished themselves by a gallantry characteristically desperate in the face of hopeless odds. British and Americans hurled themselves upon the French stronghold, under a deadly fire, the Highlanders hewing and hacking their way through the wooden defences with their dirks. There were no ladders, so they climbed upon each others' shoulders in a desperate effort to scale the wooden wall—some even dropping within it, to be instantly cut down. Fighting "with a fury that would yield neither to discipline nor to death," the retreat had to be three times sounded before the Highlanders would give up the hopeless attempt or leave their fallen comrades. After this fight, which lasted for five hours, the Highlanders' losses alone amounted to 314 killed and 333 wounded. But they were not without their reward for their services in North America; the King had already granted to the 42nd the title of "Royal," and for one hundred and three years (1758–1861) its official title was that of "The Royal Highland Regiment."

It is interesting to note that in 1758 a second battalion to the regiment was first raised. It was at once ordered out to the West Indies, where, in 1759, it shared in the unsuccessful attack on Martinique and in the capture of Guadeloupe. Later, the 2nd Battalion joined the 1st in North America, and both battalions served together during the campaign of 1760, which, resulting in the surrender of Montreal, completed the conquest of Canada. Subsequently they embarked together for the West Indies, where they were engaged in the final capture of Martinique and in the conquest of Cuba. The climate of the West Indies is notoriously unsuited to British constitutions, and many of the Highlanders succumbed to malarial fevers. At the end of the war the 2nd Battalion was reduced, and the 1st Battalion returned to New York.

From 1763 to 1766, the Royal Highlanders were engaged in a series of campaigns against the North American Indians—a species of warfare calculated to try to the uttermost their qualities of activity, endurance, courage, and nerve. At the fight of Bushy Run, in August 1763, their behaviour has been especially extolled—this half-forgotten engagement with the Indians being one of the most desperate ever fought by civilised troops against these savages. In 1767 the regiment returned to the British Isles and was quartered for some years in Ireland, while in Scotland vigorous recruiting for its ranks was being carried on. At last, in 1775, the Highlanders were permitted to return home after thirty-two years of absence from their native country. When they landed at Port Patrick, writes an old-fashioned historian, "impelled by characteristic attachment to the soil of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm and kissed the earth which they upheld in handfuls."

Some interesting notes on the Highlanders when in Ireland at this time, are on record, and may fitly be quoted here. "They have," writes a sympa-

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thetic observer, "all the attractive beauties of a soldier—sunburnt complexions, a hardy, weather-beaten visage, . . . traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action and experience in service." The diction of this extract is no doubt old-fashioned and conventional, but it succeeds in bringing up an image of the now veteran and war-worn Highlanders. Another writer observes how shabby and dilapidated were the regiment's accoutrements at this stage in its history. "The jackets were of a dull, rusty-coloured red. . . . Economy was strictly observed. . . . The jacket after being worn a year was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid at the end of two years was reduced to the philibeg." It is further stated that the hose supplied by Government were so bad that the men had to supplement them for themselves. No feathers were allowed for the bonnets, only shabby pieces of bearskin, but the men, desirous of being smart, bought feathers for themselves!

When the War of Independence broke out, the Royal Highlanders were shipped off to America. It is impossible here to follow in detail the countless vicissitudes of that war; it must suffice to say that in nearly every important engagement during its course, the 42nd served, and served with honour. One military writer points out that the men were here engaged to fight against the very people they had previously protected against the ravages of the Red Indians—a people to whom they had endeared themselves by the combined qualities of kindliness and courage which seem to be native to the primitive Highland character. During the American War, in the year 1780, a second battalion was again raised, recruited in the Highlands of Scotland. This battalion was almost immediately sent out to the East Indies; but it has a history of its own, for it became, after five or six years of service in the East, an independent corps, the 73rd, afterwards known as the Perthshire Regiment.[1] In the meantime, the Royal Highlanders remained in America until 1789—six years after the end of the war, this interval being spent in Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and St. John's, and prolonging their absence from home to fourteen years.

The regiment next saw service in 1793, when Europe began to arm herself against "the wild menace of Revolutionary France and the world-threatening despotism of Napoleon." After serving for a short while in Flanders under the Duke of York, the Royal Highlanders were shipped off to La Vendée, but they returned to the Netherlands in June 1794, in time to share in all the miseries of the retreat through Belgium and Holland. During this campaign, however, a trophy was gained, which is worn by the regiment to this day. As the British retired upon the village of Geldermalsen, north of the Waal, on the 4th of January 1795, the French seized two guns which had been deserted by the cavalry. Upon this, the Highlanders turned back, charged the enemy, re-took the guns, and dragged them in triumph to the village. For this spirited action the Royal Highlanders were awarded, as a special badge, the Red Hackle, or vulture's plume, to be worn as a memento of the occasion.

[1] See article on this regiment, pp. 77-84.

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From 1796 to 1797, five companies of the Royal Highlanders were engaged in the West Indies, while the remaining companies—destined for the same service but prevented by stress of weather from reaching their destination—were sent to Gibraltar. In 1798 the regiment took part in the capture of Minorca, and joined in the futile expeditions to Genoa and Cadiz (1800).

In 1801, the Royal Highlanders found themselves in Egypt for the first time. Napoleon's far-vaunted Army of the East occupied Egypt. His fleet had been scattered by Nelson at the battle of the Nile, and he himself baffled at the siege of Acre by the guns of captured French vessels lent by Sir Sydney Smith to the beleaguered Turks. But on his way back to Alexandria he had achieved a brilliant victory over the forces of Turkey, and covered with the glory of this, he had returned to France to seize the military dictatorship and change the frontiers of Europe. He had left behind him, however, his Army of Invincibles, imbued with a tremendous sense of its all-conquering qualities, together with a fine contempt for British soldiership. Against this was to be pitted the expedition of some 16,000 men under Sir Ralph Abercromby, of which the Royal Highlanders formed a unit. The landing of these troops at Aboukir under a heavy fire is considered by military authorities one of the finest feats ever achieved. The French, as a result of the hardly-contested actions at Aboukir and Mandora, were gradually driven back to their lines before Alexandria, and a fortnight after the landing of the British forces the battle of Alexandria took place. Both sides fought with magnificent spirit, and the Royal Highlanders' part in the battle was a memorable one. Engaged again and again in different parts of the fight, they were finally attacked—at a moment when they had not had time to reform into line—by a furious charge of French cavalry, which cut clean through them. By every law of events in warfare, they should have been scattered to the four winds by this charge—and they were: yet, scattered and in groups, they fought on with such fury and so much undismayed courage and strength, that the French were repulsed after all. In this battle the British lost, from his wounds, their leader, Sir Ralph Abercromby, a very gallant if not very fortunate commander. For their services in Egypt the Royal Highlanders were entitled to put the Sphinx and the word "Egypt" on their colours. There is no doubt that their gallantry contributed very materially to the final success of this campaign, which led to the expulsion of the French from Egypt.

A few comparatively uneventful years now occur in the story of the regiment, though at this time (as always) it was playing a part in the country's history. The *bête noir* of the opening century was the invasion of England by Napoleon, and in opposition to Napoleonic schemes (which certainly included the striking of some crushing blow against the British, the most inveterate enemies of the Corsican) every nerve of the country was to be strained. In 1803—war being again declared after the transient Peace of Amiens—a second battalion was for a third time raised to the Royal Highlanders, recruited from Perth and the counties to the north and west of it. The parent-regiment being

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already stationed on the English coast (as part of the armament prepared for the resistance of the invader) the 2nd Battalion joined it at Weely, in Essex, where the whole regiment was united for a time. In 1805 the 1st Battalion embarked for Gibraltar, where it remained until the outbreak of the Peninsular War, while the 2nd Battalion was sent to Ireland, where it subsequently received instructions to hold itself in readiness for foreign service.

The summer of 1808 saw the commencement of the war in the Peninsula, and by the end of August the 1st Battalion found itself ranged once more—a unit of the Allied forces—against the soldiers of Napoleon—against the almost magical might of his name and the military genius of his lieutenants. Arriving in Portugal, the Royal Highlanders joined the troops under Lieutenant-General Sir Arthur Wellesley. Under the eyes of Sir John Moore they fought at Corunna—a battle made immortal by the death of that gallant commander, a true friend to brave Highlanders of more regiments than one. "Remember Egypt!" was his battle-cry to the Royal Highlanders in this fight, and it may well be imagined that their response was instant and enthusiastic. Corunna was a turning to bay of our forces at the end of an apparently disastrous retreat, and at one moment there was some confusion in the British ranks—the Highlanders having gone forward. "Are we not to advance?" cries an officer. "No orders have come," is the reply. "I would not wait," cries a third, "*you cannot do wrong to follow the Forty-Second!*"

After Corunna the Royal Highlanders were shipped home, and in July 1809, took part in one of the most disastrous campaigns in which the soldiers of any country have ever been sacrificed. One of the largest expeditions ever planned by England was sent out to Walcheren, by way of checking the operations of Napoleon by the seizure of Antwerp, the Emperor's design being to make that city into a great naval base. Forty thousand troops were set down at the mouth of the Scheldt, and there left to be a prey to the terrible malaria arising from the muddy soil of the alluvial islands they occupied as a camp. Of these troops, 7000 died, 14,000 were rendered unfit for service, while the remainder, when finally shipped home, presented so deplorable a spectacle to the gazing crowds, that popular military ardour underwent a decided, if very temporary, eclipse. Recruiting for the Royal Highlanders was found for the first time to be difficult, as a result of this episode, for out of 758 of their men, only 204 had come back fit for service, and all without striking a blow. Highlanders were shy, and the ranks of the 1st Battalion were filled up, for the first time, with a mixture of Lowlanders and Irish.

The 2nd Battalion, in the meantime, had reached the Peninsula in 1809, and fought under Wellington at Busaco in September 1810. In the following winter it was posted in the lines at Torres Vedras, and in May 1811, joined, with much distinction, in the battle of Fuentes d'Onore—that name being, by royal authority, henceforth displayed on the regimental colours. In January 1812, the 2nd Battalion took part in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, where the men behaved with great gallantry, and it formed part of the covering army during

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the important and difficult siege of Badajoz. The 1st Battalion, which had in the meantime been stationed in Scotland, was now again ordered to the Peninsula, and arrived in time to take part in the battle of Salamanca and the siege of Burgos; it received into its ranks all the fit men of the 2nd Battalion, the rest of which returned to England to recruit.

It is naturally impossible, in an article of this nature, to follow, even in outline, the complicated campaigns of the Peninsular War. The Royal Highlanders continued to serve to the end of the war—sharing in its countless vicissitudes, its battles, sieges, and assaults, its long and anxious marches, its bitter hardships and privations, its reverses and its victories, its final hard-won triumph and its many glories. On the colours of the regiment are emblazoned the names of nearly all the famous engagements knit with the fame of Wellington—the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, and Orthez. At the battle of Toulouse, which closed the operations of the war, the Royal Highlanders lost heavily, and shortly after that they were sent home.

They had hardly a year of respite, however, for Napoleon escaped from Elba in the spring of 1815, and, flinging himself upon the generosity and devotion of his soldiers, became once more their leader and the head of the state. It is hardly possible to picture the commotion which ensued upon this turn of events; it was much as though the dead had risen to be the terror of the living, and in the madly precipitated campaign of the Hundred Days, the Royal Highlanders were destined to meet again, and for the last time, their ancient foes of Egypt and of Spain. For their gallantry at Quatre Bras, where their loss amounted to 298 killed and wounded, the Royal Highlanders were especially singled out for praise by Wellington. The story of Waterloo will long be told with bated breath—not, certainly, because no greater battle has ever been fought, but because it was the final struggle which saw the defeat and heralded the fall of the most colossal genius and the most overpowering and threatening personality that the modern world has known. "I have fought you for twenty years!" said Napoleon to his warders on board the British battleship *Bellerophon* —and at the finish of this classic contest, the Royal Highlanders, with all the flower of British valour and Prussian strength, fought the fight that freed Europe from the nightmare of Napoleonic aggression. The regiment—one battalion strong—now rested on its honours until the outbreak of the Crimean War.

Sir Colin Campbell commanded the Highland Brigade in the Crimea, and under him the Royal Highlanders fought at the famous battle of the Alma, at Balaclava, and at the siege and fall of Sevastopol. Climate and privation tried the heroism of the Highlanders in this campaign fully more than the actual fighting, and they set a fine example of hardihood and patience. After the battle of the Alma, Sir Colin Campbell wrote home that he had addressed the men of his brigade: "They cheered very much," he wrote; "I told them I was going to ask the Commander-in-Chief a great favour—that he would permit me to have the honour of wearing the Highland bonnet during the rest of the campaign, which pleased them very much."

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Not long was the Crimean War over, when the Indian Mutiny broke out, and the Royal Highlanders embarked for the East. They were incessantly employed during the Mutiny; one of their principal achievements being a forced march of seventy-eight miles in sixty-four hours, which enabled them to be present at the battle of Cawnpore. The regiment also saw the fall of Lucknow, was engaged in the battle of Bareilly, and took part in numerous other episodes of the Mutiny. After its suppression, the Royal Highlanders served in India for ten years. On New Year's Day, 1861, new colours were presented to them by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and a few months later their ancient title "The Black Watch" was revived, to be used by them once more as a special mark of honour.

At home until late in the year 1873, the Black Watch then served in the Ashanti campaign of 1874, under Sir Garnet Wolseley. The regiment behaved with great pluck and energy on this expedition, and on one occasion during a strike of native porters undertook the duties of these men, toiling for hours under a tropical sun, in the manful spirit which despises no drudgery done in a good cause.

It may be noted here that in 1881 the title of the regiment was changed from "The 42nd (Royal Highland—The Black Watch) Regiment," to "The Black Watch (Royal Highlanders)." At the same time, the 73rd Perthshire Regiment (the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd in 1780) was once more linked to the parent regiment as 2nd Battalion.

In 1882 the 1st Battalion The Black Watch was sent to Egypt, where it formed part of the expedition against Arabi Pasha. The enemy's position was attacked at Tel-el-Kebir, and the regiment was in the thick of the assault, having seldom borne itself better.

In the spring of 1884, the 1st Battalion was in the Eastern Soudan. It served at El-Teb, and was in the heart of the fighting at Tamai, where nothing would hold it back, and its losses were severe. A few months later, the Highlanders joined the expedition up the Nile, intended for the relief of Gordon. At the battle of Kirbekan, true to their ancient tradition—to the skirl of the pipes and the sound of Highland cheering—they advanced with splendid steadiness, "scaled the rocks, and drove the enemy from their shelters."

After upwards of ten years spent between Egypt, Malta, Mauritius, and Cape Town, the 1st Battalion was sent to India, where it remained until 1901, when it received orders to proceed on active service to South Africa.[1]

In thus tracing, though only in the baldest fashion, the career of the oldest of the Highland regiments, we have seen how the Highlander emerged (somewhat unwillingly, perhaps, at first) from the mists of his native mountains; how, under military discipline, his splendid natural qualities were matured and turned to good account, and his energy—too often in the old days a source of mischief to himself and disquiet to his neighbours—directed to the defence of his country and the maintenance of her reputation all over the world.

[1] For an account of both battalions in South Africa, see *A Mil. Hist. of Perthshire*, 1889-1902.

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THE 105TH AND 109TH REGIMENTS OF FOOT 1761–64

BY THE EDITOR

THE 105TH (OR QUEEN'S OWN ROYAL REGIMENT OF HIGHLANDERS) 1761–64

TOWARDS the end of the Seven Years' War two regiments were raised by Perthshire men, the first of which—the 105th Foot—must undoubtedly be claimed as a county corps. Its colonel was David Græme of Gorthie, an officer who shortly before had assisted to escort Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz to England for her wedding, and who, it is even said, was responsible for the selection of that Princess as the Queen of George III. Colonel Græme was appointed secretary to the Queen-elect on the 5th of September 1761,[1] and in the commission given him a month later to raise and command a regiment of two battalions under the title of "The Queen's Own Royal Regiment of Highlanders" may be seen a further mark of Royal favour. Each battalion was to consist of six companies, and the strength of the regiment was fixed at 1380 non-commissioned officers and men.[2]

The 105th is said to have been dressed like the Black Watch, possibly on account of the fact that three companies raised for the 2nd Battalion of the older regiment were taken to form the nucleus of the new one.[3] The list of names given below shows that Colonel Græme had no difficulty in procuring officers from his own county, but no doubt owing to the size of the establishment and to the fact that levies had recently been made in Perthshire for the Black Watch and other corps, the task of getting together the requisite number of rank and file appears not to have been an easy one. The following extract from a letter written by a resident in Dunkeld throws some light on the straits to which the recruiting sergeants were reduced :—

"This neighbourhood is pester'd with recruiting Parties for Col[l] Graham's Reg[t], and truely such a Regem[t] I believe was never collected; they are of all sizes without limitation, & of all ages from fourteen to four score; there are about 600 recruited who were to be muster'd a few days ago at Perth by the Colonel. Andrew Gow [the blacksmith] at Invar is made a sergeant by Capt. Rollo. The youth had run in debt & was in arrears to Rollo for recruiting money. . . ."[4]

The 105th was embodied at Perth in 1762, and we hear of the 2nd Battalion taking part in the celebration of the King's birthday there on the 4th of June. Both battalions, when completed, were sent to Ireland, and were reduced in 1764 after the conclusion of the Peace of Paris. Colonel Græme was appointed colonel of the 49th Regiment of Foot in April 1764, but his officers, with few exceptions, were placed on half-pay.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1761, p. 448.
[2] Lt.-Col. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Atholl Chronicles*, vol. iii. p. 493.

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Officers of the 105th, or the Queen's Own Royal Regiment of Highlanders[1] (Two Battalions)

Rank.	*Name.*	*Apptd. to 105th*
Colonel	David Græme of Gorthie[2]	15 Oct. 1761
Lt.-Col.	Robert Murray[3]	,, ,,
Major	James Campbell[4]	,, ,,
,,	David Hepburn[5]	16 ,,
Captain	James McPherson[6]	18 ,,
,,	James Nairne[7]	,, ,,
,,	Archibald McArthur[8]	,, ,,
,,	James Mercer[9]	,, ,,
,,	Robert Rollo[10]	19 ,,
,,	Duncan McNeil[11]	20 ,,
,,	Hon. Thomas Bruce[12]	21 ,,
,,	Duncan McPherson	22 ,,
Capt.-Lt.	John Robertson[13]	15 ,,
Lieut.	James Seton[14]	,, ,,
,,	Charles Fraser[15]	16 ,,
,,	William Sutherland[16]	17 ,,
,,	James Sutherland[17]	18 ,,
,,	John Campbell[18]	19 ,,
,,	John Stuart[19]	20 ,,
,,	Archibald Graham[20]	21 ,,
,,	John Graham	22 ,,
,,	David Ross	23 ,,
Lieut.	Hutchinson Dunlap	24 Oct. 1761
,,	James Graham	25 ,,
,,	Kenneth Sutherland	26 ,,
,,	John Ross	27 ,,
,,	Charles Cameron	28 ,,
,,	Samuel McPherson	29 ,,
,,	James Grant	30 ,,
,,	Robert Baillie	31 ,,
,,	John Campbell	1 Nov. ,,
,,	Donald McDonald	2 ,,
,,	David Marischal	3 ,,
,,	Norman Macleod[21]	4 ,,
,,	John McDonald[22]	5 ,,
,,	Hector McNeil	6 ,,
,,	Andrew McPherson	7 ,,
,,	Archibald McDonald	8 ,,
,,	John Reid	9 ,,
Ensign	John Reed[23]	15 Oct. ,,
,,	Alexander Clarke	16 ,,
,,	John Grant	17 ,,
,,	James Graham	18 ,,
,,	Alexander Mackenzie	19 ,,

[1] From the *War Office Registers Various;* the *Army Lists* for 1761 and 1763; and MS. list in the *Army List* for 1762 at the Record Office. Other officers appear on the half-pay of the regiment in later *Army Lists*, but it is doubtful if they ever did duty with it.

[2] Afterwards general. Member of Parliament for Perthshire 1764–1772.

[3] Late major, 71st Foot. [4] Late captain, 37th Foot. [5] Late captain, Marines.

[6] Late lieut., 77th Foot. [7] Late lieut., 5th Foot. [8] Late 1st lieut., 87th Foot.

[9] Late 1st lieut., 88th Foot.

[10] Late lieut., Scots-Dutch (Marjoribanks' Regt.). *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. ii. p. 417.

[11] Late Argyll Fencibles.

[12] Late 1st Dragoons. Styled "Thomas Bruce, Esq." in *War Office Registers.* Third son of eighth Earl of Kincardine. Promoted major before 1764. Afterwards lieutenant-general.

[13] Late 1st lieut., 87th Foot.

[14] Late sub-lieut., Scots-Dutch (Halkett's Regt.). *Scots Brigade*, vol. ii. p. 421.

[15] Late 2nd lieut., 88th Foot. [16] Late 2nd lieut., 88th Foot.

[17] Late lieut., Sutherland Fencibles. [18] Late Argyll Fencibles.

[19] Late 1st lieut., 88th Foot. [20] Promoted captain "*vice* Colonel Græme," 5th April 1762.

[21] Only son of John Macleod, yr. of Macleod. Later succeeded his grandfather as 20th Chief of Macleod. At this time he was only seven years of age! In 1780 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd.

[22] It seems curious that there should have been a lieutenant and an ensign each of the names of John McDonald, Andrew McPherson, and John Reid respectively, but all the first four are mentioned as being on the half-pay of the regiment in 1767, and in the *Army List* of 1763 Ensign John Reed is shown, but not the lieutenant. I have therefore entered them all separately.

[23] Late adjutant, 71st Foot.

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Rank.	*Name.*	*Apptd. to 105th*	*Rank.*	*Name.*	*Apptd. to 105th*
Ensign	Walter Graham	20 Oct. 1761	Chapl.	Hon. James Bruce[1]	15 Oct. 1761
,,	William Wright	21 ,,	Adjt.	Thomas[2] Reed	,, ,,
,,	Andrew McPherson	22 ,,	,,	Patrick Keir	17 ,,
,,	John McDonald	23 ,,	Qrmr.	John[3] Mitchell	15 ,,
,,	George McPherson	24 ,,	,,	James Graham	17 ,,
,,	Matthew Powell	25 ,,	Surg.	George Stuart	15 ,,
,,	Alexander Sutherland	26 ,,	,,	Daniel Grant	17 ,,

Agent—George Ross.[4]

The 109th Regiment of Foot

1761–63

The other regiment already alluded to as having been raised during the Seven Years' War by a Perthshire man, was the 109th Regiment of Foot. This corps, like the 105th, would probably have been embodied in the county had it not been for the prominent part played by the family of its Commanding Officer, Major John Nairne, in the rising of 1745. Major Nairne, who was the eldest surviving son of the third Lord Nairne, had taken no share himself in that chivalrous but ill-fated enterprise, as at the time he was already an officer in the service of George II.; but owing to his father's attainder he could succeed neither to the family title nor estates, and when on the 13th of October 1761 he was commissioned to raise a regiment with the rank of major-commandant, it was not from Perthshire that his men were recruited. The regiment was raised chiefly in Hertfordshire and Middlesex, and included seven companies, one of which was an independent company.[5] The list of officers shows no names which can be recognised as belonging to the county, and it is therefore not reproduced here.

The 109th was disbanded at the peace of 1763. Major Nairne was placed on half-pay but was afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was provost of St. Andrews from 1779 until his death in 1782.[6]

The colours of the 109th were given by Colonel Nairne into the keeping of his cousin the Duke of Atholl, and have been preserved at Blair Castle ever since.

[1] Second son of eighth Earl of Kincardine. Styled simply "James Bruce" in *War Office Registers.*
[2] "John" in the *Army Lists* for 1762–3. [3] "Thomas" in the *War Office Registers.*
[4] In *Army List* for 1763, "Mr. Montgomery, Dublin."
[5] Lieut.-Colonel R. M. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers at the Public Record Office.
[6] Note from the papers of the St. Andrews Town Council, kindly supplied by Dr. D. Hay Fleming.

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THE 84TH REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR ROYAL HIGHLAND EMIGRANTS

SECOND BATTALION

1775–84

BY THE EDITOR

THE next regiment raised by a Perthshire man can also be dismissed in a few words, inasmuch as, like the 109th, its only apparent link with this county was its Commanding Officer.

In 1775, on the outbreak of the American War of Independence, one of the first local corps embodied was the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment, composed, as the name implies, of emigrant Highlanders—many of them old soldiers who had settled in America after the conclusion of peace with France in 1763. The regiment consisted of two battalions, the first of which was raised in Canada by Allan Maclean, formerly major-commandant of the 114th Foot;[1] while the second was embodied in Nova Scotia and owed its origin to Major John Small,[2] third son of Patrick Small of Leanoch in Glen Shee. Major Small, who had served with the Black Watch in America from 1756 to 1763, owned a property in Nova Scotia, and General Stewart of Garth tells us that owing to the high esteem in which he was held there, he had no difficulty in obtaining recruits.

Small's commission as major-commandant of his battalion was dated the 13th of June[3] 1775, but as he continued to serve for some time afterwards as a brigade-major it is probable that his commission was ante-dated, and that the battalion was not completed until some months later. It is interesting to know that the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment wore full Highland dress, *i.e.* the belted plaid, with the tartan and facings of the Black Watch.[4] This may have been partly owing to the fact that the 1st Battalion included a good many old soldiers of the 42nd, but Small's former connection with that regiment had probably also something to do with the choice of tartan. The sporrans were made of racoons' skins.[5]

[1] *Army Lists*. Stewart of Garth alludes to him as having served in the "late 104th." *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. ii. p. 182. Third son of Donald Maclean, fifth of Torloisk. With his battalion successfully defended Quebec against Benedict Arnold, November 1775.

[2] Afterwards major-general. See his biography, p. 396 *et seq.*

[3] Date given in the contemporary *Army Lists*. Garth gives it as the 14th of June.

[4] Lieut.-Colonel R. M. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers at the Public Record Office.

[5] Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 186.

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In 1778 the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment was numbered the 84th of the Line, and Sir Henry Clinton was appointed colonel. The battalions were shortly afterwards augmented from ten companies each to twelve, and in 1780 Small was promoted lieutenant-colonel-commandant of his battalion. Sir Guy Carleton was appointed colonel-in-chief of the regiment in June 1782.

It is difficult to follow the movements of the 2nd Battalion during the war. Stewart of Garth says that five of the battalion companies were quartered in Nova Scotia "and the neighbouring settlements" until the end of hostilities, and that the remaining battalion companies served under Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis in the south. He also tells us that the flank companies "were in the battalion of that description," and that the Grenadier Company distinguished itself at Eutaw Springs in 1781.[1] Elsewhere we read that Small with part of his battalion joined Clinton at New York in 1779,[2] and a muster-roll preserved at the Record Office shows that one company at least was quartered on Brooklyn Heights in September of that year. From another muster-roll taken in March 1783, it appears that the headquarters of the battalion were then at Fort Edward, to the south of Lake Champlain; that two companies were in Jamaica; and that detachments were posted in Newfoundland and at Spanish River.[3]

The greater part of the battalion was disbanded at Windsor in Nova Scotia in October and November 1783.[4] The men subsequently settled in the colony and formed a township to which they gave the name of Douglas.[5]

[1] *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 186.

[2] Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. p. 552, and the article on Small in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes.

[4] The detachment in Newfoundland, which had been stationed there since April 1776, met with rough weather while on the passage to Nova Scotia, and was driven south to Antigua. It was finally disbanded at Halifax on the 24th of April 1784. *Ibid.*

[5] The name was probably chosen out of compliment to Small, who placed on record in his Will that his family was "originally descended from the antient and gallant race of Douglass."

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THE 77TH REGIMENT OF FOOT

OR

ATHOLL HIGHLANDERS[1]

1777–83

BY THE DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T.

WHEN in 1775 hostilities first broke out with the American colonists, Lieutenant-Colonel James Murray, 3rd Guards, second son of Lord George Murray and uncle to John, fourth Duke of Atholl, made an offer to the Government to raise a regiment of Highlanders, 1000 strong, to serve in America during the continuance of the war, on condition that he should be the colonel and have the nomination of his own officers. This offer was declined, and in March 1777 Colonel Murray proceeded to join the composite battalions of Guards then serving in North America.

Towards the end of that year, however, after the news of the capitulation at Saratoga had reached Great Britain, and grave fears had begun to be entertained that France would join the rebellious colonists, the Duke of Atholl renewed the offer which had been made by his uncle some two years previously. His proposal was accepted by the Government, and on December the 25th, 1777, a warrant was signed by the King, appointing Colonel Murray to the command of the new regiment, which was to be entitled the Atholl Highlanders.

The regiment was to be ten companies strong, with an establishment of 1129 of all ranks, and was to serve for three years or to the end of the American War, at the option of His Majesty.

The uniform was to consist of a belted plaid of Atholl (green Murray) tartan,[2] red coatee with facings of the same colour,[3] white waistcoat, red-and-white hose, feather bonnet with red hackle, and black belts, while the Grenadier Company were to wear bearskin caps.

The headquarters of the regiment were established at Perth, and recruiting went on so briskly that in two months—in spite of all the other corps then being raised—only 200 men were wanting to complete the strength. On March the 12th 1778, orders were issued that the Atholl Highlanders should be ready to embark at Greenock for America on April the 2nd; but a fortnight later counter orders were received, changing the destination of the regiment to Ireland. Under

[1] From the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*.

[2] In 1779 the pipers and drummers were given green coats and belted plaids of red Murray tartan.

[3] The facings were subsequently changed to green.

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LIEUTENANT THOMAS STEUART

SECOND SON OF DALGUISE, IN THE UNIFORM OF THE 77TH REGIMENT OR ATHOLL HIGHLANDERS

(*From a Portrait at Blair Castle*)

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the command of Major Hew Dalrymple [1] (pending Colonel Murray's return from America) the regiment was inspected by General Skene at Linlithgow on the 29th of April, and on that day numbered in all 1022 effectives, of whom 911 were rank and file.[2]

On May the 9th the Atholl Highlanders embarked at Greenock, and landed in Ireland at the end of the month. They were stationed at the following places :—four companies at Limerick, four at Galway, one at Clare Castle, and one at Ochterarde.

On July the 27th notice was received that the Atholl Highlanders had been numbered the 77th of the Line, and about the same time Colonel Murray returned from America. He joined the regiment in September 1778.

In November the quarters of the regiment were changed; six companies were sent to Galway, one company to Ochterarde, one to Ballyshannon, one to Ballinrobe, and one to Carrick-on-Shannon.

In 1779 the Colonel offered to raise a second battalion for the Atholl Regiment, but the proposal was not accepted. In the course of this year the quarters of the 77th were changed as follows :—

June.—Eight companies at Limerick, one at Sligo, and one at Clare Castle.

July.—Ardfinnan camp, near Clonmell.

August.—Aghada camp, near Cloyne.

November.—Seven companies at Youghall, one at Castle Martyr, one at Middletown, and one at Cloyne.

December.—Kinsale.

In the following summer a band of thirteen performers was added to the regiment.

In August 1780 the Atholl Highlanders were moved to Dublin, where they remained during the whole of 1781, with the exception of the months of September and October, when—on an alarm of a joint French and Spanish invasion—all available troops were ordered to march to Cork for its defence.

The 77th marched from Dublin by half-battalions on the 9th and 10th September. The march was performed in an incredibly short time—the regiment covering about thirty miles a day—and the General Commanding intimated his thanks in the following memorandum :—

---

[1] One of the first steps taken by the Duke of Atholl in connection with the regiment had been to nominate as lieutenant-colonel William Brown, a captain of Invalids, who had served with the 42nd Regt. in America and the West Indies. Captain Brown, supposing that the Duke's nomination would be ratified, discharged the duties of lieutenant-colonel to the regiment for about a month, but Lord Barrington finally refused to make the appointment, on the ground that he could not be promoted two steps in rank at once. To make up to Captain Brown for his disappointment, the Duke procured for him the governorship of Upnor Castle, which was vacated by Colonel Murray. The 77th remained without a lieutenant-colonel until the following September, when Major Charles Gordon, 11th Regt., was appointed. See list of officers, p. 76.

[2] Of the rank and file—473 were Highlanders, 382 were Lowlanders, 42 were English, and 14 were Irish; 547 were over 5 ft. 4 in. in height, and 364 were under 5 ft. 4 in. in height; 380 were over 30 years of age, 452 were from 18 to 30 years, and 79 were under 18 years of age.

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"HEAD QUARTERS, CORK,
15th Sept. 1781.

"The Commander-in-Chief returns his thanks to the Officers and Soldiers of the 77th Regiment for their very great and unusual exertions in marching from Dublin to Cork.

"The zeal of the corps for the service and the attention of the Officers during so long a march, performed in so short a time, is sufficiently evinced by their not leaving a man behind on the road."

The regiment remained in Dublin until July 1782, when its quarters were again changed, seven companies being sent to Waterford, two to Wexford, and one to Clonmell. In August it was ordered to England, and embarked at Passage (near Waterford) for Bideford. After being quartered for two months at Bideford and Barnstaple, the Atholl Highlanders were moved into Hampshire, where different companies were stationed at Basingstoke, Alton, Andover, and Whitchurch. In November Colonel Murray was appointed a major-general, and the command of the regiment accordingly devolved on Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon.

That the 77th left Dublin in a high state of efficiency is proved by the following extract from a letter written to Colonel Murray by Lieutenant-General Baugh, who inspected it before its departure. The General wrote :—

"Notwithstanding their having run through the firey tryal of having been almost two years in this Capital their behaviour has been uniformly, I may realy in one word say, everything that could be wished for in a soldier. . . . It is impossible for a regiment to be *in every respect* better appointed."

This letter is interesting in view of what afterwards occurred.

Early in January 1783 the Atholl Highlanders received orders to proceed to the East Indies. They accordingly marched to Portsmouth—from which port they were to embark—the last three companies arriving there on Saturday, January the 25th.[1]

It will be remembered that when the regiment was first raised the men were enlisted for three years or during the continuance of the American War. Some two months previously a treaty had been concluded with America, and on January the 25th news reached Portsmouth that the preliminaries of peace with France and Spain had also been signed, but notwithstanding this the order for embarkation was not countermanded. To quote General Stewart of Garth :[2]—

"They (*i.e.* the Atholl Highlanders) showed no reluctance to embark, nor any desire to claim their discharge, to which their letters of service entitled them. On the contrary, when they came in sight of the fleet at Spithead, as they marched across Portsdown Hill, they pulled off their bonnets, and gave three cheers for a brush with Hyder Ali. But no sooner were they quartered

[1] On that date the regiment numbered 1041 officers and men under arms.
[2] *Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. ii. App. p. lxxxii.

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in Portsmouth, to wait till the transports should be ready, than distrust and discord appeared. Emissaries from London, it is affirmed, expatiated on the faithlessness of sending them to such a distance, when their term of service had expired, and inflamed them by reports of their being sold, for a certain sum per man, to the East India Company. Some of the officers, it was added, were to divide the money among themselves. Had their confidence in their officers not been thus undermined, they would not have been so easily stirred up to disobedience and disregard of their authority, and disbelief of the explanation given by those to whom they had hitherto shown the greatest attachment. But the influence of these motives having been destroyed by false insinuations against their officers, there was the less restraint on their indignation at what was but too true; that no regard was paid to the engagement by which they had bound themselves. The consequence was, a determination on the part of the soldiers to adhere to their terms of service, and not to embark for India."

On the following day a deputation of the Atholl Highlanders waited on the General commanding at Portsmouth, showed him a copy of their attestation forms, and declared their opinion that they were now entitled to their discharge.

The General's answer was to the effect that the war was not yet finally concluded, and that until it was, he considered that they might be sent anywhere; but (as the Adjutant wrote afterwards) "he might have spar'd giving his oppinion, as it was very little attended to."

Colonel Gordon, in the hope of stopping the discontent, ordered the men to be paid up to that day; but this if anything made matters worse, as the people of Portsmouth encouraged the men to drink, and—to quote the same authority —"were very industrious in persuading the men that as their agreement was performed they ought not to embark, and assured them that they were sold to the India Company and their officers were not to go with them."

The events which followed cannot be better described than in the following letter from Colonel Gordon to General Murray:—

"Haslar Hospital,
28th January 1783.

"Dear Sir,

". . . On Sunday at 12 o'clock the whole Regiment was paraded with arms and accoutrements, which, after inspecting very narowly, I told them by Companies to be upon the publick parade by 10 o'clock on Monday following in order to embark on board the 'Indiaman,' that I hoped for the credit of the regiment there would be no absentees nor a single man the worse for liquor. Upon which I dismissed the regiment and found some of the men grumbling, but particularly the Grenadier Company. . . . I went to the parade by 12 o'clock yesterday, it being put off on acc^{tt} of rain, when a great many of the Reg^{t} [1] was assembling with their arms. I observed a good many of the Grenadiers the worse of liquor and noisy; I went up to the Comp^{y} and commanded silence,

[1] *i.e.* the Grenadier Company and two of the battalion companies.

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when they told me unanimously they wou'd sooner loose their lives than go on board of ship, and that they were sold like so many Bullocks to the India Company. That they had made good their agreement by serving during the American War. Whilst I was endeavouring to convince them of their being misled by some people who did not wish well to the service, they suddenly attacked me with their Firelocks, knocked me down several times, and with the utmost difficulty, by the assistance of L^{t} Farquharson, Sen^{r} (who I am sorry to find is much cut in the head) and a few of the men, I was carried into a house near to the Parade, where they endeavoured to force the door. I was determined, with the few men with me (who were much attacked) to sell my life as dear as I could, but finding they were firing in the town, and the very small probability of our being able to prevent them from breaking in to the house, I thought of an expedient which had the desired effect, by desiring one of the men to inform them that the L^{t} Col: was in that house, but from the blows he received he was breathing out his last. Soon after they dispersed, by which means I made my escape.

"They broke open the stores, took out ammunition and their swords. In that distracted state the Reg^{t} is now in [*sic*]. Had Lord Grantham's letter[1] been published a few days later, they would I'm certain have embarked with the greatest cheerfullness. I can only say that every step was taken to prevent these irregularities; the uneasiness it gives me and the corps you may easier conceive than I can possibly describe.

"I have the honor to be, Dear General,

"Y^{r} most ob^{t} and most humble Servant,

"CHA^{S} GORDON."

There can be no doubt that the soldiers' violent actions were largely accounted for by the condition of many of their number, but, whether drunk or sober, they firmly believed in the justice of their cause.

On January the 26th some of the men had sent a letter to Lord George Gordon (the instigator of the Gordon Riots) informing him that they were to be sent to the East in violation of public faith, and that there was every likelihood of a desperate resistance being made. It is known that Lord George sent back an answer, assuring them of his support in all legal proceedings, and he doubtless encouraged them in their mutinous conduct.

As soon as General Murray heard of the mutiny he started for Portsmouth in the hope of restoring order, but was advised by the officers not to show himself to the regiment. A few days later he was present on parade, and did all he could to convince the mutineers that he had never done them any injury; but to this "they gave very little faith." He then made an effort—through the medium of Captain William Robertson—to persuade them to disavow the mutiny; but only two companies could be prevailed upon to do this.

[1] *i.e.* the letter announcing that preliminaries of peace had been signed.

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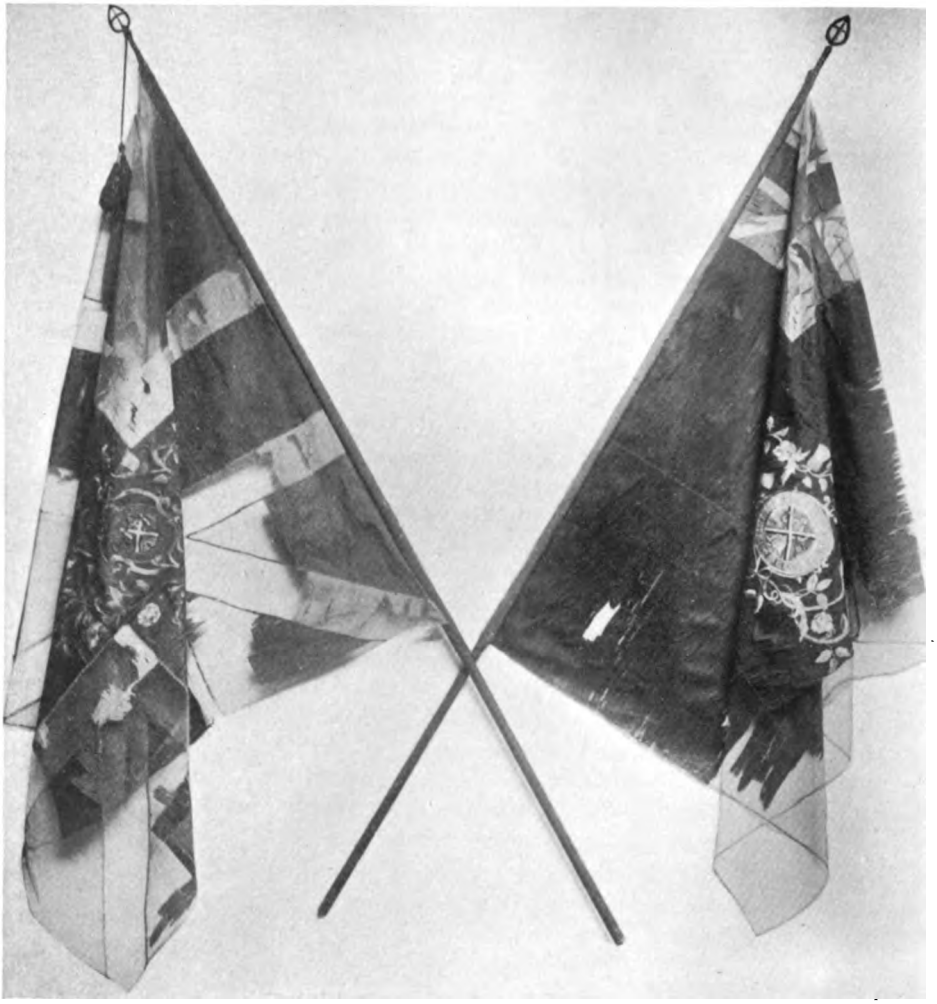

COLOURS OF THE 77TH REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR ATHOLL HIGHLANDERS

(*Preserved at Blair Castle*)

The Royal colour shows the first Union, St. George and St. Andrew. Embroidered in the centre of each is the circle and motto of St. Andrew, within a wreath of roses and thistles. In the dexter canton of the green regimental colour is the first Union.

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The Atholl Highlanders, however, were very leniently dealt with. The Government first offered them the chance of re-enlisting for a bounty; but as they would not advance the money until five hundred men had offered their services, and refused to give it before the men were actually on board, the offer was rejected by the mutineers. The embarkation was then countermanded, and the regiment was sent by detachments into Surrey, where—to the despair of the officers—no steps were taken to seize even the ringleaders, although it was well known who they were. From the fact that not a single man of the 77th was brought to trial or punished for the mutiny, it may be inferred that the Government—however unjustifiable they may have considered the mode of redress adopted by the men—felt that they had some cause for complaint. But they probably arrived at this decision the more readily that Lord George Gordon had interested himself in the affair, for they would know that a popular outcry might have to be faced if they persisted in their intention of sending the regiment to the East Indies.

The men, while quartered in Surrey, sent a letter of thanks and an address to Lord George, and it may therefore be concluded that they believed they owed something to his intervention.

In February orders were received for the regiment to march down to Scotland in four divisions, and on arrival at Berwick in April and May 1783 it was disbanded successively by companies.

In this very regrettable manner closed the services of a regiment which, on every occasion previous to the mutiny at Portsmouth, had behaved exceptionally well and borne an irreproachable character.

Had the Government offered a small bounty as soon as peace was declared, there can be little doubt that in most cases the order to proceed to the East Indies would have been cheerfully obeyed.

Of the Atholl Regiment, General Stewart of Garth wrote in 1821 :—

"The officers of this regiment lived on the happiest and most friendly footing. Those of them who survive still cherish their former friendships, and, at the distance of forty years, indulge in the recollections of early intimacy. These feelings extended to the soldiers, who before the occurrence just mentioned were respectful, and attached to their officers. The whole corps was, in short, like a family, of which General Murray was the common father and friend. Before the reduction, he assembled the officers, and, taking a memorandum of the wishes and views of each individual, he made such good use of his own and his family's influence, that, before he died, and without any further application on their part, he got everyone who was so inclined restored to full pay."

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77TH REGIMENT OF FOOT, OR ATHOLL HIGHLANDERS[1]

OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED.

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 77TH	PROMOTIONS, EXCHANGES, &C.	REMARKS.
Colonel	James Murray of Strowan[2] . .	Capt. and Lt.-Col., 3rd Guards	25 Dec. 1777	Major-Gen. . . . . 20 Nov. 1782	...
Lt.-Col.	Charles Gordon of Shealegreen .	Major, 11th Foot	25 Sept. 1778	Col., 77th Foot . . . . . 28 Feb. 1783	...
				Exchd. to 61st Foot . . . 5 Mch. ,,	...
Major	Hew Whiteford Dalrymple[3] . .	Capt., 1st ,,	17 Dec. 1777	Lt.-Col., 68th ,, ... 21 Sept. 1781	...
,,	Sir Robt. Stuart of Tilliecoultry, Bt.	,, 30th ,,	25 ,, ,,	Brevet Lt.-Col. . . . . 19 Feb. 1783	Afterwards general.
Captain	John Grant of Lurg	— half pay —	,, ,, ,,	Retired . . . . . 29 June 1780	...
,,	James Graham	Lieut., 1st Foot	26 ,, ,,	Died . . . . . 31 Jan. 1779	Brother of Fintry.
,,	James Campbell	,, 42nd ,,	27 ,, ,,	,, ... 4 July 1782	Third son of Glenure and Barcaldine.
,,	John Balneavis	,, 19th ,,	29 ,, ,,	Exchd. to 74th Foot . . . 22 Jan. 1783	Son of Cairnbeddie.
,,	Lord William Murray[4] . . .	,, 42nd ,,	30 ,, ,,	...	Brother of 4th Duke of Atholl.
,,	Hon. Charles Cathcart[5] . . .	,, 23rd ,,	31 ,, ,,	Major, 98th Foot . . . . 29 May 1780	...
,,	William Morrison[6]	,, 25th ,,	10 July 1778	,, 77th ,, ... 13 Mch. 1783	...
Capt.-Lt.	James Menzies of Invergowrie[7] .	,, 1st ,,	28 Dec. 1777	Capt. ,, ,, ... 1 May 1779	...
Lieut.	Charles Murray	,, Marines	25 ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt. ,, ,, ... 29 June 1780	Son of 3rd Duke of Atholl.
				Capt. ,, ,, ... 3 Aug. 1782	...
,,	John Wood	2nd Lt., R. Arty.	26 ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt. ,, ,, . . . ,, ,, ,,	Son of Dr. Wood, Perth.
,,	Atholl Douglas	Ens., 48th Foot	27 ,, ,,	,, Indt. Coy. . . . 9 April 1781	Son of Jeanfield.
,,	William Horn	...	28 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Gilbert Ainslie	...	29 ,, ,,	Exchd. to 24th Foot . . . 19 Nov. 1781	...
,,	John Farquharson, *paymaster* .	...	30 ,, ,,	...	Son of Invercauld's factor.
,,	Charles Farquharson	...	31 ,, ,,	Exchd. to hf. pay Indt. Coy. 12 Aug. 1779	...
,,	Patrick Stewart	...	1 Jan. 1778	Capt.-Lt. 103rd Foot . . . 14 Jan. 1782	Second son of Balnakeilly.
,,	Charles Stewart	...	2 ,, ,,	...	Brother of Garth.
,,	James Stewart[8]	...	3 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Patrick Campbell	...	4 ,, ,,	...	Son of Edinchip.
,,	William Gillespie	...	5 ,, ,,	Capt. Indt. Coy. 15 May 1781	...
,,	George Freer of Innernethy . .	...	6 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, . 23 April ,,	...
,,	Robert Ferguson, yr. of Stronvar	...	7 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	William Scott	...	8 ,, ,,	...	Son of Dr. Scott, London.
,,	Thomas Steuart	...	9 ,, ,,	Capt. 63rd Foot . . . . 15 Jan. 1783	Second son of Dalguise.
,,	Robert Duff	...	10 ,, ,,	,, Indt. Coy . . . . 26 May 1781	Son of a land surveyor, Dundee
,,	Patrick Campbell	...	11 ,, ,,	,, Waller's Corps . . . 22 Jan. 1783	Gd. nephew of Glenure and Barcaldine.
,,	John Farquharson	...	12 ,, ,,	...	Son of Lt. Alex. Farquharson, Micris, late 42nd.

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Lieut.	John Menzies, yr. of Bolfracks	...	13 Jan. 1778		...
,,	William Shillinglaw	...	14 ,, ,,	Capt., Indt. Coy.	19 May 1781 ...
Ensign	John M^cKay, *quartermaster*	Sgt., 3rd Guards	25 Dec. 1777	Lieut., 77th Foot	29 June 1780 ...
,,	William Byers, *adjutant*	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	5 Feb. 1781 ...
				Capt., 103rd ,,	19 Feb. 1783
,,	Richard Landreth	...	26 ,, ,,	Lieut., 94th ,,	3 Mch. 1780 Nephew of Capt. Wm. Brown, late 42nd.
				,, 77th ,,	26 May 1782 ...
,,	Patrick Mackenzie[9]	...	28 ,, ,,	Adjt., ,, ,,	17 Jan. ,,
,,	Charles Robertson	...	29 ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt., 101st ,,	24 Sept. 1781 Son of former Laird of Killiechangie.
,,	James Robertson	...	30 ,, ,,	Lieut., Indt. Coy.	15 May ,, ...
,,[7]	John Shaw	...	31 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	10 April ,, ...
,,	Alexander Sutherland	...	1 Jan. 1778	,, ,, ,,	18 May ,, ...
Chaplain	Rev. Alexander Mackenzie	..	25 Dec. 1777	...	Younger, of Finegand.
Surgeon	James Spence	...	,, ,, ,,	Retired	19 Jan. 1780[10] Son of doctor at Dunkeld.
Surgeon's Mate	George Duncan[11]	...	— 1778	Ens., 77th Foot	Dec. ,, Nephew of late Robertson of Faskally.
				Lieut., Indt. Coy.	26 May 1781
,, ,,	John M'Intosh	...	— ,,	Ens., 77th Foot	2 June ,, ...

Agents—for England, Messrs. Cox, Mair, and Cox, Craig's Court, London; for Scotland, Mr. George Farquhar,[12] Edinburgh; for Ireland, Sir William Montgomery, Bart., Dublin.

OFFICERS APPOINTED LATER.

Capt.-Lt.	Patrick Campbell	Lt., 71st Foot (?)	1 May 1779[13]	Capt., 77th Foot	29 June 1780 ...
				Exchd. to 36th ,,	4 April 1782
Lieut.	Lewis Drummond MacGregor	,, hf. pay Indt. Coy.	12 Aug. ,,	Died	4 Dec. 1780
Surgeon	George Rennie	Sgn. Mate 67th Foot	19 Jan. 1780	...	...
Captain	William Robertson, yr. of Lude[14]	Lieut., 55th ,,	29 June ,,	...	...
Surgeon's Mate	Robert MacLagan	...	1 Nov. ,,	...	Brother of doctor at Taymouth.

[1] From the *Atholl and Tullibardine Chronicles*, the *Army Lists* (including MS. notes in *Army Lists* at Record Office), and *War Office Registers Various*.

[2] Brevet colonel, 18th December 1777. Afterwards lieutenant-general. See his biography, pp. 411–14.

[3] Afterwards general. Grandson of the Hon. Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, 1st Bart. Knighted as proxy for his step-father, Sir Adolphus Oughton 1779. Created baronet 1815.

[4] Fourth son of third Duke of Atholl.

[5] Second son of ninth Lord Cathcart. Brother-in-law of fourth Duke of Atholl.

[6] From 1782 onwards appears in the *Army Lists* as William Morrison Maxwell. The *Army Lists* for 1779–80 show one Peter Murdoch as captain in the 77th (commission dated 23rd November 1778), but from the *Army List* for 1781 it appears that he was appointed to the 74th Foot on that date. He subsequently exchanged to the 77th (see p. 76).

[7] From 1779 onwards he appears in the *Army Lists* as a captain (commission dated 28th December 1777), but the monthly returns of the regiment show that he did not command a company until the date mentioned here. Only the commission as captain-lieutenant is to be found in the *W. O. Registers*.

[8] Second son of Henry Stewart of Fincastle (*Memoir of Mrs. Stewart Sandeman of Bonskeid and Springland*, p. 7).

[9] Second son of Colin Mackenzie of Finegand. Served in the defence of Toulon, 1793, in Corsica, 1794, and in the Peninsula. Died a major-general, 1820.

[10] Retired on appointment as surgeon to the British Embassy at Turin.

[11] It is probably he who appears in the *Army List* of 1780 as "—— Douglas."

[12] Advocate, Edinburgh. Brother of Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart., M.D., London.

[13] So *Army Lists*, 1781 and 1782. "10 July" in *Army List*, 1780.

[14] Afterwards lieutenant-general. Eldest son of James Robertson of Lude (son of "Lady Lude," an ardent Jacobite of 1745), and Margaret, daughter of Colonel Robert Mercer of Aldie, who fell at Culloden. For some details of William Robertson's career, see articles on the Perthshire Fencibles and Volunteers respectively.

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OFFICERS APPOINTED LATER—*Continued.*

Rank.	Name.	Formerly	Appointed to 77th	Promotions, Exchanges, &c.	Remarks.
Ensign	John Moore	...	12 Dec. 1780	Lieut., Indt. Coy. 24 April 1781	Never joined 77th. Irish.
,,	John Napier	...	,, ,,	,, ,, ,, 10 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
Lieut.	Alexander Adolphus Dalley	Ensign, 31st Foot	30 April 1781	Capt., 93rd Foot 4 Dec. 1782	First cousin of Major Dalrymple, 77th.
Ensign	Robert Stewart, yr. of Fincastle	,, Scots Dutch	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., 77th ,, 2 June 1781	...
,,	Francis Hewetson	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, 3 Aug. 1782	Irish.
,,	Anthony Gordon	...	,, ,, ,,	Ensign, 67th ,, 1 Sept. 1781	Never joined 77th. Irish.
,,	Henry Munro	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., Indt. Coy. 29 May ,,	,, ,, ,,
,,	James Pratt	...	26 May ,,	,, 77th Foot 22 Jan. 1783	...
,,	Charles Gordon	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	Nephew of Lt.-Col. Gordon, 77th.
Lieut.	James Robertson	Ensign, 45th Foot	2 June ,,	...	Third son of Lude.
Ensign	Benjamin Power	...	,, ,, ,,	Died 26 Mch. 1783	Irish.
Lieut.	Alex. Stewart, yr. of Balnakeilly	Ensign, 88th Foot	16 July ,,	...	...
Sgn. Mate	John Brown	...	21 ,, ,,	Surgn. 103rd Foot 3 Nov. 1781	...
Ensign	Donald MacGregor	...	1 Sept. ,,	Retired 21 April 1783	Nephew of Lt. L. D. MacGregor, 77th.
Major	John Hely-Hutchinson[1]	Captain, 67th ,,	21 ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., 77th Foot 13 Mch. ,,	...
Sgn. Mate	John Wallace	...	3 Nov. ,,	...	...
Lieut.	George Cotter	Lieut., 24th Foot	19 ,, ,,	Capt., 103rd Foot June 1782	Never joined 77th.
Ensign	Alexander Robertson	...	31 Mch. 1782	...	Son of Balnacraig.
Captain	Thomas Prickett	Capt.-Lt., 36th Foot	4 April ,,	...	...
Lieut.	Robert Johnstone	Lieut., 5th ,,	13 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Christopher Irwine	,, 49th ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	...
,,	William Charles Lynam	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	Retired 21 April 1783	...
Ensign	William Campbell	...	3 Aug. ,,	Lieut., 77th Foot 7 Mch ,,	Sixth son of Glenure and Barcaldine.
,,	Edmund Stewart	...	14 Nov. ,,	...	Seventh son of Balnakeilly.
Captain	Peter Murdoch	Captain, 74th Foot	22 Jan. 1783	...	Never joined 77th.
Ensign	John McKay	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Nephew of Qrmr. McKay, 77th. Never joined 77th.
,,	Matthew Macnamara	...	24[2] ,, ,,	...	Never joined 77th.
Lt.-Col.	John Acklom	Lt.-Col., 61st Foot	5 Mch. ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
Captain	William Houstoun	Lieut., Indt. Coy.	13 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
Ensign	Robert Ainslie[3]	...	14 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
Lieut.	Archibald Douglas	Corn., 3rd Dgn. Gds.	8 April ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
Ensign	Thomas Graham	...	14 ,, ,,	...	Son of Duchray. Never joined 77th.
,,	David Stewart[4]	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Second son of Garth. Never joined 77th.
,,	John Cannon	...	26 ,, ,,	...	Never joined 77th.

[1] Second son of the Right Hon. John Hely-Hutchinson. Aftds. general, G.C.B., K.C. Cr. Baron Hutchinson, 1801. Suc. as second Earl of Donoughmore, 1825.
[2] Date in *W. O. Registers.* "22 Jan." in *Army List* for 1783.
[3] Appears on half-pay of 77th until 1865.
[4] Afterwards Major-General Stewart of Garth, author of *Sketches of the Highlanders.* See his biography, p. 475 *et seq.*

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THE SECOND BATTALION THE BLACK WATCH
(ROYAL HIGHLANDERS)
THE OLD SEVENTY-THIRD
1780–1899[1]

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

THE 73rd, or "Perthshire" Regiment, was originally raised as the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Highland (42nd) Regiment, and while the old battalion was away fighting in America, it was embodied in Perth, over a thousand strong, on the 21st of March, 1780. It was a time of great peril; the country was engaged in a fierce struggle with France and Spain in Europe, with the revolted colonies in America, with Haidar Ali in India; the Empress Katharine had formed against England an "armed neutrality" of Russia, Norway, and Sweden, and in the course of the year Holland also declared war against Great Britain.

It speaks volumes for the loyal way in which the Highlanders had accepted the inevitable that, although it was but thirty-four years since Culloden had been fought, no fewer than 12,500 of them at this time joined the British Army within eighteen months. The list of the original officers of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd shows many historic Highland names, both Whig and Jacobite. The Colonel was Lord John Murray, who had commanded the Royal Highland Regiment since 1745. The Lieutenant-Colonel was Norman Macleod of Macleod, grandson and successor of the Macleod who so fiercely opposed Prince Charles. The Major was Patrick Græme, second son of the Jacobite Laird of Inchbrakie who married a daughter of Oliphant of Gask. Among the captains and subalterns were James Drummond, who afterwards bore the historic title of Lord Perth; Colin Campbell, a nephew of Glenure, the victim of the Appin murder; John Grant, grandson of the Jacobite Chief of Glenmoriston; Alexander MacGregor of Balhaldies, son of the Jacobite agent of the previous generation; and Robert Robertson, a younger son of Lude and a grandson of "Lady Lude" of the '45, the most ardent Jacobite in Perthshire. There was, too, a remarkable man among the lieutenants, whose career may be briefly referred to. John Oswald, the son of an Edinburgh goldsmith, had enlisted in the 18th Royal Irish Regiment, in which he rose to be a sergeant. Marrying a young woman with money, he obtained his discharge, purchased a commission in the Royal Highlanders, and on the formation of the 2nd Battalion was transferred to it as lieutenant. He accompanied the battalion to India, where he adopted the habits

[1] From Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, Cannon's *Historical Record of the 73rd*, and information acquired personally from the regiment.

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of a Hindu and refrained from animal food. For a short time he was adjutant of the regiment, but his conduct was so tyrannical and eccentric that he had to be removed from that position, and he left the Army. He professed himself an ardent republican, and on the outbreak of the French Revolution joined the French Army, in which he obtained the command of a regiment. Along with his two sons, whom he had enlisted as drummers, he was killed in an action in La Vendée some time in the year 1793.

The first service for which the battalion was destined was an attack on the Cape of Good Hope, and it left England in March 1781. On reaching the Cape the expedition found itself forestalled by the French; the attack was abandoned, and the battalion was sent on to India to fight against Haidar Ali and his son Tipu. The voyage, which took thirteen months, was full of vicissitude and misfortune. The regiment was attacked by scurvy and fever, and lost no fewer than five officers (including Major Græme) and 116 non-commissioned officers and men.

For some time after the arrival of the Royal Highlanders in India they were employed against Tipu, who was assisted by a force of Europeans under Lally, a French general of Irish extraction, who had been with Prince Charles in his Scottish campaign. Co-operating with Colonel Mackenzie-Humberston of the 100th Regiment, the Highlanders foiled the enemy at Paniane and were present at the capture of Onone, but their most famous feat of arms at this time was the defence of Mangalore. Colonel Macleod had become a brigadier and had gone to Bombay, and the command of the battalion had fallen to Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell (second son of John Campbell, Lord Stonefield), who in May 1783 found himself defending Mangalore with a force of 459 Europeans and 1500 sepoys fit for duty. Against him Tipu brought an army of 90,000 men and 90 guns, exclusive of his French auxiliaries. For nine months the little garrison held out against these overwhelming odds, but in February 1784, when in a state of absolute exhaustion from starvation and disease, the garrison capitulated, and was allowed to depart with all the honours of war. Mangalore brought great glory to the battalion. A military writer says that "the defence of Colberg, in Pomerania, . . . and that of Mangalore, in the East Indies, by Colonel Campbell and the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders . . . are as noble examples as any in history." The East India Company erected a monument at Bombay to the memory of the fallen, and the King commanded that the word "Mangalore" should be borne on the regimental colour. Even the Sultan Tipu behaved with generosity, for he presented Colonel Campbell with an Arab charger and a sabre in token of admiration for his gallant defence.[1]

[1] The intercourse at this time between Indian and British soldiers seems to have been far more on terms of equality than it afterwards became. A remarkable letter from Colonel Macleod, written about this time to the Sultan Tipu, has been preserved: "You or your interpreter have said in your letter to me that I have lied, or made a *mensonge*. Permit me to inform you, Prince, that this language is not good for you to give or me to receive; and if I were alone with you in the desert you would not dare to say these words to me. An Englishman scorns to lie; this is an irreparable affront to an English warrior. If you have courage enough to meet me, take a hundred of your bravest men on foot, meet me on the sea shore, I will fight you, and a hundred men of mine will fight yours."

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An incident in the defence of Mangalore should not be passed over, recalling as it does the devotion of the sepoys at Arcot to their European comrades thirty-two years before, and presaging the friendship of Highlanders and Gurkhas a century later. The Scottish soldiers at Mangalore became so attached to a corps of sepoys that they adopted these " brave blacks " into their own regiment, and renamed them the 3rd Battalion of the Royal Highland Regiment.

Meantime, the Treaty of Versailles had created a general peace in Europe and America, the French had withdrawn from their alliance with Tipu, and one month after the capitulation of Mangalore peace was concluded with the Indian monarch. This peace was fatal to the existence of many Highland regiments, and the Government intended to reduce the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd. Strong representations were made, however, against the proposal; the services of the battalion in India were pleaded in its favour, and the companies were complete in numbers—having been lately recruited from Scotland. It was finally resolved that the battalion should be formed into a separate corps with the title of the 73rd Highland Regiment, and this event took place at Dinapur in Bengal on the 18th of April, 1786. The facings adopted were green.

The reputation of the new regiment was so high, that in the following year Lord Mornington, declining a commission in the artillery, obtained an ensigncy in the 73rd for his brother Arthur, afterwards famous as Duke of Wellington. The " Hon. A. Wesley," as his name appears in the Army List, was less than a year in the 73rd, as he exchanged to the 76th in December. He did not join the headquarters of the regiment, which was then in India, but he served at the depôt, and no doubt wore the Highland garb. It was when with the 73rd that he began his researches in practical military science. Croker writes in after years: the Duke " told me that within a few days of joining his first regiment (I think he said the 73rd) as an ensign, he had one of the privates weighed in his clothes only, and then with all his arms, accoutrements, and kit, in full marching order, with the view of comparing, as well as he could, the power of the man with the duty expected from him."

There was peace in India until 1789, when Tipu again became restive, attacked one of our Indian allies, and involved us in war. The 73rd joined a Bombay column under Major-General Robert Abercromby, which, co-operating with an army under Lord Cornwallis from Eastern India, ended the war with the capture of Seringapatam in February 1792.

The French Revolution, however, had broken out in 1789, the King was executed in January 1793, and the next month we were again at war with France. By May the news reached India, and the 73rd, brigaded with the 71st and 72nd (both Highland regiments), was sent under Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Baird to besiege the French fortress of Pondicherry, which surrendered without much fighting. In 1795 Holland became a republic and united itself to France. Ceylon then belonged to Holland, and the 73rd was sent as part of a force which reduced all the Dutch settlements in that island. In 1797 the regiment returned to Southern India. Two years later its old enemy

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Tipu, who had been humiliated in 1792, was actively engaged in forming a coalition with the French of Mauritius and the Afghans of Kabul against the British. The Governor-General, Lord Mornington (afterwards Marquess Wellesley), therefore organised an army under Lieutenant-General George Harris to attack him in his own country. The 73rd Highlanders formed part of the force, in which their former ensign, Arthur Wellesley (now lieutenant-colonel of the 33rd), commanded a brigade. The first encounter took place at Mallavelly on the 27th of March, when Tipu was beaten and retreated to Seringapatam. General Harris followed, and on the 20th of April an attack was made on the Sultan's entrenchments in which two of the three advanced columns were commanded by 73rd officers, Lieutenant-Colonels Monypenny and St. John. Tipu was driven into Seringapatam, and on the 4th of May 1799 the assault of that fortress took place under the command of Major-General David Baird.[1] The 73rd and 74th, with some sepoys and a few artillerymen, formed the right column of attack. Seringapatam was stormed, Tipu was slain, and the power of Mysore was crushed. For their conspicuous services on this occasion the 73rd Highlanders received Royal authority to carry the name "Seringapatam" on their colours and appointments. But this was not the only recognition of their gallantry. Eight months later General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, was proud to become colonel of the regiment; and further, when in 1815 he was raised to the peerage as Lord Harris, he chose for the dexter supporter of his armorial bearings a grenadier soldier of the 73rd Regiment. It is rather disappointing to find that in books-of-arms this grenadier is not costumed in Highland dress. Lord Harris held the colonelcy until his death in 1826, and six years later his son, the second Lord Harris, was honoured with the same appointment.

After the storming of Seringapatam the regiment served for some time under Colonel Arthur Wellesley against the Polygars and Marathas, but in 1805 received orders for home. Few men, however, returned, most of them preferring to be transferred to other regiments in India. Those who elected to come home reached England in July 1806, and were sent to Stirling to recruit, but times had changed since the days of their first embodiment, and Scots recruits could not be got, either Highland or Lowland. Then the regiment was sent to Glasgow, and thence to Perth, its birthplace, in May 1807. But it was all in vain—the ranks had to be opened to the English and the Irish; in April 1809 the kilt was discontinued, and for fifty-three years the 73rd ceased to be either a Perthshire or a Highland regiment.

The old 73rd Regiment carried the name "Waterloo" on the regimental colour, an honour which was won for it by its second battalion. This battalion was raised at Nottingham in 1809, and the command was given to the son of the Honorary Colonel, William George Harris (afterwards second Lord Harris),

[1] Sir David Baird is often stated to have been colonel of the 73rd Regiment, a mistake made owing to the change of regimental number in 1786. Baird commanded Lord MacLeod's Highlanders, now the Highland Light Infantry, whose older number "73rd" was changed to "71st" at the time that the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd became the 73rd. See his biography, p. 441 *et seq.*

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who had been gazetted to a majority in the 73rd in 1803. The battalion remained in England until 1813, when it was sent to Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania to join an army under Bernadotte, organised to attack Napoleon, then at Leipsig. The 73rd was the only British regiment present at the battle of Gorde in Hanover, on the 16th of September 1813, in which Count Walmoden inflicted a severe defeat on the French.

In 1814 the 2nd Battalion saw some service under Sir Thomas Graham (afterwards Lord Lynedoch), in Holland and Belgium, where it remained during the peace which followed Napoleon's first abdication, and when the campaign of 1815 opened, it formed part of Halkett's brigade. It fought at Quatre Bras, and again at Waterloo, where it was on the right centre of the line, and "at no point was the pressure more severe than on Halkett's brigade." The losses on both days were terrible. Of twenty-three officers who marched into action on June the 16th, twenty-two were killed or wounded (seven killed or died of wounds), and at the end of the battle on the 18th the battalion was commanded by Robert Stewart, a junior lieutenant. Of non-commissioned officers and men three hundred and eleven were killed, wounded, or missing (seventy-five killed or died of wounds, forty-one missing). After Waterloo the remnant marched to Paris, returned to England in December, and on the 4th of May 1817 this second battalion was disbanded at Chelmsford, the best of the effective men being sent to join the 1st Battalion, then in Ceylon.

While the 2nd Battalion of the 73rd was winning distinction in Europe, the 1st Battalion was doing useful work in Australia. Though no longer distinctively a Scottish regiment, the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Lachlan Macquarie (a cadet of the ancient family of Ulva), was a typical Highlander, whose name cannot be passed over without some slight reference. He had seen service in America, in India, in the West Indies, and in Egypt. He had served in several regiments and on the staff, both abroad and in England, and in 1805 he was gazetted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 73rd, which he joined in 1807.

In 1809 Colonel Macquarie took the 1st Battalion out to New South Wales, where he found that the Governor had been deposed by a local corps, and that a miniature revolution was in progress. With the help of the 73rd the rising was quelled, and eventually most of the revolted troops joined the regiment. Macquarie was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the colony, and the stamp of his work remains to this day. The two chief rivers of New South Wales are named the "Lachlan" and the "Macquarie," and the name of this Highland colonel of the 73rd crops up in every part of the colony.

The battalion remained in New South Wales until 1815, when it was sent to Ceylon to help to suppress the King of Candy, whose tyranny had roused his subjects to a rebellion which resulted in a war with Great Britain. The regiment stayed in Ceylon until 1821; then it came home and served in England and Ireland until 1827, when it went to Gibraltar; to Malta in 1830; to the Ionian Islands in 1834. In 1838 it was sent to Canada, returning home in 1841. In 1845 the Honorary Colonel, the second Lord Harris, died, and was succeeded

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by Sir Robert Dick of Tulliemet.[1] This distinguished officer was the only Perthshire man who held the colonelcy after the separation of the regiment from the 42nd. He only held it eight months, for he was killed at Sobraon in the following year.

The regiment went to South Africa in 1845 and took its part in the Kaffir Wars, sharing in the disasters and successes of that miserable time. On one occasion five officers who had ridden to the top of a hill near camp to view the country were cut off and murdered; four of them belonged to the 73rd. This gloomy period of the history of the regiment was brightened by an episode which, though a terrible disaster, brought with it undying glory. In February 1852 the transport *Birkenhead*, carrying reinforcements to various regiments in South Africa, struck on a rock in Simon's Bay and became a total wreck. There were nearly 700 souls on board, chiefly soldiers. The boats could hold no more than 138. Perfect discipline prevailed; the troops fell in on deck as orderly as if on parade. All the women and children were saved, as well as five officers and 126 soldiers. Four hundred and fifty-four officers and soldiers—

> "Close ranged upon the poop, with bated breath, . . .
> Biding God's pleasure and their chief's command . . .
> Went down erect, defiant, to their grave
> Beneath the sea."

Of those who perished, two officers, one sergeant, and seventy soldiers belonged to the 73rd.

In 1858 the regiment left South Africa for India, where it saw some fighting in the Nepal jungles towards the end of the Mutiny, and this was its last active service as the 73rd. It went home in 1861; to Hong-Kong in 1868; thence to Ceylon and to India, from which it returned at the beginning of 1881.

From 1809 until 1862 the 73rd had no connection with Scotland, but in the year 1862 it received the title of the "Perthshire" Regiment, and in 1863 the red-and-white *fess-chequy* was added to the forage cap. In 1873, when the linked-battalion system was introduced, the 73rd was linked to the 90th "Perthshire Volunteers," with the depôt at Hamilton. When in 1881 the territorial system was established, the 73rd, then at Portsmouth, once more became the 2nd Battalion of the Black Watch (Royal Highlanders), after a separation of nearly a century. Once more it donned the Highland garb abandoned for over seventy years; and once more the depôt was established in the fair city of Perth, where the battalion had been embodied one hundred and one years before.

The 2nd Battalion of the Black Watch was stationed in the United Kingdom from 1881 to 1899, when it embarked for active service in South Africa.

[1] See his biography, p. 496 *et seq.*

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Many historical regiments have a traditional song which, written in doggerel, rude but graphic, recalls the deeds of their predecessors and fires the patriotism of their members; this sketch may well finish by quoting a few lines of the regimental ballad of the Old 73rd :—

"Come all ye loyal soldiers, come listen to my song,
While I relate you these few lines, I'll not detain you long;
'Tis of our noble selves, indeed, I mean to speak a word,
Sometimes we're called the 7 and 3, more times the 73rd.

Our corps was raised in Scotland, our facings they are green,
And every town that we go through, we're fit for to be seen;
We are so well respected and our officers so free,
No wonder then that girls admire the loyal 7 and 3.

We got the route for India, from Plymouth we made sail,
We had a happy voyage with a sweet and pleasant gale;
Our ship she cut the waves, my lad, as swift as any bird,
And soon in India landed was the loyal 73rd.

. . . . . .

Great Mars, the God of War, did never see such men before,
Nor Alexander fight like us at Mangalore;
At Seringapatam we fought and Tipu Sahib we slew,
'Twas there we showed the black dogs what the 73rd could do.

Now for our second battalion, to give to them their due,
They fought like British heroes on the plains of Waterloo:
With General Harris at their head, who nobly drew his sword,
Crying 'Death or glory now, my boys, for the loyal 73rd.'

A troop of the French cavalry came bravely charging down,
We were ordered to form solid square, and quickly it was done,
But when their Colonel came in sight our numbers for to see,
He quickly cried, '*Retraite, mes braves*, for them's the 7 and 3.'

They scarcely had retreated when we reformed our line,
The cuirassiers did now advance, their armour it did shine,
'Reform your square,' our Colonel cried, we soon obeyed his word,
And made them French dogs to retreat from the loyal 73rd.

Then next for Gibraltar we got our second route,
We scarce had landed there three weeks when a fever it broke out,
Which laid some of our comrades low, but God defends the corps,
For where our regiment lost fifteen, some regiments lost fourscore.

. . . . . .

Now to conclude and finish, with my song to make an end,
I hope, however, you'll excuse whate'er you may amend;
The only toast I have to give I give it in a word:
May the devil devour the flea that bites one of the 73rd!"

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2ND BATTALION 42ND (OR ROYAL HIGHLAND) REGIMENT OF FOOT, AFTERWARDS THE 73RD (HIGHLAND) REGIMENT

OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED[1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 2ND. BATT. 42ND.
Colonel	General Lord John Murray	Colonel, 1st Batt. 42nd Foot	21 March 1780
Lt.-Col.	Norman Macleod of Macleod[2]	Capt.-Lt., ,, 71st ,,	,, ,, ,,
Major	Patrick Græme[3]	Captain, ,, 42nd ,,	,, ,, ,,
Captain	Hay Macdowall[4]	,, ,, ,, ,,	20 Sept. 1779
,,	James Murray (of Castlehill?)	...	21 March 1780
,,	John McGregor[5]	Lieut., 1st Batt. 42nd Foot	22 ,, ,,
,,	Hon. James Drummond[6]	,, ... 66th ,,	23 ,, ,,
,,	Colin Campbell[7]	,, ... 36th ,,	24 ,, ,,
,,	Thomas Dalyell	,, ... 32nd ,,	25 ,, ,,
,,	David Lindsay	,, ... 69th ,,	26 ,, ,,
,,	John Grant[8]	...	27 ,, ,,
Lieutenant	John Grant	Lieut., 1st Batt. 42nd Foot	14 Jan. 1775
,,	Alexander MacGregor of Balhaldies	,, ,, ,, ,,	5 June 1778
,,	Dugald Campbell	,, ,, ,, ,,	26 Aug. ,,
,,	James Spens	Ensign, ,, ,, ,,	21 March 1780
,,	John Oswald	,, ,, ,, ,,	22 ,, ,,
,,	Æneas Fraser	,, 2nd Batt. 73rd ,,	23 ,, ,,
,,	John Wemyss	,, 47th Foot	24 ,, ,,
,,	Alexander Dunbar[9]	...	28 ,, ,,
,,	Alexander Maitland	...	29 ,, ,,
,,	Allan Robinson[10]	...	30 ,, ,,
,,	John Macleod	...	31 ,, ,,
,,	Alexander Rose	...	1 April ,,
Ensign	Charles Sutherland	...	21 March ,,
,,	John Murray Robertson	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Alexander Macdonald, yr. of Dalchosnie	...	22 ,, ,,
,,	Robert Robertson[11]	...	23 ,, ,,
,,	John Macdonald, yr. of Largie	...	24 ,, ,,
,,	William White	...	25 ,, ,,
,,	Charles Maclean	...	26 ,, ,,
,,	John Macpherson	...	27 ,, ,,[13]
Chaplain	John Stuart[12]	...	21 ,, 1780
Adjutant	Robert Leslie	Sgt.-Major, . . . 1st Foot	,, ,, ,,
Quartermr.	Kenneth Mackenzie[14]	...	27 ,, ,,
Surgeon	Thomas Farquharson	...	21 ,, ,,

Agents, Messrs. Anderson and Richardson, Lothbury.

[1] From the *Army Lists*, the list in Stewart's *Sketches* (1st and 2nd editions), and sundry family books and unpublished papers.

[2] Afterwards lieutenant-general.

[3] Second son of Patrick Græme of Inchbrakie and Aberuthven.

[4] Afterwards lieutenant-general. Fourth son of William Macdowall of Garthland.

[5] Appears as John Gregor in the *Army List* of 1780. Stewart of Garth, apparently misled by this, mentions both "John Gregor" and "John Macgregor" as captains in the list of original officers given in the 2nd edition of his *Sketches*, thus making eleven companies; but it is clear from the *Army Lists* that the establishment was only ten (the colonel would have no company). Only Macgregor is mentioned in the 1st edition of the *Sketches*.

[6] Third son of James Drummond, tenth (titular) Earl of Perth. Succeeded his father 1781. Created Lord Perth 1797.

[7] Fourth son of Duncan Campbell of Glenure and Barcaldine, and nephew of Colin Campbell of Glenure —not son of the latter, as stated by Garth.

[8] Son of Patrick Grant, yr. of Glenmoriston. Succeeded his father 1793. Garth calls him "of Glenmoriston," but both his father and grandfather were living in 1780.

[9] Grandson of Sir William Dunbar of Ackergill.

[10] Lieutenants Allan Robinson and John Macleod are not mentioned by Garth.

[11] Fourth son of James Robertson of Lude.

[12] Formerly preacher at Bunrannoch.

[13] "1781" in *Army Lists* for 1781 and 1782.

[14] A son of Mackenzie of Suddie. Brother-in-law of Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod. Appointed *vice* Donald Plowman, resigned.

[ED.]

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THE 95TH REGIMENT OF FOOT
1780–83

BY THE EDITOR

A REGIMENT contemporary with the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd was the 95th Foot, which was raised in 1780 by Lieutenant-Colonel (afterwards General) John Reid[1] at his own expense. In June 1779 Spain had joined her forces to those of France and America, and the battalions which owed their existence to Lord John Murray and John Reid respectively, were two out of many which were raised in that hour of peril without cost to the country. The raising of the 95th was officially sanctioned on the 23rd of July 1779,[2] but as the officers' commissions were granted in April 1780, the regiment was evidently not embodied before then.

Reid, who was appointed colonel of his regiment, was the eldest son of Alexander Robertson, the last "Baron Reid" of Straloch, but the property had been sold in 1778; and it was probably on this account, combined with the fact that Perthshire was being simultaneously recruited for the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd, that the 95th was raised, not in the Colonel's native county, but in Yorkshire.[3]

Though the 95th, therefore, cannot be regarded as a Perthshire regiment, one important service which it rendered must be briefly mentioned.

Towards the end of December 1780 a French expedition under the Baron de Rullecourt was despatched from Granville to capture the island of Jersey. The transports met with rough weather; some were driven back, others wrecked upon a shoal; but finally, at about eleven o'clock on the night of the 5th of January 1781, de Rullecourt, with the help of a treacherous Jersey pilot, landed some 700 men at Banc du Violet. A battery was seized, and the French marched off without delay to St. Helier, some four miles distant. The guard there was surprised, and the house of the Lieutenant-Governor, Major Moses Corbet, having been surrounded, he was made prisoner, though not before he had sent information to the three regiments then quartered in the island—the 78th Highlanders, the 83rd, and Reid's regiment, the 95th. Corbet, deceived by de Rullecourt as to the strength of his force, and threatened with the destruction of the island and the massacre of the inhabitants, was bullied into signing

[1] See his biography, p. 387 *et seq.*

[2] Hon. John Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. iii. p. 290, *note*.

[3] Lieut.-Colonel R. M. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers. Between 1780 and 1783 the *Army Lists* only show four names, besides the Colonel's, which suggest a possible connection with Perthshire.

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articles of capitulation, and when the troops, under the command of Major Francis Peirson[1] of the 95th, assembled on the heights above St. Helier, they received orders to lay down their arms. This order Peirson refused to obey, and, sending two companies of the Jersey Militia and the Light Infantry Companies of the 78th and 95th to approach the capital from the further side, marched down with the remainder of his force, which, as he approached the town, he divided into two columns. De Rullecourt, having seized the local artillery, had planted it in the avenues leading to the market-place, and as Peirson advanced, he was met by a heavy fire which killed him and for a moment threw his column back. But the men soon rallied; the attack was pressed simultaneously from two other quarters; and though the French fought gallantly, they soon found themselves surrounded and were obliged to lay down their arms. De Rullecourt, who had dragged the Governor with him into the fight, hoping to stop the British fire, was himself mortally wounded, while Corbet escaped with two bullets through his hat. Two detachments which had been landed at other places on the island were also taken, and the attack on Jersey ended in complete disaster. The British loss was not more than eighty killed and wounded.[2]

A monument in the parish church of St. Helier records the gratitude of the States of Jersey to Major Peirson of the 95th, and a fine picture by Copley, now in the National Gallery, represents his death. His body is being supported by various brother-officers, while the colours of the regiment are being borne into the thick of the fight.[3]

After the failure of de Rullecourt's expedition, no further attempt was made against Jersey, and on the conclusion of peace in 1783 Reid's regiment was disbanded.[4]

[1] Eldest son of Francis Peirson, of Lowthorpe, in Yorkshire. Major Peirson, who was only in his twenty-fourth year, was commanding his regiment in the absence of Colonel Reid and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 95th, Alexander Campbell, who had both left the island some two months before. As the only field-officer at the time in Jersey, Peirson ranked as second-in-command to the Governor—(*Société Jersiaise, Septième Bulletin Annuel*, p. 323, and the article on Peirson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*).

[2] The account of the attack on Jersey is taken from Mr. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* and Plees's *Account of the Island of Jersey* (1817 ed.).

[3] A key to the picture exists, from which the officers of the 95th can be identified.—*Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. iii. p. 456. Copley shows the uniform of the 95th as consisting of a scarlet jacket with white facings and turn-backs, and silver lace; white breeches and belts; and long black boots. Major Peirson and two of his officers are depicted with black three-cornered hats edged with silver braid, while two other officers, and the rank and file, have grenadiers' caps with red hackles.

[4] The date of disbandment was the 31st of May 1783.—Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes.

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An Officer of the 90th Regiment or Perthshire Volunteers (Light Infantry), *circa* 1816

(From a Water-colour Drawing in the possession of S. M. Milne, Esq.)

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THE 90TH REGIMENT

(PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEERS—LIGHT INFANTRY)

1794–1881 [1]

BY SIR JAMES H. RAMSAY OF BAMFF, BART., M.A., LL.D.

THE 90th Regiment of Foot, otherwise the Perthshire Volunteers, now linked as second battalion to the Cameronians or Scottish Rifles, owes its existence to a romantic attachment and a domestic bereavement. Thomas Graham of Balgowan,[2] born in 1748, was a Perthshire laird of fortune and family. His acres were broad; while the marriages of three grand-aunts, daughters of his great-grandfather, had joined him in cousinship with Bamff, Ardvorlich, and Cultoquhey. He was also connected with Fingask, Abercairny, and other Perthshire Houses. In the year 1774 Thomas Graham married the lovely Mary Cathcart, whose portrait, bequeathed by the late Mr. Robert Graham his cousin and heir, adorns the walls of the National Gallery in Edinburgh.

Death robbed Mr. Graham of his beloved wife, and to find distraction from his grief he resolved to embrace a military career. But as a big laird of the olden time he aspired to assume at once a position of command, without submitting to the tedious routine of military training and promotion by seniority, and so he proposed to the Government to raise a regiment of foot, on condition of being appointed its colonel. Troops being wanted for the war with France, the requisite authority was given, with leave to name the new regiment the "Perthshire Volunteers" (February 1794). Mr. Graham went to work with such energy that on the 13th of May 1794 he was able to parade at Perth for inspection by the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland 7 officers and 746 non-commissioned officers and men. Under him he had for his lieutenant-colonel George Moncrieff, and for his major Rowland Hill, afterwards well known as Lord Hill.[3] The regiment was equipped and drilled as light infantry, although it was not until later that it received this title. The uniform consisted of the short light infantry coatee faced with buff, and a red waistcoat, the men wearing short gaiters and grey breeches. The field officers wore wings in addition to epaulets, and all ranks had the light dragoon helmet with green hackle feather.[4]

By the end of June the number of non-commissioned officers and men had

[1] From *Records of the 90th Regiment*, by A. M. Delavoye, Captain 56th Foot (late 90th L.I.); with *Continuation* by Lieutenant-Colonel H. de C. Rawlins.

[2] See his biography, p. 425 *et seq.*

[3] See lists of officers which follow this paper.

[4] Lieutenant-Colonel R. M. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers.

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risen to 1114, and Colonel Graham was able to proceed with the recruiting of a second battalion of 1000 men, which had been sanctioned on the 12th of March.[1] By the month of August the 2nd Battalion was reported as raised. From Perth the regiment (now numbered the 90th) was removed to the south of England, and at Winchester on the 4th of June 1795, being King George III.'s birthday, the 1st Battalion received its colours from Colonel Graham. The 2nd Battalion was reduced in the following year.

The regiment's first experience of service abroad was a stay of some two months on Isle d'Yeu off the coast of France, in the vain hope of co-operating with a Royalist rising against the Republic (September to December 1795). From May 1796 to October 1798 the regiment was stationed at Gibraltar. It was then shipped with other troops to seize the island of Minorca, an undertaking accomplished in eleven days without the loss of a single man. The 90th took a leading part in the operations. But the regiment received its "baptism of fire" in Egypt, under Lieutenant-Colonel Rowland Hill, in the expedition of Sir Ralph Abercromby in 1801. On the 8th of March the troops forced a landing in the Bay of Aboukir under heavy fire from the French. Five days later another desperate action was fought, when a frontal attack was made on some heights held by the French near the western end of Lake Maadieh. The enemy were driven back towards Alexandria, but the British suffered severely. The Perthshire Volunteers had 22 men killed and 222 officers and men wounded. They had formed the right of the advanced-guard; they also withstood and dispelled in splendid style a most formidable charge of cavalry, thereby saving the Commander-in-Chief from being taken prisoner. For their conduct on that day they and the 92nd Highlanders, who led the advance on the left, still bear "Mandora" on their colours. On the 21st another general action was fought under more favourable conditions for the British, the French venturing to assail them in their camp. The attack failed utterly, but the British success was balanced by the loss of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded. A series of successful operations finally expelled the enemy from the land of the Pharaohs. On the 27th of June the French in Cairo signed a capitulation; on the 3rd of September the campaign ended, when the British troops entered Alexandria.

After an interval of rest in Scotland and Ireland, during which time a second battalion was raised for home service, we find the 90th in the West Indies (1805), and taking part in the attack on Martinique in January 1809. John McNair was then lieutenant-colonel. A short and brilliant campaign was ended on the 24th of February by the surrender of the French garrison of Fort Royal. A year later a still shorter campaign drove the French from Guadeloupe. Our troops landed late in January and the French yielded on the 5th of February. The French having been driven from the West Indies the 90th remained in garrison at St. Vincent until May 1814, when it was sent to Canada, and from thence again home to England in August 1815, to be sent on at once to join the Army of Occupation in France. There it remained until June 1816. Meanwhile the

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 932.

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Colonel, who for his distinguished services in the Peninsular War had been made a lieutenant-general and raised to the peerage as Lord Lynedoch, was able to announce that the Perthshire Volunteers had received the distinction of being entitled a light infantry corps, and on their return to England they were authorised to inscribe "Mandora" on their colours, as well as "Martinique" and "Guadeloupe." The 2nd Battalion, however, was disbanded about that time.

Four years at home (1816–1820), followed by ten abroad, spent chiefly in the Ionian Islands (1820–1830), now ensued; to be followed again by six years at home (1830–1836). Ten weary years in the trying climate of Ceylon were then endured (1836–1846). But after all its losses and sufferings there, Sir Colin Campbell was able to report to the Duke of Wellington that under all trials the 90th "had maintained its high character." A change to the dry climate of the Cape in 1846 was found most invigorating after the miasmas of Ceylon. But again work was found for the regiment in an early Kaffir war. Under the circumstances of the present day it sounds strange to hear of the difficulties of a march from Port Elizabeth to Graham's Town, of an arduous advance to Fort Beaufort. In fact the sphere of operations lay round Graham's Town, Fort Beaufort, and King William's Town.

In 1848 the Perthshire Volunteers were brought home, to remain in peace and quiet till the 12th of November 1854, when, during church service, they received telegraphic orders to join Lord Raglan in the Crimea. On the 5th of December they landed at Balaclava, among the subalterns being Lieutenants Garnet Wolseley and James Clerk Rattray. From the date of its landing it will be seen that the regiment arrived too late to join in the great battles of the Alma and Inkerman, but it was quite in time to take its share of the trials of the terrible winter 1854–1855, with duty by day and by night in trenches and rifle-pits; with tent-housing in bitter cold; when the soldier coming off duty might receive green coffee beans for his breakfast, and raw salt pork for his dinner; and that at a time when often the iron ramrod of his muzzle-loading "brown Bess" was the only culinary utensil at his disposal. Of course the men fell victims, not so much to the bullets of the enemy, as to overwork and insufficient food. More signal engagements, however, were to follow. On the 7th of June 1855 the 90th supplied a contingent to the party that carried the Quarries, a Russian outpost in front of the great Redan. The Russians made desperate efforts to retake the position, but without success. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell of the 90th commanded the storming party, and both he and Captain Garnet Wolseley were wounded in the assault.

An equally gallant but less successful affair in which the Light Division again came to the front was the attack on the Redan on the 8th of September. It may be explained that the Redan was a jutting bastion with a great salient angle, protected in front by a deep ditch and laid branches of trees (abattis). Strongly fortified in front it was comparatively open in the rear. The storming party leaving the shelter of the trenches, crossed the open (150 yards) under

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converging fire, made their way through the abattis, and across the ditch into the Redan; but there the advance was stayed for want of proper reinforcements, our men being huddled together within the apex of the salient angle, and exposed to a galling fire from the Russians in the back part of the work. Then the enemy, gathering courage, charged in force and expelled our men. The assault, begun at mid-day, was over by 1.48 P.M. Out of 300 men supplied by the 90th to the storming party, 45 officers and men were killed or missing, and 144 officers and men wounded. Among the severely wounded was Lieutenant Clerk Rattray, struck down while standing on the parapet. The concurrent assault made by the French on the Malakoff Tower succeeded, partly because their numbers were sufficient, partly because the Malakoff being a tower, a work fortified all round, when the men inside had been overpowered the captors were in as good a situation for defence against the Russians in the rear, as the Russians previously had been for defence against the French in front. But the fighting on the 8th of September was not in vain, for that same night the Russians evacuated the south side of Sevastopol.

With commissariat and other arrangements placed on a proper footing the winter 1855–1856 was passed in comparative comfort. In April peace was proclaimed; and in July the 90th landed at Portsmouth. During its absence of eighteen months it had lost 6 officers and 274 non-commissioned officers and men.

After seven short months at home, a well-earned rest, the 90th in April 1857 was ordered to China under Colonel Robert Campbell, Wolseley and Rattray now being among the captains, but on the way fresh orders were received directing the regiment to go to India to assist in quelling the great Mutiny. The headquarters of the 90th in the *Himalaya* reached Calcutta about the 21st of July, but three companies in the *Transit* were driven off their course by a storm, were wrecked near Singapore, and did not reach Calcutta in time to start with their comrades.

These had at once been sent up the river Ganges to Cawnpore, where Brigadier-General Henry Havelock was waiting for reinforcements to enable him to relieve the little garrison shut up in the Residency of the city of Lucknow, then the centre of the rebellion. They joined him on September the 15th, and four days later the force under General Havelock and Sir James Outram, crossing the river, entered Oudh. Driving the enemy before them, on September the 22nd they found the Sepoys established in the Alambagh, a large enclosed garden about two miles from Lucknow. The enemy were promptly expelled and the enclosure occupied. On the 25th supplies having come up, and the sick and wounded having been established under guard in the Alambagh, the advance towards the Residency was begun, under a heavy musketry fire from houses and gardens lining the road. A bridge across a canal, which was swept by a battery of the enemy, had then to be crossed. Our artillery having failed to silence the battery, the 1st Madras Fusiliers stormed the bridge, and carried the battery. At the same time a party of the 90th was ordered to take two guns posted at the end of a narrow lane to the right of the main advance. The

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order was executed under a sweeping fire from guns and musketry, the colours of the regiment being carried right up to the guns.

The main body then continued its advance from the canal-bridge, and after a time divided, part of the force proceeding by the road leading to the Sikandarbagh, a walled enclosure of solid masonry, 120 yards square, with loop-holes, and faced across the road by a group of houses. The rest advanced by the road leading to the Kaiserbagh, a series of courts and buildings considered a citadel by the natives. On coming within range of these buildings heavy musketry fire was encountered, but Havelock and Outram persevering, fought their way through to the Residency. Some 100 men of the 90th, however, with guns and ammunition waggons, were left in charge of the sick and wounded in a walled passage. There they remained, closely invested by the enemy, all through that night, and the next day, and until 3 A.M. on the morning of the 27th, when reinforcements were sent which enabled them under cover of night to make their way unmolested by the enemy into a neighbouring range of palaces and gardens known as the Chatta Manzil and Furid Baks. There they established themselves with their guns as an outpost to the Residency.

The original garrison had now been reinforced, but both relieving and relieved forces were still beleaguered. For six weeks a harassing round of duties still attended all, surrounded as they were by hordes of enemies who gave them no rest. Among those who succumbed was the gallant Colonel Robert Campbell of the 90th, who passed away on the 13th of November from wounds received on the day of entry.

On the day before this, however, Sir Colin Campbell had reached the Alambagh with some 700 cavalry and 2700 infantry, including the three delayed companies of the 90th under Major Barnston. On the 13th Sir Colin was able to communicate with the garrison by semaphore as to concerting operations, and on the 14th he began his advance from the Alambagh. Finding, as was natural, that the enemy expected him to enter Lucknow by the way that Havelock had entered it, he turned aside and attacked a palace and park called the Dilkusha, outside Lucknow. After a running fight of two hours the enemy were driven first into the Martinière College and grounds, then out of them, and again clean beyond the canal. There Sir Colin remained during the 15th, waiting for ammunition.

On the 16th the advance was resumed, the canal being crossed, and the force fighting its way under fire up a lane towards the Sikandarbagh, which was held by the enemy in strength. The houses across the road were first cleared, and then the guns were brought up to bear on the Bagh itself. After a battering of an hour and a half a small breach having been effected, the place was carried by storm, Major Barnston of the 90th taking an active part. "There never was a bolder feat of arms." Two thousand of the enemy's dead were carried out. From the Sikandarbagh the troops were led against the Shah Najaf, a domed mosque, with a parapet, surrounded by a garden wall of solid masonry, closed all round. From these and many other points of advantage an unceasing fire

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was kept up, and three hours of cannonading by Captain Peel of the *Shannon* failed to effect a breach. The guns were brought up within a few yards of the building, but even then they could make no impression, and it seemed as if the Shah Najaf were impregnable. Finally, a narrow opening was discovered, through which poured the 93rd Highlanders under Brigadier Adrian Hope, followed by detachments of the 90th and other regiments, and the day was won. The losses, however, had been heavy, among the severely wounded being Major Barnston.

On the 17th of November, the fourth day, Captain Peel brought his guns to bear on the Mess-House, a large building surrounded by a ditch twelve feet broad, with a loop-holed mud wall outside. When this had been sufficiently battered it was stormed and the Mess-House rushed by detachments of the 90th under Captains Wolseley and Guise, a picquet of the 53rd, and others. Yet another enclosure with many interior buildings had to be won, viz., the Moti Mahal Palace, but there the difficulty was to find an entrance, every aperture having been carefully built up. At last a hole was made through which Ensign Haig of the 90th was able to creep. The gap was soon enlarged, our men poured in, and the last barrier on the way to the Residency was overcome.

For the second time the relief of the garrison had been accomplished. But Sir Colin Campbell did not deem it expedient to remain there to be besieged afresh with 50,000 enemies round him, and he resolved to withdraw to the Alambagh, outside Lucknow, where his movements would be freer. The control that he had acquired of the buildings and grounds between the gates of the Residency and the Dilkusha gave him a way out. The operation was executed with entire success, mainly by night, the attention of the natives being diverted by a fierce bombardment of the Kaiserbagh, as if an attack on it were intended. On the 19th of November all the women, children, sick and wounded, some 2000 souls in all, were safely removed between the lines of British picquets without opposition, and by the morning of the 23rd of November the last of the garrison had been withdrawn. From the morning of the 16th the whole force had been "one outlying picquet never out of fire."

On the 27th of November Sir Colin Campbell went back to Cawnpore with the women and children, the 90th remaining with Sir James Outram in camp at the Alambagh, always on the defensive, and exposed to constant attacks, till the 28th of February 1858, when Sir Colin returned at the head of 26,000 men for the reduction of Lucknow. The operations began on the 2nd of March and were pushed on persistently for fourteen consecutive days, the enemy's lines of defence being successively carried. All the buildings already mentioned had to be won over again, and many more besides. By the 14th the city was practically ours, but the last stronghold was not reduced till the 21st, when Lucknow was finally recovered and the last hope of the rebels crushed. Three times officers and men of the 90th had fought their way through the streets of Lucknow.

The regiment then remained in Lucknow for a month as part of the garrison,

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after which it took part in some arduous expeditions against detached bodies of the enemy. In May it returned to Lucknow, and in June it moved to other quarters, but to the end of the year it was still engaged in stamping out the embers of rebellion.

The Perthshire Volunteers remained in India till the 30th of September 1869, when they embarked at Bombay, landing at Portsmouth on the 3rd of November, after an absence on foreign service of nearly thirteen years. At home they were allowed to remain till January 1878, when they were sent to the Cape under Lieutenant-Colonel H. W. Palmer for another Kaffir war. The rebels in the Beaufort district were speedily reduced to order (April); further submissions of Kaffir chiefs followed in May; and in June the 90th marched under Colonel Evelyn Wood, V.C., into Natal.

In January 1879 the attitude of King Cetywayo provoked further hostilities, but the 90th—forming part of the 4th Column under Colonel Evelyn Wood—were not involved in the disaster of Isandhlwana, and were able to take up a defensive position at Kambula Hill, covering the roads to Pretoria, Utrecht and Natal. On the 29th of March the camp at Kambula was attacked by the Zulu army, estimated 20,000 strong, but after four hours' fighting the enemy were repulsed with immense loss. In May the British were in a state to assume the offensive, and No. 4 Column under Colonel Wood led the way as the Flying Column. On the 4th of July the army crossed the Umvolosi River, and marching in hollow square took up a position near Ulundi, the Zulu capital. Again the Zulus attacked bravely in their thousands, again to be mowed down by European discipline and European implements of war. Their rout was complete and the Zulu war ended.

From the Cape the Perthshire Volunteers were sent under the command of Major R. M. Rogers, V.C., to India, where they landed on the 10th of November 1879; to remain in India at various stations for fifteen long years. During their stay there, by an order dated at the Horse Guards the 1st of May 1881, the connection of the 90th with its parent county was abruptly severed, and the regiment appended as a second battalion to the 26th Cameronians, an older regiment, but a west country corps. From that May Day the records of the Perthshire Volunteers belong to another regiment. It may be added, however, that on the 14th of January 1895 they embarked for England under Major H. de C. Rawlins. Of their number only seven men besides the major in command had left England for foreign service in 1878. They reached Portsmouth on the 13th of February, after a voyage of one month.

In 1894 Perthshire resolved to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the raising of the regiment by the erection of a monument on the spot where it had been first paraded for inspection on the 13th of May 1794. The monument was finally unveiled by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Wolseley, an old officer of the corps, on the 8th of December 1896; a large concourse of persons interested in the regiment being present.

It should also be mentioned that in 1899 the regiment was for a third time

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sent out to South Africa, and served with distinction throughout the Boer War of 1899–1902. It took part in all the severe fighting which led to the relief of Ladysmith, 1899–1900, was present in the engagement at Laing's Nek in May 1900, and afterwards served in the Transvaal and Zululand until the end of hostilities.

The history of a British light infantry regiment in the nineteenth century does not reflect a life of ease and pleasure, but rather one of continual self-denial, hardship, and danger. We might inscribe on the resting-place of many a brave soldier the beautiful epitaph of the "Sailor's Grave" :—

"What though no stone may tell
Thy name, thy worth, thy glory,
They rest in hearts that loved thee well;
And they grace Britannia's story."

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90TH REGIMENT OF FOOT (OR PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEERS)

OFFICERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED TO THE 1ST BATTALION[1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 90TH.	PROMOTION IN 1ST BATTALION, 1794.	RESIGNATIONS, ETC., 1794.
Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Thomas Graham, of Balgowan[2]	...	10 Feb. 1794	...	...
Lt.-Colonel	George Moncrieff[3]	Capt. and Bt. Maj., 11th Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	...
Major	Rowland Hill[4]	,, 86th ,,	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., 13 May 1794	...
Captain	Hugh Houstoun	Lieut. ,, ,,	11 ,, ,,	Major, 14 ,, ,,	...
,,	John Woodcock	,, 18th ,,	12 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Peter Heron	,, 11th ,,	13 ,, ,,	...	Major, 2nd Batt., 19 May 1794.[5]
,,	Lord Henry Murray[6]	Capt., Manx Fencibles	14 ,, ,,	...	Capt., ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	Walter Farquhar[7]	Lieut., Indt. Coy.	16 ,, ,,	...	...
Capt.-Lieut.	Kenneth Mackenzie[8]	,, 14th Foot	10 ,, ,,	Major, 13 May 1794	...
Lieutenant	George Vigoureux	Ens., 25th ,,	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt., 8 Oct. ,,	...
,,	John McNair, *paymaster*[9]	,, Indt. Coy.	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, 14 May[10] ,,	...
				Capt., 8 Aug.[11] ,,	...
,,	John Graham, yr. of Fintry	,, 85th Foot	,, ,, ,,[12]	...	Lieut., 2nd Batt., 20 May 1794.
,,	George Parkin	,, Indt. Coy.	11 ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Faithful Adrian Fortescue[13]	,, 85th Foot	12 ,, ,,	...	Capt., 102nd Foot, 8 July 1794.
,,	Robert Cholmondeley	,, 10th ,,	13 ,, ,,	Capt., 6 Aug. 1794	...
,,	Mark Napier[14]	,, 1st ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	...
,,	Edward Hodges	,, Indt. Coy.	8 May ,,	...	...
Ensign	Francis Edden,[15] *adjutant*	...	10 Feb. ,,	Lieut., 27 Aug.[16] 1794	...
,,	Alexander Drummond	...	11 ,, ,,[17]	,, 26 ,, ,,	...
,,	James McDonald	...	12 ,, ,,[17]	,, ,, ,, ,,	...
,,	William Cartwright	...	13 ,, ,,[17]	,, 8 Oct. ,,	...
,,	William Austin	...	14 ,, ,,	...	...
Chaplain	Hon. Archibald H. Cathcart[18]	...	10 Feb. ,,	...	Resigned before 12 Sept. 1794.
Quartermr.	David Hopkins	...	,, ,, ,,	...	...
Surgeon	William Russell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	...
Surg. Mate.	James Anderson	...	,, ,, ,,	...	...

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.

[1] From the *War Office Registers Various*, *Army Lists* (including those at the Record Office with MS. notes), *Gazettes*, and Lt.-Col. R. M. Holden's MS.

[2] Afterwards General Lord Lynedoch, G.C.B., G.C.M.G. [3] Afterwards general. Second son of Major-General Moncrieff of Myres and Reedie.

[4] Afterwards General Lord Hill, G.C.B., G.C.H., K.C., commander-in-chief. In *Records of the 90th Regiment* is said to have been appointed from the 53rd Foot. He served in the 53rd prior to 30th October 1793, when he became a captain in the 86th.

[5] Date in Lt.-Col. Holden's Notes. In *W. O. Registers*, 12th September 1794—an impossible date, as he was promoted lieut.-colonel 28th August 1794. According to Lt.-Col. Holden, Heron and Lord Henry Murray were appointed to the 90th on the 10th February 1794. Dates in text from *W. O. Registers*. Heron rose to be a general. [6] Fifth son of third Duke of Atholl. [7] Third son of Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart., M.D.

[8] Afterwards general. Eldest son of Kenneth Mackenzie and Janet, daughter of Sir Robert Douglas, editor of the *Peerage*. Created baronet 1831, and assumed the name of Douglas. [9] Afterwards lieutenant-general. [10] Holden MS. "6 Aug." in MS. note in *Army List* at Record Office.

[11] Holden MS. and *Army Lists*. Record Office MS. note, "8 Oct." [12] Holden MS. Record Office MS. note, "7 June."

[13] Shown in the *Army Lists* as "*H.* A. Fortescue."

[14] Afterwards lieutenant-general. Styled "Hon." in *Registers*, *Gazette*, and *Army Lists*, but the word was erased by Lt.-Col. Graham from his copy of a published official list in which the officers of the 90th appear. Lieut. Napier was presumably second son of Major-Gen. the Hon. Mark Napier, fifth son of Francis, Lord Napier. Date of commission from *W. O. Registers*. In *Army Lists* and Holden MS., 13th March 1794.

[15] So Holden MS. In *Registers* and *Gazette*, Eddin; in *Army Lists*, Eddins. [16] In *W. O. Registers* and *Army Lists*, 26th August.

[17] According to Lt.-Col. Holden, 10th February. [18] Third son of the ninth Lord Cathcart. Brother-in-law of Lt.-Col. Graham. [ED.]

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90TH REGIMENT OF FOOT (OR PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEERS)

OFFICERS OF THE 2ND BATTALION, 1794–1796[1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 2ND BATT.	PROMOTION IN 2ND BATT.	REMARKS.
Lt.-Col. Comdt.	Thomas Graham, of Balgowan[2]	...	19 May 1794	...	...
Lt.-Colonel .	Hon. Alexander Hope[3] . . .	Major, 81st Foot	27 Aug. ,,	...	Lt.-Col., 14th Foot, 17 Dec. 1794.
,, . . .	Alexander Ross[4]	Bt.-Col. and Lt.-Col., 14th Ft.	17 Dec. ,,	...	Retired before 30 Dec. 1794.
Major . . .	Peter Heron	Capt., 1st Batt. 90th Foot	19 May ,,	Lt.-Col., . 28 Aug. 1794	Full pay on reduction.
,, . . .	Edward William Leyborne . .	,, 24th Foot	*c.*25 Aug. 1795	...	Lt.-Col. 91st Ft., 11th Nov. 1795.
,, . . .	Robert Ross	,, 7th ,,	23 Dec. 1795	...	Full pay on reduction.
Captain . . .	Lord Henry Murray	Capt., 1st Batt. 90th Foot	19 May 1794	Major, . . 29 Aug. 1794	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Hendrick Molesworth	Lieut., 60th Foot	20 ,, ,,	,, . . 30 Dec. ,,	Retired *c.* 25 Aug. 1795.
,, . . .	Alexander Murray	,, 78th ,,	21 ,, ,,	...	Capt., 1st Batt., on reduction
,, . . .	James Hutton	,, Prince Wm.'s Regt.	22 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Thomas Cholmondeley[5] . . .	,, ,, ,, ,,	23 ,, ,,	Major, . . 28 Aug. 1794	
				Lt.-Col., . 30 Dec. ,,	Full pay on reduction.
,, . . .	Richard Drummond	,, 19th Light Dgns.	5 Jan. 1795	...	Capt. 19th Dgns., 12 Jan. 1795.
,, . . .	James Campbell	Capt. and Brevet-Major, 19th Light Dgns.	12 ,, ,,	...	Lt.-Col., Chesh. Fenc., 17 Nov. 1794 (antedated).
,, . . .	Richard C. Newman	,, 110th Foot	22 Apl. ,,	...	Full pay on reduction.
,, . . .	Anthony Thomas Lefroy . . .	,, 126th ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Charles Madden	,, 119th ,,	29 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Edward Webber[6]	,, hf. pay 9th Foot	1 Sept. ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Robert Forsyth	Lieut., 72nd Foot	2 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	John Chas. Tucker Steward . .	,, 1st Batt. 90th Foot	11 Nov. ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
Lieutenant . .	Thomas Bligh St. George[7] . .	,, 11th Foot	19 May 1794	Captain, . 29 Nov. 1794	Capt., 1st Batt., on reduction
,, . . .	John Graham, yr. of Fintry . .	,, 1st Batt. 90th Foot	20 ,, ,,	,, . . 30 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	William Geddes	Ensign, Independent Coy.	5 Nov. ,,	,, . . 26 Sept. 1795	Full pay on reduction.[8]
,, . . .	Charles[9] Dixon Green . . .	,, ,, ,,	6 ,, ,,[10]	...	Lt., 1st Batt., on reduction.
,, . . .	William Barclay	— 84th Foot	7 ,, ,,[11]	...	Capt., Col. C. M'Donnell's Regt., 30 June 1795.
,, . . .	Robert Snow	...	8 ,, ,,[12]	...	Lt., 1st Batt., 19 Nov. 1794.
,, . . .	Michael Wrigley Ferrebee . .	Ensign, 1st Batt. 90th Foot	9 ,, ,,	...	,, 2nd Foot, 25 ,, 1795.
,, . . .	Grainger Stewart Murray . . .	,, 102nd Foot	19 ,, ,,[13]	...	,, 1st Batt., on reduction.
,, . . .	Edward Drummond	,, 19th ,,	4 Feb. 1795	...	,, 75th Foot, 25 Feb. 1795.
,, . . .	George Leye	Lieut., 75th ,,	25 ,, ,,	Captain, . 26 Sept. 1795	Full pay on reduction.
,, . . .	Richard Butler	,, 119th ,,	22 Apl. ,,	...	Lt., 1st Batt., on reduction.
,, . . .	Francis Herbert	,, 126th ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	[Thomas?] Webster	Ens., 1st Batt. 90th Foot (?)	29 July ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,

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Lieutenant	Bryan Sweeny	Lieut., 114th Foot	10 Sept. ,,	...	Full pay on reduction.
,,	John Evans	,, 127th ,,	11 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	M. Dunne	,, and ,,	25 Nov. ,,	...	...
Ensign	Samuel Millner, *adjutant*	Ensign, 12th ,,	19 May 1794	Lieut., 4 Nov. 1794	Lt., 1st Batt., on reduction.
,,	[William ?] Oliphant	...	,, ,, ,,	,, 29 ,, ,,	Ret. before 29 July 1795.
,,	Alexander Hay	...	5 Nov. ,,	...	Lt., 1st Batt., 26 Dec. 1794.
,,	Charles M^cKay	...	3 Dec. ,,	...	Ens. ,, ,, on reduction.
,,	—— M^cAndrew	...	4 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	George Chambers	...	17 ,, ,,	...	Lt., 111th Ft., 31 Dec. 1794.
,,	John Baldwin	...	8 Jan. 1795	...	,, Indt. Coy., 14 Jan. 1795.
,,	Henry[14] Selleck	...	,, ,, ,,[15]	...	,, 103rd Ft., 4 Feb. ,,
,,	James Patullo	...	19 Feb. ,,	...	Ens., 1st Batt., on reduction.
,,	John Blakeley[16]	...	25 March ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	Abraham Cottenham	Ensign, 107th Foot	22 Apl. ,,	...	Lt., 5th W. India Regt. 1 July 1795.
,,	John Skeane	...	3 June ,,	...	Half-pay by 27 June 1795.
,,	Joseph Browne	...	24 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, 29 July ,,
,,	Harman Reid	,,	29 July ,,	...	Full pay on reduction.
,,	William Holland	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ens., 1st Batt. on reduction.
,,	Thomas Wright	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	Donald Cameron	Ensign, late Sheffield Regt.	*c.* 13 Feb. 1796	...	...
,,	Allan Campbell	Lieut., Breadalbane Fencibles	20 ,, ,,[17]	...	Lt., 80th Ft., 12 Apl. 1796
Chaplain	Charles Webster	...	19 May 1794	...	Res. before 15 July 1795.
,,	Claudius Crigan	...	15 July 1795	...	Full pay on reduction.
Quartermaster	Robert Mann	Sgt., 1st Guards	19 May 1794	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
Surgeon	William Ferguson	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.[18]

[1] Except where otherwise stated, this list has been compiled from the same sources as the list of the 1st Battalion. As no complete list of the officers of this battalion has hitherto been published, I have included all the names I have been able to trace. Each officer is shown under the rank in which (so far as is known), he was first appointed to the battalion. The 2nd Battalion, after being quartered in Hampshire, was reduced (apparently in February 1796), and the men were drafted into the Marines. [2] The establishment was ten companies of 60 privates each. Colonel Graham had no company.

[3] Afterwards General Sir A. Hope, G.C.B. Fourth son of second Earl of Hopetoun. [4] Major-general, 26th Feb. 1795. Afterwards general.

[5] This officer appeared in the *London Gazette* of June 5th, 1794, as ensign in the 1st Battalion. He was then promoted lieutenant into Prince William of Gloucester's Regiment, whence he shortly returned to the 2nd Battalion of the 90th as a captain. By the end of the year he was a lieutenant-colonel. Colonel Graham refers to him as his "old Leicestershire fox-hunting friend." (*Life of Lord Lynedoch*, p. 97.) The *W. O. Registers* contain a commission (dated 17 Dec. 1794) to Robert Fletcher, as captain in this battalion, but the *Army Lists*, *Gazette*, and *Edin. Almanack* for 1795 show him in the 1st Battalion.

[6] Afterwards lieutenant-general. In the *Gazette* Webber and Forsyth are appointed to the 1st Battalion, but they appear on the list of the 2nd Battalion in the *Army List* for 1796. [7] Afterwards major-general. [8] So *Army List*, 1796. The *Gazette* of 2nd Oct. 1795 promotes him into the 1st Batt.

[9] So in *W. O. Registers* and Holden MS. "George" in *Army Lists*.

[10] Date in Holden MS. and *Army List* for 1795. "5 Nov." in *W. O. Registers*, and "8 Nov." in *Army List* at Record Office.

[11] Holden MS. "6 Nov." in *W. O. Registers*. [12] Holden MS. and *Army List* for 1795. "6 Nov." in *W. O. Registers*.

[13] Holden MS. and *Army List* for 1795. "19 July" in *W. O. Registers*. [14] So *Army Lists*. "Thomas" in *W. O. Registers*.

[15] *W. O. Registers*. "7 Jan." in *Army List* at Record Office.

[16] "James" in *Scots Almanack*, 1796. Only the *Scots Almanack* of 1796 states to which battalion Ensigns Blakeley and Wright were originally posted.

[17] From March 15th onwards several officers appear as gazetted to the battalion, but it is shown as "reduced" in the *Army List* dated 11th March 1796.

[18] From 1796 onwards, "Mr. Lawrie, Adelphi." [ED.]

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THE 116TH REGIMENT OF FOOT[1]

1794–95

BY THE EDITOR

THE last regiment contributed by Perthshire to the Regular Army was the 116th Regiment of Foot, raised in 1794 by John, fourth Earl of Breadalbane, who had already given abundant proof of his patriotism by embodying two battalions of Fencibles, and who, ere the year was out, was to devote his energies to the recruiting of a third. Lord Breadalbane was colonel of his Fencible regiment, but as at that time he held no permanent rank in the Army, the military authorities were no doubt loth to give him the command of a regiment of the Line,[2] and Colonel Campbell of Monzie[3] was therefore appointed colonel.

Stewart of Garth calls the regiment "The 116th or Perthshire Highlanders," and does not mention Lord Breadalbane's name at all in connection with it—stating, in fact, that it was raised by Colonel Campbell. The few papers, however, which have been preserved, show beyond dispute that it was a "Breadalbane" regiment, though no doubt many men enlisted in it from Colonel Campbell's numerous estates.[4] In view of the large extent of property owned by both Lord Breadalbane and Colonel Campbell in Argyllshire, it may be supposed that recruiting would not be confined to Perthshire, especially as at that time Colonel Graham of Balgowan was busy raising his regiment at Perth. It looks, indeed, as if the 90th had driven the 116th from the field, for judging from their names, very few of the officers of the latter regiment belonged to this county, and although the commissions of Colonel Campbell and the other field officers dated from the same day as those of Colonel Graham and the senior officers of the "Perthshire Volunteers," the 116th was not officially embodied until the 19th of November 1794, whereas Colonel Graham's second battalion had been completed by the previous August.

Though recruiting parties were sent as far afield as Knaresborough and Dumfries, Perth was the headquarters of the 116th until the 22nd of November 1794, when, orders having been received to proceed to Ireland, the regiment set out for Stranraer under the command of the Lieutenant-Colonel, Alexander

[1] From the contemporary Press and regimental papers in the Achalader and Monzie charter-chests.

[2] It is well known that George III. strongly objected to allowing civilians who raised regiments to command them, and although, as has been shown, Thomas Graham was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the 90th, it was not until many years afterwards that he was allowed permanent rank in the Army. See his biography, pp. 428–9.

[3] See his biography, p. 432 *et seq.*

[4] In the official papers at Achalader the regiment is at first styled "The Breadalbane Highland Regiment of Foot" or "The Breadalbane Regiment of Highlanders"; from the 31st January 1795 onwards, and in the *Army Lists*, it appears simply as "The 116th Regiment of Foot." In the Atholl charter-room there is a letter from Lord Breadalbane to the Right Hon. Charles Yorke, dated the 5th November 1803, in which he states that he had raised three battalions of Fencibles and one of the Line.

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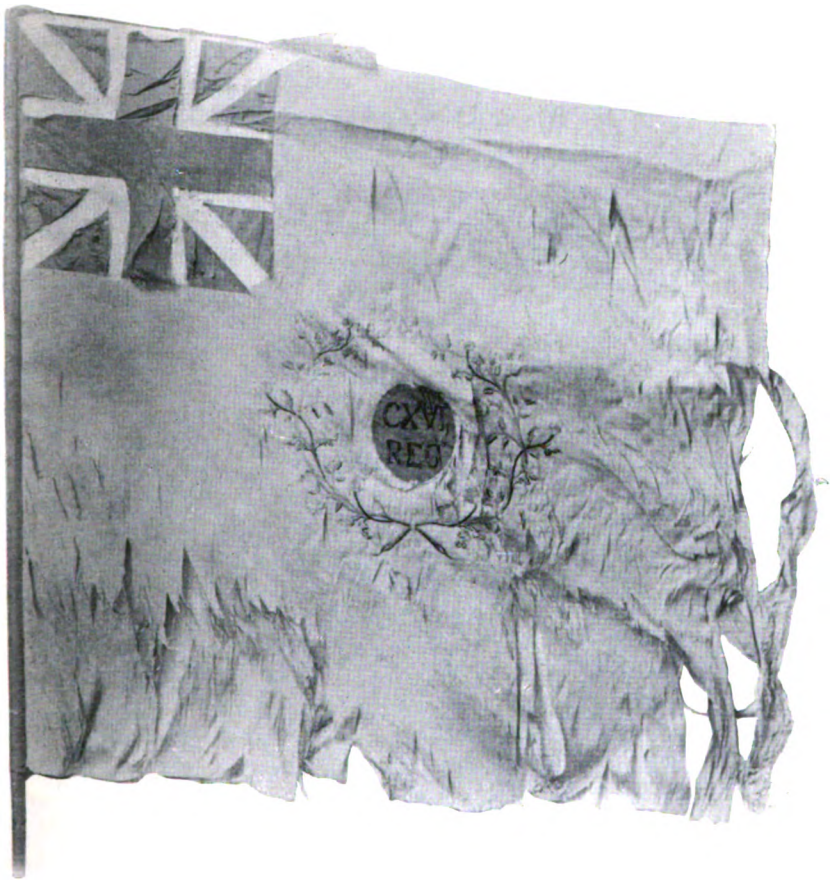

REGIMENTAL COLOUR (WHITE) OF THE 116TH REGIMENT OF FOOT

(*Preserved at Inverawe*)

Embroidered in the centre of the colour on a crimson plaque, "CXVI REG," within an embroidered Union wreath of roses and thistles. In the dexter canton is the first Union.

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Buchanan.[1] By the middle of December headquarters and three companies were at Newry, two companies each were at Lisburn, Lurgan, and Dungannon, and one was at Hillsborough. From the papers preserved at Achalader it appears that the regiment wore the kilt and plaid—presumably of Breadalbane tartan. The facings were white.

The 116th Foot, when first raised, appears to have consisted of nine companies, but a tenth was added in January 1795, and orders were received to increase the establishment to 1000 rank and file. It appears doubtful, however, if this strength was ever reached. In January the regiment was numbered the 116th of the Line, and in February orders were issued for it to concentrate at Armagh. From the 14th to the 16th of May the regiment was inspected by Major-General John Whyte, and in June it left Armagh for Cork, being sent thither in order to aid the civil magistrates "in the preservation of the Public Peace." The end of July found the 116th under orders to embark for foreign service in September, and (no doubt in view of this) each company was to be augmented to eighty-five rank and file. But a different fate was in store for the regiment.

In August a mutiny broke out among the soldiers quartered in Dublin, owing to a report that all the regiments designated by numbers higher than 100 were going to be "drafted," or, in other words, that these regiments were to be disbanded and the men sent to fill up gaps in units serving abroad. Other troops were sent for to restore order (among them the 3rd Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles) and we hear no more of the disturbance.[2] The rumour, however, proved to be true. Men were urgently needed to fill the ranks of the battalions which had served in the Netherlands; the supply of recruits had been exhausted by the numerous regiments raised in 1794; and the disbandment of many of the younger corps was a measure due to the recent appointment of the Duke of York as commander-in-chief.[3] By March 1796 no less than fifty-three battalions had disappeared from the establishment, this number including not only the regiments numbered over 100, but most of those raised subsequent to the 1st Battalion of the 90th, and even some second battalions of earlier corps.

The 116th Foot was one of the battalions sacrificed. Late in August it had been sent to Portsmouth, and on the 23rd of September 1795 it was disbanded, the men being drafted into other regiments. The officers were continued on full pay,[4] and by the beginning of the following year all but seven would seem to have obtained new appointments. As many as sixteen were gazetted to the 42nd Highlanders; a draft from the ranks followed them[5]; and it may therefore be said that the Black Watch of to-day forms a link with the 116th Foot, the last regiment raised by a Perthshire man for the Regular Army.

[1] On the 1st December 1794 Colonel Campbell was appointed brigadier-general, and from November the 22nd onwards the 116th appears to have been commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel.

[2] *Scots Magazine*, August 1795.

[3] *History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 407.

[4] In the *Army Lists* from 1799 onwards for a few years, some half-dozen of the officers appear on the half-pay of the regiment.

[5] Stewart, *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. i. p. 405.

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116TH REGIMENT OF FOOT[1]

OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 116TH.	REMARKS.
Colonel	Alexander Campbell of Monzie	Brevet Colonel, and Capt. and Lt.-Col., 3rd Guards	10 Feb. 1794	Full pay on reduction.
Lt.-Col.	Alexander Buchanan[2]	Major, 9th Foot	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., 37th Ft., 1 Sept. 1795.
Major	John Sullivan Wood[3]	Capt., Indt. Coy.	,, ,, ,,	Major, 21st Dgns.,[4] 5 Oct. ,,
Captain	Patrick Campbell	,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	Full pay on reduction[5] (?)
,,	William Thomas	Lieut., 20th Dgns.	11 ,, ,,	Capt., 42nd Foot, 4 Sept. 1795.
,,	Charles McVicar	,, ,, 79th Foot	12 ,, ,,	,, ,, 5 ,, ,,
,,	John Campbell	,, ,, 117th ,,	13 ,, ,,	...
,,	Charles McQuarrie[6]	,, ,, 99th ,,	15 ,, ,,	Capt., 42nd Foot, 6 Sept. 1795.
,,	John Dove	,, ,, 103rd ,,	16 ,, ,,	,, ,, 7 ,, ,,
Capt.-Lt.	Robert Abraham	,, ,, 117th ,,	14 ,, ,,	...
Lieutenant	Norman MacLeod	Ens., 73rd ,,	10 ,, ,,	Lieut., 42nd Foot, 7 Sept. 1795.
,,	John Davitts	,, ,, 106th ,,	11 ,, ,,	,, ,, 8 ,, ,,
,,	Colin Campbell	,, 1st Batt. Scots Bgde.	12 ,, ,,	,, ,, 9 ,, ,,
,,	Robert Campbell	,, ,, Indt. Coy.	13 ,, ,,	,, ,, 10 ,, ,,
,,	Andrew Mitchell	,, ,, 101st Foot	14 ,, ,,	Resigned before 31 July 1795.
,,	Niel MacLeod	,, ,, 106th ,,	15 ,, ,,	Lieut., 42nd Ft., 12 Sept. 1795.
Ensign	Stewart Campbell	...	10 ,, ,,	,, ,, 9 ,, ,,
,,	Charles Campbell	...	11 ,, ,,	,, ,, 26 ,, ,,
,,	John McDearmid	...	12 ,, ,,	,, ,, 21 Oct. ,,
,,	Alexander Campbell	...	13 ,, ,,	Ens., ,, 5 Sept. ,,
,,	James McPherson	...	14 ,, ,,	,, ,, 6 ,, ,,
,,	Archibald McNicol[7]	...	15 ,, ,,	Lieut., ,, 15 ,, ,,
,,	William Forsteen	...	16 ,, ,,	,, 130th Ft., ,, ,, ,,[8]
,,	George Slack	...	17 ,, ,,	Ens., 60th ,, ,, ,, ,,
Chaplain	Richard[9] Otter	...	10 ,, ,,	Full pay on reduction.
Adjutant	Robert Abraham	Lieut., ,, 117th Foot	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
Qrmr.	Robert Campbell, jun.	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,

OFFICERS APPOINTED LATER

Captain	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane	Lieut., Independent Coy. and Colonel, 3rd Bread. Fenc.	21 Jan. 1795	Major, 78th Foot,[10] 1795.
Lieutenant	Valentine[11] Kingston	Ensign, 108th Foot	15 July ,,	Lieut., 6th ,, 21 Oct. ,,
,,	William Tinling	,, ,, 82nd ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 42nd ,, 14 Sept. ,,
,,	—— Kindillon	,, ,, 113th ,,	,,[12]	...
Ensign	William Kirkwood	...	30 April ,,	...
,,	Henry Simms	Ens., half pay, 60th Foot	31 May ,,	...
,,	Dougal McVicars	...	31 Aug. ,,	Ens., 85th Foot, 20 Jan. 1796
Lt.-Col.	Sir Charles Ross of Balnagown,[13] Bt.	Brevet Col. and Lieut.-Col., 37th ,,	1 Sept. ,,	Full pay on reduction.
Surgeon	Alexander McDowell	...	16 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
Surg. Mate	William Paton	...	...	...

Agent for Great Britain, Mr. Patrick Campbell,[14] 5 Adam St., Adelphi; for Ireland, Messrs. Fraser, Reed & Sons, Dublin.

[1] From the *War Office Registers Various;* Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes from other War Office Papers at the Public Record Office; *Army Lists;* lists in the Achalader charter-chest; *London Gazette,* and other periodicals.

[2] Belonged to Glasgow. Had served "with great reputation" in the West Indies under General Sir Charles Grey. *Caledonian Mercury.*

[3] Afterwards general.

[4] Major William Morton Pleydell, formerly of the 21st Light Dragoons, is shown on the half-pay of the 116th in the *Army Lists* from 1796 onwards. He had probably arranged an exchange with Major Wood before the regiment was reduced. He could have done no duty with the 116th.

[5] Shown on the full pay of the 116th, 1797. I cannot find him in the *Army List* for 1796.

[6] Paymaster.

[7] Promoted lieutenant *vice* Andrew Mitchell, 31st July 1795. Appears as "Nicol" in one of the Achalader lists.

[8] William Forsteen was appointed to the 130th before June the 30th, and George Slack to the 60th before July the 18th, 1795. Slack exchanged with Henry Simms, and Forsteen with William Kirkwood (see below).

[9] "William" in Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes and in two of the Achalader lists.

[10] *Scots Magazine,* Sept. 1795. The commissions in the 116th and 78th were evidently granted for promotion purposes only. On the 17th April 1795 he was appointed colonel of the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles, with rank of lieut.-colonel in the Army.

[11] "Walter" in Colonel Holden's MS.

[12] The appointment to the 116th of —— Kindillon and William Kirkwood appeared in the *Gazette* of June the 30th.

[13] Afterwards lieutenant-general. Exchanged from the 37th Foot with Alexander Buchanan. The *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of the 28th June 1794 announced the appointment of "Major Campbell" of the 44th Regiment to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 116th, but no mention of this is to be found in the official papers.

[14] Second son of John Campbell of Achalader, chamberlain of the Breadalbane estates. Suc. to Achalader, 1799.

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II.—THE RESERVE FORCES OF PERTHSHIRE

THE PERTHSHIRE MILITIA OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

Ever since Scotland has been a nation she has possessed a territorial force available when required for defence against internal broil or foreign aggression. To this force the terms "Fencibles" and "Militia" have been indiscriminately applied by modern historians, and as some confusion exists in regard to the proper application of these epithets at different periods, the point may be briefly cleared up before proceeding to notice the levies answering to either designation raised in the county of Perth.

In the earlier Statutes the call to arms is addressed to "all men that has landis or guidis,"[1] or to "all our sovereign lordis lieges baith to burgh and to land."[2] In 1483 the epithet "defensible personis" first appears,[3] and in 1528 the designation is "fensable personis."[4] In 1643, when the Estates of Scotland came to the assistance of the English Parliament in its unequal struggle with Charles I., they summoned "all the fensible persounes within this Kingdom between 60 and 16 of quhatsumever qualitie rank or degrie,"[5] and "fencible" is the word applied in the records to all the levies made throughout the wars of Charles I.'s reign.

The word "militia" crept into the language early in the seventeenth century, and was used by our early writers on military tactics as synonymous with "standing army." It, however, became quickly specialised and narrowed down to its modern use as an epithet exclusively applicable to those territorial forces which down to the time of Charles I. were known in England as "Train-bands" and in Scotland as "Fencibles." The word first occurs in our records in 1646, when the Estates instructed their commissioners in London to make it a condition of the removal of the army from England after the successful conclusion of the Civil War "that these thrie propositions, for settling Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, formarlie debated at Vxbridge, may be sent to his Majestie and his answer sought thairto."[6] The only other occasion on which the word "militia"

[1] *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 45. A.D. 1456.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 133. A.D. 1481.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 164.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 322.
[5] *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 43.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. vi. pt. i. p. 576b.

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occurs in the records down to the period of the Restoration is in a casual reference to an English force.[1]

The term "train-bands," applied for centuries to the territorial forces of England, rarely occurs in Scotland, though the local force of the city of Edinburgh, drawn from the ranks of the citizens in 1581, came to be so designed.[2] Frequent references to this body are to be met with in the history of the city.

From the Restoration onwards the periodical embodiment and training of a certain proportion of the available fighting men in Scotland, as at once the most natural and economical plan for preserving the peace of the kingdom, was an idea ever present to the minds of Charles II. and his advisers, and on the 23rd of September 1663 an Act was passed authorising the establishment of a national Militia, the strength of which was fixed at 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. Of this, Perthshire was to contribute 1600 foot and 176 horse—Fife being the only other county in Scotland capable at that time of furnishing an equal number of men.[3]

For several years, however, no steps were taken to embody the Militia, and the only forces called out to aid the Regular Army in the suppression of the Pentland Rising of 1666 were the Fencibles within the bounds of certain specified counties. These included the men of Atholl and of the remainder of the county of Perth—the former being commanded by the Earl of Atholl, and the latter by the Earls of Perth and Tullibardine.[4] The services of the Fencibles on this occasion were not required, as the Regular troops under Lieutenant-General Dalziel succeeded in crushing the rising at the battle of Rullion Green on the 28th of November 1666.

At length in 1668 it was decided to embody the force authorised by the Act of 1663. It was an arm of the executive destined to play an important part in the history of the time, and its organisation may be briefly outlined under the following heads:—

1. Nomination of officers.
2. Establishment.
3. Service and musters.
4. Arms and accoutrements.
5. Pay.
6. Precedence.[5]

Under the English Militia Act, passed after the Restoration, the nomination

[1] *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. vi. pt. ii. p. 914b.

[2] Burgh Records Society. *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh*, 1573–89, p. 199. Maitland, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 285. Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, p. 504.

[3] *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. vii. p. 480, 23rd September 1663.

[4] *Privy Council Reg.*, 21st November 1666; proclamation against the rebels in the West. The missive addressed to the Earl of Atholl on that occasion runs "to enrol all fencible persons within the bounds of Atholl and appoint officers that all might be ready to join the Lieutenant General [Dalziel] when required."

[5] Unless otherwise indicated, the information given under these six heads is contained in a Royal letter of 29th April 1668, the accompanying instructions from the King to the Privy Council, and the directions given by the latter to the several shires. *Privy Council Reg.*, 6th May 1668.

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of all officers was entrusted to the lords-lieutenant of counties,[1] but in Scotland the jurisdiction of the heritable lieutenancies, so far as existing, in hardly any case corresponded with the boundaries of the counties by which the Militia was organised.[2] Accordingly the captains of horse and colonels and lieutenant-colonels of foot were nominated by the Crown, the majors of the foot regiments being appointed by the colonels. The patronage of the remaining commissions was vested in a body called into existence for the purpose and termed "the Commissioners for the Militia," which consisted of the Justices of the Peace and the Commissioners of Excise for each county. From the details given, under the various headings specified above, of the powers vested in these commissioners, it will be seen that in their hands was virtually placed the control of the Militia. They were authorised to nominate the captains of foot and lieutenants of horse and foot with consent of the colonels of foot and captains of horse respectively. The under-officers of foot were to be named by the captains of foot with consent of the colonels, and the under-officers of horse by the captains of horse. The names of all officers selected were submitted to the Privy Council, by whom they were forwarded to the King, who issued commissions accordingly. From a petition presented by the heritors of Perthshire to King Charles II. on the 13th of June 1651, it appears that the heritors of each county in former times exercised the right of choosing and discharging the inferior officers of the Fencibles at pleasure.[3] Under the more elaborate system adopted in 1668 very few difficulties arose, the only recorded dispute taking place in the county of Angus, where the nobleman commanding one of the troops of horse, and the heritors, having disagreed as to the lieutenant to be appointed, the Privy Council settled the dispute in favour of the officer commanding.[4] On the 17th of December 1668, in reply to a petition from the Commissioners of Militia for the shire of Perth, the Privy Council decided that the heritors of the parishes of Culross and Tulliallan "should have the leaders of the horses appoynted of themselves and that their fractions or proportions of horses should be paid only to leaders within these two paroches."

The establishment of the Militia of 1668 was that authorised by the Act of 1663. When the foot in a shire exceeded 1100 they were formed into two regiments, and when the horse were more than 80 they were formed into two troops. Perthshire thus came to be possessed of two regiments of foot and two troops of horse. The Commissioners were to fix the number of each troop of horse and of each company of foot, none of the latter to consist of fewer than

[1] *The Statutes at large.* 13 & 14 Car. II. cap. 3, A.D. 1662.

[2] Only on rare occasions was the office of lord-lieutenant conferred upon a subject in Scotland after the Restoration. One occasion was in 1684, during the attainder of Archibald, Earl of Argyll, when John, Marquess of Atholl, was nominated lord-lieutenant of the shires of Argyll and Tarbat, his duties embracing the civil as well as the military administration of the country. *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 187.

[3] *Correspondence of the Earls of Ancram and Lothian*, vol. ii. p. 358. Cf. *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 363. 10th December 1540.

[4] *Privy Council Reg.*, 27th July 1669.

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seventy-eight " marching sojors at least." The force to be raised in each county having been fixed by the Act of 1663, the Commissioners of Militia were " to stent the numbers of horse and men upon the paroches heretors and lyfrenters in their respective shyres in the usuall maner."[1] In the case of Perth the " usuall maner " was the cause of an animated controversy. By an Act of the 11th of June 1668 the Privy Council, in reply to representations from several counties, decided that in each shire the men should be listed " according to the number of the bodyes of the fencible men within the same by the heritors respective as formerly."[2] Perthshire urged as a compromise that if by the rolls of Fencible men in any parish the number who fell to be listed should amount to twenty, and by the valuation to but ten, only fifteen men should be called up, and this was agreed to.[3]

The area of service was limited to Scotland, England, and Ireland. The period was unspecified. No muster-rolls of the Militia appear to have been preserved, but it is known that they contained the names of the soldier, his parents, and his dwelling-place. The Commissioners might provide substitutes with consent of the captains, and were to fill up vacancies in the ranks caused by death. No listed man was allowed to remove from his parish without the consent of his captain, or two of the Commissioners. The latter were to be the arbiters " in all controversies amongst all officers and sojors . . . in all military matters," and were " to sie to the performance of all requisit poyntes of military duty when the regiments companyes or troupes are at their randezvous for mustering and exercise." In cases of failure of duty the Commissioners were to inflict the punishments. The rank and file could only be fined or imprisoned, but lieutenants and under-officers might be cashiered. All ranks were to remain subject to the authority of the law and the ordinary judges in matters civil and criminal. The companies of foot and troops of horse were to be mustered four times a year and the regiments once a year.

The Militia was armed at the expense of the respective counties, and the strictest regulations were laid down to ensure uniformity and to prevent arms from being embezzled or sold to other than members of the force. Two-thirds of each company of the foot carried firearms, the remainder pikes. The pikes were fifteen feet long and in accordance with the pattern laid up in the King's magazine in Edinburgh Castle. The musketeer's accoutrements were a match-lock carrying sixteen balls to the pound, a bandolier, and a sword. The muskets were chiefly imported from Holland by Alexander and Robert Milnes, merchants in Linlithgow,[4] and were retailed to the Militia at eight merks each, a bandolier costing twenty-four shillings scots, a pike fourteen shillings, and a sword £3, 6s. 8d. scots. Only muskets with matchwork were allowed, firearms with snapworks being specially forbidden. Against this restriction the Earl of Atholl vigorously protested. He urged that the Highlanders within the shire of Perth " being

[1] *i.e.* according to valuation.
[2] *Privy Council Reg.*, 11th June 1668.
[3] *Ibid.*, 30th June 1668.
[4] *Treas. Sed.*

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altogether unacquainted with the use of any other gunnes but fyrelocks and where with they are weill provydid" might be permitted to use them.[1] The Privy Council demurred on the ground that by one of His Majesty's instructions "gunnes with matchworkes are only to be allowed and that the lyke addresse might be made in favoures of uthir hieland places." The dispute was referred to the King, who left the matter to be decided by the Council, pointing out, however, that his instruction regarding the matchlocks had been chiefly intended as "a further security that the armes should not be used but only for his . . . service," there being but little match in the kingdom except what was stored in the Royal Magazine. "Therefore his pleasure is to reserve it to his council to doe in this matter as they shall judge best for his service. Their lordships being the best judges whether these commons be such as may weill be trusted with fyrelockis." It is uncertain how the dispute terminated, although it appears from the annual issues of stores that most of the counties were armed with the matchlock. Half a pound of powder and two pounds weight of match were allowed to each soldier yearly,[2] but no man was to have any match except when on service or by special permission of his Colonel. The horsemen were armed with swords and pistols. The horses were listed with their colour and marks, and were inspected four times a year by an officer of the troop to which they belonged, and by one or more of the Commissioners of Militia.

No reference to a uniform has been observed in the records, but a verse of an old ballad describing the battle of Bothwell Brig runs :—

> "The Lowdien-Mallisha they
> came with thair Coats of Blew,
> Five hundred men from London came
> claid in a reddish hew."[3]

Drums, colours, cornets, and trumpets were provided at the expense of the heritors of the shire. Certain regulations as to the colours were issued in 1676. "Item. That no foot collouris be hereafter any other than the Scottes collouris and that the Colonellis collouris be whyte and that thereapon he may place what arms or motto he please it being only for his owne company; And that the rest of the Collouris have the name of the shyre vpon them in great letteris and to be distinguished by bullets crescents starres or numbers as the Colonell shall think fitt. Item. That the Cornets or Standarts of horse being provyded by the Shyres themselves shall have the name of the Shyre upon them and nothing else, and if the troup be out of severall Shyres that the name of both Shyres be put on them conform to order of Parliament and to be of what collour the Captaine of horse and the Shyre shall aggrie to."[4]

The pay of the private men was defrayed by the heritors at the rate of thirteen shillings scots for each horseman and six shillings scots for each footman, for

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 4th June 1668. [2] *Treas. Seds.*, various years.
[3] "Bothwell Lines" in Laing's *Fugitive Scotish Poetry, principally of the XVIIth century* (Edin. 1823–25).
[4] *Privy Council Reg.*, 1st August 1676.

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each day they were at the rendezvous. The colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains of foot, and the captains and lieutenants of horse, drew no pay. The other officers were paid as follows :—a lieutenant of foot four shillings sterling per diem, a corporal of horse three shillings sterling, a " trumpet " two shillings and eightpence sterling, a sergeant of foot one shilling and sixpence sterling, and a drummer one shilling sterling. These were the rates of pay of the horse and foot-guards of the Regular Army. Ten days' pay per annum was the amount allowed by the Treasury.[1]

The horse always took precedence of the foot, but questions of precedency naturally arose where more than one regiment or troop mustered at a rendezvous. They gradually assumed such proportions that it was found necessary to pass an Act of Council on the subject. By this Act it was declared that when one of the colonels of foot or captains of horse was a nobleman and the other a gentleman they were to take place according to their dignity ; where both were noblemen, they were to take place and be ranked at the rendezvous according to their creations as noblemen ; if gentlemen they were to cast lots for the year and thereafter to take precedence or right hand *per vices.*[2] The companies in each regiment were ranked by consent or lot.

Such then was the first militia permanently established in Scotland, a body selected from the Fencible men, with a special organisation and discipline, a defined area and an undefined period of service. Its existence, while lessening the probability of the Fencible men of the nation being called to arms, in no way impaired their liability to serve. On the contrary, there is a special declaration in the Act of 1663 " that if his majesty shall have further use of their service this kingdom will be ready every man between sixty and sixteen to join and hazard their lives and fortunes as they shall be called for by his majesty." As will be seen in the course of the narrative, the value of this declaration was fully appreciated by the authorities.

The captains of horse and the colonels and lieutenant-colonels of foot were nominated by the King on the 29th of April 1668, and in 1669 the Militia was first called out. The two Perthshire troops of horse were commanded respectively by the Earls of Perth and Tullibardine, and the regiments of foot by the Marquess of Montrose and the Earl of Atholl. On the 3rd of September following the list of the captains of Montrose's Regiment was issued, and on the same date a list of the captains, lieutenants, and ensigns of the Atholl Regiment. In addition to the information thus afforded there are preserved in H.M. General Register House over two hundred and fifty of the warrants issued for the pay of the Perthshire Militia forces, which disclose frequent alterations in the names of the officers. From a collation of these sources of information the following lists have been prepared. The troops and companies are ranked according to the order in which they appear in the list of the 3rd of September 1668.

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 15th July 1669. *Treas. Scds.*, 9th July 1669, 8th May 1670, &c.
[2] *Privy Council Acta*, 7th May 1673.

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STANDARD OF JOHN, LORD MURRAY'S MILITIA TROOP OF HORSE

(*Preserved at Blair Castle*)

To a foundation of fine-spun white linen is sewed on each side white satin, forming the ground of the flag, on each side of which is painted; on a mount vert, a lyon rampant gules, lingued azure, armed or, holding in his dexter paw a scimitar proper. Across the upper part of the flag runs the legend:—"For one of the Militia Troups of Perth Shire 1684." Size of the flag, including breadth of the pole-sheath, 24 × 22½ inches; fringe (apparently modern), 3¼ inches. A similar flag is preserved at Duncrub Park.

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I. The Earl of Perth's Troop of Horse.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Appears in Pay Warrants*
Captain [*successively*]	James, 3rd Earl of Perth	29 April 1668	...
	Lieut.-Gen. William Drummond of Cromlix	12 June 1669	...
	Sir John Stirling of Keir, Kt.	29 May 1676	1677–81.
	Mungo Haldane of Gleneagles	10 April 1683	1684.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Sir John Drummond of Logiealmond	...	1672–74.
	Hary Home of Argaty	...	1681.
Cornet	Name unknown.	...	...
Brigadier[1]	Name unknown.	...	...
Corporals	Laurance Graham	...	1670–75.
	James Allester	...	1670–71.
	Robert Drummond in Kilbryd	...	1675.
	Alexander Glass	...	,,

II. The Earl of Tullibardine's Troop of Horse.

Captain [*successively*]	James, 4th Earl of Tullibardine[2]	29 April 1668	...
	John, Lord Murray	29 May 1676	1677–84.
Lieutenant	John Drummond, yr. of Machany	...	1670–75.
Cornet	Patrick Murray, fiar of Keillor	...	1670.
Brigadier	Francis Graham in Inchture[3]	...	1678.
Corporals	Francis Grahame	...	1677.
	John Strang[4]	...	1677–78.
	John Murray	...	1678–80.
Trumpeter	Andrew Lamb	...	1677.
	William Nikoll	...	1678.

III. Montrose's, afterwards Perth's, Foot Regiment of Militia.

No. 1 Company.

Col. and Capt. [*successively*]	James, 2nd Marquess of Montrose[5]	29 April 1668	...
	James, 3rd Earl of Perth[6]	12 June 1669	1670.
	James, 3rd Marquess of Montrose[7]	29 May 1676	...
	James, 4th Earl of Perth	...	1684.
Capt.-Lieut. [*successively*]	Patrick Urquhart, late bailie of Perth	3 Sept. 1668	1670–74.
	John Lamb	...	1675–78.
	James Sanders	...	1681–84.
Ensign	John Cluny, burgess of Perth	4 Feb. 1669	...

[1] In the Regular forces at this time "brigadier" was synonymous with "corporal," but it appears to have been otherwise in the Militia.

[2] Died, 1670. For some years afterwards the troop continues to be designed "Tullibardine's" in the warrants.

[3] Designed in 1678 "ane bridgeofdeir." In 1684 designed servitor to John, Lord Murray. Perhaps identical with the corporal.

[4] Servitor to John, Lord Murray.

[5] Died, February 1669. [6] Died, 2nd June 1675. [7] Died, April 1684.

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No. 2 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Appears in Pay Warrants*
Lt.-Col. & Capt.	Patrick Graham of Inchbreakie	4 Feb. 1669	1670–81.
[*successively*]	Sir James[1] Drummond of Machany	...	1684–85.
Lieutenant	John Bruce	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	John Halliday, bailie of Culross	...	1671–84.
Ensign	John Huttoun of Ballilisk	...	1670–72.

No. 3 Company.

Major and Capt.	John Home of Argaty[2]	3 Sept. 1668	...
[*successively*]	Mr. James Edmonstoun of Newton[3]	...	1671–84.
Lieutenant	David Muschatt of McAristoun	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	John Burdone	...	1684.
Ensign	Name unknown	...	...

No. 4 Company.

Captain	William, 2nd Earl of Monteith	3 Sept. 1668	1670.
[*successively*]	John Drummond of Pitkellonie	...	1671–84.
Lieutenant	Thomas Graham of Mudnie	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	David Muschatt of McAristoun	...	1670.
Ensign	William Graham, brother of Mudnie	4 Feb. 1669	...

No. 5 Company.

Captain	Sir John Chisholm of Cromlix[4]	3 Sept. 1668	1670.
[*successively*]	Peter Hay, yr. of Leyes	...	1673–84.
Lieutenant	Mr. James Edmondstoun of Newton	4 Feb. 1669	...
Ensign	Mr. John Sinclair of Glassingall	„ „	...

No. 6 Company.

Captain	Sir William Graham of Braco[5]	3 Sept. 1668	1670–75.
[*successively*]	James Graham of Orchil	...	1681–84.
Lieutenant	Gavin Drummond of Muthwell	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	Duncan Drummond of Balhaldies	...	1677.
Ensign	Robert Graham of Carnie	4 Feb. 1669	...

No. 7 Company.

Captain [*successively*]	Sir Lawrence Oliphant of Gask[6]	3 Sept. 1668	1670–80.
	Mr. David Grahame, Uncle and Tutor to Gorthy	...	1681.
	George Oliphant of Gask	...	1684.

[1] Elsewhere "Sir John." [2] In warrants of 22nd July 1670 referred to as deceased.

[3] He had a commission as Chamberlain of the Lordship of Monteith and Strathearn, dated 5th June 1668. *Treas. Sed.*

[4] In 1671 Sir John petitions the Privy Council for protection on the ground that he had sold his lands for the protection of his creditors and had some business in dependence before the Lords of Session to which it was necessary he should attend in person. *Acta*, 9th June 1671. Protection renewed, 5th January 1672. *Ibid.*

[5] In the warrant of the 18th July 1678 he is referred to as deceased, but from 1678–80 the company is designed "Braco's."

[6] In warrant of 22nd October 1681 referred to as deceased. At p. lxxvi of *The Oliphants*

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No. 7 Company—*continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Appears in Pay Warrants*
Lieutenant . .	James Oliphant of Soutertoun, brother of Sir Lawrence	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	David Oliphant, son to the Laird of Gask	...	1680.
Ensign	John Graham of Reidfuird	4 Feb. 1669	...

No. 8 Company.

Captain	Sir David Carmichaell of Balmedie .	3 Sept. 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant . .	William Oliphant of Provostmaynes .	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	William Wilson	...	1679–81.
Ensign	Thomas M^{c}Alla in Abernethy . . .	4 Feb. 1669	...

No. 9 Company.

Captain . . .	Sir William Blair of Kinfauns . . .	3 Sept. 1668	1670–81.
[*successively*]	James Graham of Garrok	...	1684.
Lieutenant . .	George Moon, Burgess of Perth[1] . .	4 Feb. 1669	1673–75.
[*successively*]	James Blair	...	1681.
Ensign	James Graham of Chappellhill . . .	4 Feb. 1669	...

No. 10 Company.

Captain	Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick . .	3 Sept. 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant . .	Colonel John Lindsay	4 Feb. 1669	...
[*successively*]	Samuel Agnew[2]	...	1673.
Ensign	Gilbert Duncan in Erroll	4 Feb. 1669	...

Quartermaster . John Drummond of Colquhalls.[3]

No. 1 Company . .	Sergeants	Alexander Moray	1673.
		James Drummond	1673–74.
		George Buchane	1673–80.
		William Hiseltoune	1675–80.
No. 6 Company . .	Sergeants	James Wilson	1679.
		John Millar	1679–80.
	Drummers	John Mitchell "to the Earl of Perth's own company" .	1673–75.
		Thomas Hunter "to the Marquess of Montrose's own company"	1677–80.

in Scotland Sir Lawrence is said to have died on the 20th July 1679, but at p. 353 he is proved to have been alive on the 11th December 1679. The pay-warrant for 1680 (dated 28th August of that year) is made out to "David Oliphant, Liewtenant to Gaskes companie of Militia."

[1] In the warrant of the 13th March 1680 he is referred to as deceased, and the discharge for his pay for 1679 is granted by Catherine Gray his relict.

[2] On the 16th August 1670 Samuel Agnew of Lowristoun is nominated a Justice of the Peace and Commissioner of Excise and Militia for the Shire of Perth.

[3] *Treas. Records*, 26th January 1686.

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IV. Atholl's Foot Regiment of Militia.

No. 1 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Appears in Pay Warrants*
Col. and Capt.	John, 2nd Earl of Atholl[1]	29 April 1668	1670–85.
Capt. Lieut. [*successively*]	Robert Campbell of Glenlyon	3 Sept. „	1670–72
	James Stewart, fiar of Urrard	...	1681–84.
Ensign	John Stewart, yr. of Balnakaillie	...	1673–78.

No. 2 Company.

Lt.-Col. and Capt.	Sir John Campbell of Glenorchy[2]	29 April 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Alexander Campbell of Lochdochart	3 Sept. „	...
	Mungo Campbell of Kinloch[3]	...	1679–81.
Ensign	Alexander M^{c}Nab of Barvane	3 Sept. 1668	...

No. 3 Company.

Major and Capt. [*successively*]	Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre	3 Sept. 1668	1670–79.
Captain	Walter Stewart of Kincarrochie	...	1681–84.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Thomas Ogilvie of Little Keithock	3 Sept. 1668	...
	David Drummond of Halhill	...	1671–84.
Ensign	William Halliburtoun of Buttergrasse	3 Sept. 1668	...

No. 4 Company.

Captain [*successively*]	Hon. John Drummond	3 Sept. 1668	...
	John Drummond of Pitkellonie[4]	...	1670.
	John Stewart of Innernytie	...	1673–80.
	Patrick Oliphant of Bachilton	...	1681–84.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	John Drummond of Pitkellonie	3 Sept. 1668	...
	James Crighton of Coopur	...	1675–78.
	John Stewart	...	1679–84.
Ensign	Name unknown.		

No. 5 Company.

Captain [*successively*]	Sir Thomas Stewart of Gairntullie	3 Sept. 1668	1670.
	Thomas Stewart of Ladywell	...	1671–84.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Mr. John Blair	3 Sept. 1668	...
	Robert Stewart	...	1670.
Ensign	Archibald M^{c}Nab	3 Sept. 1668	...

[1] Created Marquess of Atholl, 1676. Died, 1703.

[2] From 1676–80 held the title of Earl of Caithness. Created 1681 Earl of Breadalbane. In the list of colonels and lieutenant-colonels of Militia dated 29th April 1668 Glenorchy appears as lieutenant-colonel of the Montrose Regiment. He does not appear in the lists of either regiment for the 3rd September 1668, although in that list Lochdochart and Barvane appear as lieutenant and ensign of the Lieutenant-Colonel's Company of the Atholl Regiment, but in the warrants for 1670 he is designed lieutenant-colonel of Atholl's.

[3] In the warrants for 1679 (dated March 1680) he discharges the pay of the company as factor to the Earl of Caithness. In the warrant for 1681 he is designed lieutenant of the company.

[4] Lieutenant in list of 3rd September 1668. Captain in the warrants for 1670. Transferred in 1671 to Perth's Regiment, No. 4 Company.

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No. 6 Company.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Appears in Pay Warrants*
Captain [*successively*]	Mongo Graham of Gorthie	3 Sept. 1668	1670.
	Colin Campbell of Monzie	...	1671–72.
	Patrick Haldane of Lanrick	...	1673–81.
	John Buchanan of Leny	...	1684.
Lieutenant	Colin Campbell of Monzie	3 Sept. 1668	...
Ensign	John Murray	„ „	...

No. 7 Company.

Captain	John Murray of Strowan	3 Sept. 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant	Patrick Murray	„ „	...
Ensign	Charles Murray of Glentarff	„ „	...

No. 8 Company.

Captain [*successively*]	John Campbell of Edinample	3 Sept. 1668	...
	James Ramsay, fiar of Bamff	...	1670–85.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Mr. James Edmonstoun of Newton	3 Sept. 1668	...
	William Gray of Drummalie	...	1677–80.
Ensign	Patrick Campbell of Edinkipt	3 Sept. 1668	...

No. 9 Company.

Captain	John Blair of Ardblair	3 Sept. 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant [*successively*]	Thomas Blair of Lethindie	„ „	...
	Thomas Blair of Pittindreich	...	1673-79.
	James Hering of Callie	...	1684.
Ensign	William Stewart of Finnart	3 Sept. 1668	...

No. 10 Company.

Captain	Hary Murray of Lochlane	3 Sept. 1668	1670–84.
Lieutenant	Alexander Campbell of Balgerso	„ „	...
Ensign	George Ramsay of Galgray	„ „	...

Owing to the imperfect state of the public registers at this period it is not possible to give anything like a complete list of the dates and places of the annual training of the Perthshire Militia, but the following have been noted :—

1670.	Shire of Perth,	Perth, 1st June.
1672.	Atholl Foot, Tullibardine Troop,	Perth, 21st June.
	Perth Foot, Drummond Troop,	Auchterarder, 25th June.
1673.	Atholl Foot, Tullibardine Troop,	Perth, 20th June.
	Perth Foot, Drummond Troop,	Auchterarder, 25th June.
1674.	Atholl Foot, Tullibardine Troop,	Perth, first Friday of July.
	Perth Foot, Drummond Troop,	Auchterarder, first Monday of July.
1675.	Atholl Foot, Tullibardine Troop,	Links of Perth, 22nd June.
	Perth Foot, Drummond Troop,	Auchterarder, 23rd June.
1676.	Atholl Foot, Tullibardine Troop,	Perth, 26th May.
	Perth Foot, Drummond Troop,	Perth, 27th May.
1677.	Shire of Perth,	Perth, 1st June.
1678.	Shire of Perth,	Perth, 30th June.
1683.	Shire of Perth,	Perth, 23rd May.

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The Perthshire Militia formed an important section of the force known in history as the "Highland Host," despatched on the 25th of January 1678 to the western shires of Scotland to compel the population to submit to the orders of the Privy Council of Scotland in regard to the suppression of conventicles and other irregularities within their bounds. As the numbers, composition and conduct, of this force have been variously estimated, it may be worth while endeavouring to arrive at an accurate idea on the subject.[1]

In addition to the Regulars employed, it consisted of a levy of the Fencible men within the territories under the sway of the Marquess of Atholl and the Earl of Caithness, and of the Militia within the territories of the Earls of Airlie, Mar, Moray, Perth, and Strathmore. The Marquess of Atholl in his commission was empowered to assemble the gentlemen and heritors of Perthshire[2] (except in Monteith and Strathearn), the Highlanders in the county of Atholl, and other "within his owne lands, propperty, or superiority," and form them into regiments and troops as he should think fit.[3]

The Host assembled at Stirling on the 24th of January 1678[4] and was mustered by Sir Thomas Elphingston of Calderhall, muster-master-general of the Army, and by Richard Elphingston of Airth, his deputy.[5] It was composed of the following details :—

	Horse.	*Foot.*
Marquess of Atholl	88[6]	2118[7]
Earl of Perth	88[8]	530[9]
Earl of Caithness (Breadalbane)	...	1576[10]
Lord Charles Murray's Troop	140[11]	...
The Perthshire Gentlemen	90[12]	...
Earl of Moray	80[13]	200[14]
Earl of Mar	...	700[15]
Angus Foot Militia	...	1000[16]
Angus Horse Militia, Earl of Airlie	52[17]	...
" " Earl of Strathmore	52[18]	...
	590	6124

The Highlanders were ordered to take free quarters in the execution of their commission, and they were to be indemnified against all actions, civil or criminal, which might at any time be brought against them "for anything they shall doe in our service by killing, wounding, apprehending, or imprisoning such as shall make opposition to our authority."[19]

With such unlimited powers it is a striking tribute to the moderation and character of the Highlanders that the only life lost in the course of the expedition was that of a Perthshire militiaman—a certain Alexander M^cGregor from Breadalbane—who was killed in the parish of Campsie by a person of the name of Brash. The latter escaped punishment.[20]

The only Regular forces in Scotland at that period were (1) the troop of Life Guards under the command of the Marquess of Atholl, numbering 160 private

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gentlemen with their officers; and (2) the regiment of Foot Guards, which consisted of ten companies of 100 men each, making with officers and non-commissioned officers a total of 1100 men. The greater part of these troops were marched to the borders of the disaffected districts, but only a few detached parties assisted the Highlanders in their enterprise. The Militia regiments of Midlothian, Fife,

[1] Fountainhall places the number at 8000 (*Hist. Notices*, vol. i. p. 187); Wodrow at 10,000, in which he includes 1000 Regular troops (1828 ed., vol. ii. pp. 388–89). Burnet, apparently excluding the Regulars, says 8000 (1818 ed., vol. ii. p. 20). Law, in his *Memorialls* (p. 136), says the Highlanders numbered five or six thousand; with the Militia of Stirling and the Lothians, and the Regulars, he places the total at eight or nine thousand. Kirkton (*History*, p. 386) estimates the force at 8000, though whether he includes the Regulars is not clear. Laing (*History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 78), who was familiar with some of the authorities above cited, estimates the force at 6000 "lawless highlanders," and the total at 10,000.

[2] The gentlemen and heritors, except such as were placed in command of the Highlanders, were to attend on horseback.

[3] *Privy Council Reg.*, 26th December 1677.

[4] *Lauderdale Correspondence*, vol. iii. p. 98.

[5] *Treas. Sed.*, 16th January 1678.

[6] Commanded by John, Lord Murray. The number stated in the text was the strength according to the Militia establishment.

[7] Official muster at Stirling, 24th January 1678. *Army Papers*, Portfolio IV.

[8] Strength according to Militia establishment.

[9] Official muster at Stirling, 24th January 1678.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Highest number stated by Wodrow.

[12] *Ibid.* In one passage the author refers to the troop under the designation stated in the text, and in another as commanded by "Pitcur." This was David Halyburton of Pitcur, referred to in the old ballad:—

"The bauld Pitcur fell in a furr,
And Clavers gat a clankie, O,
Or I had fed an Athol gled
On the braes o' Killiecrankie, O.
An ye had been whare I ha'e been
Ye wadna been sae cantie, O;
An ye had seen what I ha'e seen,
I' the braes o' Killiecrankie, O."

[13] Estimate. No numbers given either in the Privy Council Records or in Wodrow Supposed to be identical with "Lord Rollo's Troop" as mentioned by Wodrow.

[14] Official muster 24th January 1678. The Earl of Moray was colonel of the Elgin and Nairn Militia. *Privy Council Reg.*, 8th January 1669.

[15] *Ibid.* The Earl of Mar was colonel of the Stirling and Clackmannan Foot Militia. *Warrant Book, Scot.*, 29th May 1676.

[16] Commanded by the Earl of Strathmore. Wodrow complains that in exacting dry quarters the numbers were returned at 1200, although they did not actually exceed 800. The number stated in the text was the strength according to the Militia establishment, which was the force the Earl was instructed to call out. *Privy Council Reg.*, 26th December 1677.

[17] Strength according to establishment.

[18] *Ibid.* Instructions of 26th December 1677.

[19] *Minutes of the Western Committee.* H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[20] Kirkton, p. 391.

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and Stirling, were called out to maintain order during the absence of the troops in the west.[1]

According to Wodrow the western shires during the irruption of the Host were one universal scene of plunder, and it is stated that an enormous booty was secured and carried off. But according to the same authority the depredators did not carry the plunder far. The main body was stopped at Glasgow Bridge by the students of the college and relieved of the spoil. Neither the historian, however, who narrates the incident, nor his gleeful commentator say whether the goods were restored to the lawful owners![2] The arms seized during the expedition were taken by boat to Dumbarton Castle.

After five weeks' quarters the greater part of the Highlanders returned home, leaving behind them 200 men from Atholl, 200 from Glenorchy, and 50 each from the territories of Mar and Perth, besides the Angus Militia. The 500 Perth and Aberdeenshire men left early in March, and the only forces hailing from beyond the Forth after their departure were the Angus Militia—both horse and foot. This force remained until the Western Committee made its final report to the Privy Council, and, returning by Linlithgow, Inverkeithing, Kirkcaldy, and Dysart, was disbanded at Dundee in the first week of April 1678.[3]

On the 16th of December 1678 a scheme for "a new modelled militia" was promulgated, and a year later it received official sanction.[4] The force was to be reduced to 500 horse and 5000 foot for the whole kingdom, this being one-fourth of the former number. This scheme, under which Perthshire was only required to furnish 44 horse and 622 foot, made certain alterations in the method of payment and period of drill, but it is unnecessary to mention it in detail, since it never had anything but a paper existence. In the commissions recorded, many of the names are blank, and after 1679 the payments continued on the same scale, and to the same staff of officers as formerly.

The Militia next saw service in the insurrection of 1679. Hostilities began with the victory of the Covenanters at Drumclog on the 1st of June, and on the 5th the Militia was called out by a Royal proclamation which makes no reference to the "new model." By a further proclamation the Perth Militia was directed to meet at Perth on June the 13th under the command of the Marquess of Montrose.[5] On the 18th of June the Atholl Regiment joined the Earl of Linlithgow (then Commander-in-Chief in Scotland) at Kirkhill, and was followed next day by the Montrose Regiment. On the 19th the Duke of Monmouth took over the command of the army, and many and bitter were the complaints he made to the Privy Council as to the scarcity of provisions in the camp.[6] That part, however, of his force was at this time provided with bread we learn from one of the papers preserved in connection with the insurrection, which record the supplies doled out to two of the Perthshire contingents. These included penny loaves and

[1] *Privy Council Reg.*, 26th December 1677; 3rd January 1678.
[2] Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 413. M'Crie's *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 167.
[3] *Minutes of the Western Committee.*
[4] *Privy Council Reg.*, 18th December 1679.
[5] Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 75.
[6] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 100.

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COVENANTING FLAG CAPTURED AT BOTHWELL BRIG BY THE HON. ARCHIBALD ROLLO

(*Preserved at Duncrub Park*)

The foundation is of a stout silk fabric, covered on each side with a strong, fine silk. The pole-sheath is of fine linen. Painted on each side is the legend, "Covenant For Religion Crovne And Kingdoms." Size of flag, 23 × 20½ inches; original fringe attached, 1 inch in depth.

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biscuit for the Atholl Regiment, and for the "Perthshire gentlemen" a liberal allowance of penny loaves and biscuit of various sorts—"fair," "course," and "browne."

The campaign was a very short one, for it terminated with the defeat of the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge on the 22nd of June, and the Militia was immediately afterwards sent home. The accounts of the battle which have come down to our time do not disclose the part played by the Perthshire forces as a whole in the engagement, but on the opposite page is reproduced a photograph of a flag captured by the Hon. Archibald Rollo,[1] who was probably serving with the "Perthshire gentlemen."

This second appearance of the Highlanders in the western shires was celebrated in mournful doggerel by the old covenanting ballad-writer :—

"They marched east throw Lithgow-town
for to inlarge their Forces,
And sent for all the North-Country,
to come both Foot and Horses.

Montrose did come and Athole both,
and with them many more,
And all the Highland Amorites,
that had been there before."[2]

While a grateful loyalist sang :—

"The good Earle of Athol and gallant Montrose,
They pull'd the Whigs Piriweegs over their nose ;
Their Captains and Chiftans did sleep in their hose,
When they came to the Battell of Bodwell."[3]

The Atholl Regiment of Militia formed the nucleus of the force of 1000 men with which the Marquess of Atholl marched into Argyll in August 1684 for the purpose of enforcing his commission as lord-lieutenant of Argyll and Tarbat.[4] Some two months later he returned to Perthshire, but the majority of his force remained throughout the following winter in garrison at Inveraray under the command of Patrick Stewart of Ballechin,[5] detachments being stationed throughout the county. The men of one of these detached parties had a singular experience. It is chronicled that in December 1684 "a little ghost and spectre appears at Rosneth on of my Lord Argile's houses, wher Athole has got his locality and placed a

[1] Second son of James, second Lord Rollo.

[2] "Bothwell Lines" from *Fugitive Scotish Poetry, chiefly of the XVIIth Century.*

[3] "The Battell of Bodwell-Bridge, or, The Kings Cavileers Trivmph. To be sung with a pleasant New Tune."—*Fugitive Scotish Poetry*, 2nd Series. Laing, 1853.

[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 187, where there is a letter dated 8th August 1684 from the Marquess of Atholl to Sir Thomas Stewart of Gairntully, desiring him to have 60 men with guns and swords in readiness to march on twenty-four hours notice ; *i.e.* Sir Thomas was to attend the Marquess with the 60 musketeers of his Militia company (No. 6 of the Atholl Regiment).

[5] Commission dated 26th July 1684.

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garrison of 50 men; it beats the sojors sometimes and bids them make good use of their tyme for it shall not be long."[1]

On the 12th of March 1685 the Lords of the Privy Council commissioned the Marquess of Atholl to levy another force of 500 Highlanders, to march into Argyllshire, and to "slight and demolish such houses and forts in the said shire as he shall see fit for his majesty's service, and to do every other thing necessar for securing his majesties peace there." The force was divided into seven companies under the respective command of the Lairds of Gairntully, Weyme, Fascallie, Assintullie, Struan, McFarlane, and Leanie. Three of them—Gairntully, Struan, and Leanie—were captains in the Atholl Militia, and each brought his proportionate part of the 500 men.[2] In May 1685, on the alarm of the Earl of Argyll's invasion, the Marquess of Atholl prepared to advance into Argyllshire. The requisitions issued by him to Sir Patrick Threipland of Fingask for supplies of meal for his men while on the march, are preserved,[3] but the exact composition of his force is difficult to ascertain. At Inveraray on the 30th of May 1685 his army amounted to 3000 men "though none of the McCleans, McDonalds or Camrones be as yet joined."[4] The Earl of Mar was to provide 400 men, the Duke of Gordon 300, Lochiel 400, and Lovat 300 men. Lochiel arrived with 300 men,[5] but how many of the other auxiliaries joined is not clear. The bulk of the force consisted of Perthshire men,[6] and it included three troops of horse—one under the command of John, Lord Murray, the second under the command of Lord William Murray,[7] and the third under the command of the Master of Kinnaird.[8] Shoes and plaiding for hose were furnished by the Treasury, and among other outlays was one of £20 to James Irving, surgeon to the forces, to enable him to replenish his medicine chest.[9]

An unfortunate incident of the campaign is mentioned by several contemporary writers whose narratives are virtually identical. Lochiel's men and the Perthshire troop of horse commanded by Lord William Murray were encamped together near Inveraray. One night the Camerons, alarmed by some movement among the Perthshire men, attacked them in the belief that they were a party of Argyll's. Five gentlemen were killed, Pearson of Kippenrosse,[10] Paull Dog of Ballingrue, Linton of Pittindreich, Napier of Balquhapple, and a fifth whose

[1] Fountainhall, *Historical Observes*, p. 142. [2] *Privy Council Reg.*, 12th March 1685.

[3] One thousand bolls of meal were to be supplied by the Lairds of Ochtertyre, Machanie, Strowan, Lanerik, and Lochlan, while a further consignment of 200 bolls was to be placed in the house of Weeme.

[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 217.

[5] Locheill's *Memoirs* (Maitland Club), p. 211.

[6] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 205.

[7] Fourth son of the Marquess of Atholl. Married 1690 the Hon. Margaret Nairne, and succeeded as second Lord Nairne 1690. Died, 1726.

[8] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. pp. 217–18.

[9] *Treas. Rec.*, 20th May 1685.

[10] James Pearson of Kippenrosse, eldest son of James Pearson of Kippenrosse and Jean Drummond, daughter of Innermay. MS. *Account* of the family in Lyon Office Library.

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name does not transpire. Fortunately owing to the good sense of both parties no evil consequences followed the incident.[1]

Atholl's conduct of this campaign has been commented on, but it is clear that both the Privy Council and the Earl of Dumbarton (then commander-in-chief in Scotland) entertained the most exaggerated ideas of the number of Argyll's men and the strength of his armament,[2] and that the inaction of the Marquess's force was due to the repeated orders he received not to fight pending the arrival of reinforcements from France and Holland. His men were indifferently armed, and at his urgent request supplies of arms and ammunition were issued to him from the magazine at Stirling Castle, Captain John Murray of Strowan of the Atholl Foot Militia being detached to convey the arms from Stirling to Inveraray.[3] Even after the arrival of this equipment the Marquess received orders not to engage Argyll. The collapse of the invasion induced by the divisions in the counsels of its leaders need not be here detailed.

The order to disband the Atholl Militia was issued on the 23rd of June 1685, and on the same date the Marquess was instructed to keep together a force sufficient to kill or apprehend all who had joined in the insurrection.[4]

On the 4th of June 1685 Parliament—on the initiative of the King, and on the ground that it would contribute to the ease of the people to abolish the annual training of the Militia unless extraordinary circumstances should otherwise require—ordered it to cease in all time coming during the Royal pleasure, but without prejudice to "the former and present constitution of the militia during the present rebellion."[5] The annual embodiment accordingly ceased, and with it ceased the warrants which form a principal authority for the list of officers 1670–85 above given.

The Perthshire Militia, however, was once more called out. In September 1688 King James VII. announced his intention of withdrawing the Regular troops from Scotland in order to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange. His most sincere friends and well-wishers vainly endeavoured to dissuade him from this project, and in the middle of October 1688, the Scottish army—a body of disciplined troops, completely armed and equipped, and with a month's advance pay in their pockets—crossed the Tweed.[6]

The first proposal of the Privy Council in view of the departure of the army was to warn the heritors of the counties to be in readiness to attend His Majesty's service should occasion arise. This summons was issued on the 4th of September and was readily obeyed.[7] The heritors of West Perthshire mustered at Stirling on the 10th of October 1688 under the command of Viscount Stormont, and

[1] *Hist. Observes*, p. 177; Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 212. See also Captain Creichton's *Memoirs*.
[2] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 212 *et seq.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 213. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 246.
[5] *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. viii. p. 483.
[6] Creichton in his *Memoirs* says the army crossed the Tweed on the 1st of October, but the Treasury Warrants show that the troops were in Kelso and its vicinity on the 11th. The artillery which accompanied the army was brought back from Carlisle on the 8th of November.
[7] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.

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were formed into four divisions, each of which was to serve for a fortnight in turn. The commands, places of service, and periods of muster, were:—first division under the Laird of Pendreich to muster at Dunblane from the 13th to the 26th of October; second division under the Laird of Argatie to muster at Dunblane from the 27th of October to the 9th of November; third division under Lord Rollo to muster at Auchterarder from the 10th to the 23rd of November; fourth division under the Laird of Abercairnie to muster at Auchterarder from the 24th of November to the 7th of December.[1]

No similar details relating to the eastern division of Perthshire are preserved, but from the Earl of Perth's letter to be immediately noticed, it appears that this part of the county did not lag behind the other.

Only a small portion of the scheme laid down for the western division can have been carried into effect, for but a few days after the date of the first muster the Lords of the Privy Council had realised that a force so numerous and so widely scattered as the entire Militia of the kingdom was too unwieldy to be of much avail in the crisis then so rapidly approaching, and they resolved instead to call out a fourth part of it. This fourth part was popularly known as "the new-modelled militia,"—a reference to the abortive scheme of 1679. On the 16th of October 1688 the Earl of Perth informed John, Lord Murray of the Council's resolution, and desired him to thank "these gentlemen who so chearfully convened in his majesties service," and to allow them "to returnne home that they may assist in the out reick of the present proportion of militia now to be drawen out."[2] In virtue of the proportions stented by the Statute of 1663 the entire quota from Perthshire was thus reduced to 44 horse and 400 foot.

The horsemen were formed into one troop under the command of John, Lord Murray, who had as his lieutenants David Kinloch of Gourdie and William Burnet of Balfour.[3] They mustered on the 30th of October 1688, and early in November Gourdie reports to the Privy Council that they are quartered at Culross and that "theyr ordinary weall horsed and armed with swoords and pistols, but no so good as the declarant thinks needfull."[4] On the 14th of November 1688 the Privy Council issued a warrant for the pay of the lieutenant, cornet, three brigadiers or corporals, and a trumpet "from the last day of October last past." The troop continued under arms and drew pay until the 27th of February 1689.[5]

In October 1688 the western regiment of foot Militia was under the command of the Earl of Perth, Lord High Chancellor, the Lieutenant-Colonel being Sir John Drummond of Machany. But as Sir John was at that time governor of the castle of Inveraray, and in command of a force of 200 Highlanders intended to secure the peace of the county, the lieutenant-colonelcy was given to James Graham of Orchil[6] and the detachment of this regiment was accordingly embodied under him.

The eastern regiment was still commanded by the Marquess of Atholl and

[1] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.
[2] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.
[3] *Treasury Accounts.*
[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 269.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.

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the command of the detachment furnished by it was given to James Ramsay of Bamff.[1]

The two divisions of the foot regiments, each 200 strong, were mustered on the 23rd of October. On November the 7th they were quartered at Queensferry, whence they removed the following day to Bo'ness. Serving under Bamff were two captains, John Stewart of Ladywell and John Murray of Strowan—the detachment being in three companies "with subaltern officers conform."[2]

On the 14th of November the Committee of the Privy Council decided that as the foot Militia called out, together with the Highlanders and certain companies formed in Edinburgh, made a total of 5573 men—a number greatly in excess of the standing forces—a further reduction should take place and the force be distributed as follows:—

500	Highlanders to lie at Stirling.[3]
500	of the northern Militia also to lie at Stirling.
2000	of the foot Militia to be formed into four regiments of 500 each.
	to be quartered about Edinburgh.
Total 3000	

The horse Militia was to be called out, kept together, and formed into six troops.[4] From the warrants for pay preserved it appears that the two Perthshire foot detachments formed part of the force retained, and that they continued to draw pay down to the 28th of December 1688.

On the 14th of December 1688 the Privy Council granted a commission to the Marquess of Atholl as Commander-in-Chief of the standing forces of "militia, heritors, or others of the kingdom," and in virtue of his powers he on the 7th of January 1689—two months after the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay—issued an order on John Drummond, Receiver-General of Excise, to pay the following troops "till further order:"—

One troop of horse, 120 men; four companies of foot, each 120; four companies of the town of Edinburgh Militia, each 100; addition to Stirling Castle garrison, 100; added to the town of Edinburgh's guard, 70; and 60 sentinels for in-gathering of cess and excise.[5]

This was the last military order issued in Scotland under the Stuart régime.

During the course of the Revolution repeated attempts were made by the supporters of William and Mary to call out the Militia,[6] and the Perthshire contingent was appointed to meet at Perth on the 15th of April in that year. "The Marquis of Atholl to be colonel of the eastern regiment of foot formerly commanded by him, the Earl of Breadalbane lieutenant-colonel, and James Ramsay of Bamfe major; the Lord Rollo captain of the eastern troop; the

[1] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] See this force referred to in *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, anno 1688.
[4] *Privy Council Warrants*, 1688.
[5] *Treas. Accounts.* Establishment of the Forces in Scotland.
[6] *Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. ix. pp. 11, 13, 25, 30, 31, &c.

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Lord Ruthven to be colonel of the western regiment formerly commanded by the Earl of Perth, the laird of Weyme, younger, lieutenant-colonel, Robert Stewart of Ardvoirlich[1] major, —— Drummond of Comrie, —— Lindsay of Evelick, the laird of Layes, —— Oliphant of Condie, and —— Ure of Shirgarten, captains; the laird of Glenegeis captain of the western troup, —— Home of Argatie, lieutenant, and —— Cornet."[2] In the wild chaos then prevailing within the kingdom little attention was paid to these orders, and it may be doubted whether the Revolution would have been accomplished so successfully had the suppression of the opposition to the Whig government not been left to the Regular troops.

In the public controversies which preceded the Union of 1707 the Militia is rarely alluded to, but the famous Act of Security of 1704 provided that all the Protestant Fencible men of Scotland should be forthwith armed and called out at least once a month for training.[3] This step was taken in view of a possible conflict with England. With the passing of the Act of Union all mention of a Scots Militia ceased until 1714, when a Bill was introduced into Parliament by the Harley Administration to establish a Scots Militia on the same footing as that of England. Under the English law the lord-lieutenant of a county had absolute control of the force, subject only to the King's instructions. He had the sole power of calling out, arming, organising, and exercising the Militia; he could search for and seize arms in the custody of any person whom he "might judge dangerous to the peace of the kingdom," and the nomination of every officer from colonel downward lay with him. The Bill was thrown out by the exertions of Lockhart of Carnwath, who strenuously protested against it on the ground of its unsuitability to Scotland, urging that the heritors of that kingdom would never submit to a law entitling a powerful and perhaps hostile neighbour to search their houses and seize their horses and arms at pleasure.[4]

On the outbreak of the Civil War in 1715 the popular organisation of the Scots Militia proved an insurmountable obstacle to its use by the *de facto* Government. Recourse was therefore had to the Royal prerogative, and twenty commissions of lieutenancy, all dated the 19th of August 1715, were issued to the following personages,[5] all of whom supported the Hanoverian Succession:—

Charles, Earl of Hopetoun	Linlithgow.
John, Duke of Roxburgh	Roxburgh and Selkirk.
Alexander, Lord Polwart	March.
Archibald, Duke of Douglas	Angus.
John, Duke of Atholl	Perth.
James, Earl of Morton	Orkney.
John, Earl of Rothes	Fife and Kinross.

[1] On the 24th of May 1689 Archibald Napier of Boquhaple and James Stewart younger of Ardvoirlich were commissioned to secure the Fords of Forth above Stirling with 300 men, and the keeper of the magazine in Stirling Castle was ordered to deliver to them half a barrel of gunpowder for the use of their companies.—*Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix. p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 26. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. xi. p. 136. [4] *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 452-58.

[5] List of commissions in Paper Register of the Great Seal, H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

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James, Earl of Bute	Bute.
John, Earl of Stair	Galloway.
Charles, Marquess of Tweeddale . .	East Lothian.
Charles, Earl of Selkirk	Cliddisdale.
John, Duke of Argyll	Dumbarton.
Hugh, Earl of Loudoun	Air.
Archibald, Earl of Islay	Mid-Lothian.
William, Marquess of Annandale . .	Dumfries, Peebles, and Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.
David, Earl of Buchan	Stirling and Clackmannan.
Alexander Grant of Grant	Inverness and Banff.
John, Earl of Sutherland	Sutherland, Caithness, Ross, Cromarty, Nairn, and Moray.
William, Lord Ross	Renfrew.
Thomas, Earl of Haddington . . .	Haddington.

In this manner were raised the Reserve forces which aided the Duke of Argyll in his successful campaign against the Earl of Mar. The powers conferred by these commissions were identical in terms as in date. The personage named in each commission was empowered to "act as commander of the Fensible men and Militia" as the service should require, and "to call and convocate to his assistance all or such numbers of the Fensible men or Militia"[1] as he might be appointed by instructions under the sign manual. A series of instructions accompanied the commissions and empowered His Majesty's lieutenants to nominate deputy-lieutenants and officers in their respective ranks in proportion to the Fencible men in each shire "in regard that all the Fensible men are bound by law to obey you as their Lieutenant in defence of the kingdom." Officers and rank and file were to be exclusively recruited from persons of known loyalty.[2] With the exception of the right to search for arms, the Scottish commissions covered in fact the whole powers entrusted at that period to English lords-lieutenant. Commissions in similar terms were issued to various nobles in Scotland from 1715 to the 8th of April 1757, on which date the last of the series was issued to William, eighth Earl of Home.[3]

The powers conferred upon lords-lieutenant in Scotland in 1715 were extended by a series of statutes known as the "Disarming Acts,"[4] conferring upon them, in addition to their power of commanding the Militia and Fencibles, the right to search for all arms and ammunition in the custody of those persons whom they or their deputies should judge dangerous to the peace of the kingdom. In this simple but effectual way the powers vainly sought for by the Tories in 1714 were in the following generation conferred upon the Whigs.

[1] This confusion of terms in official documents, which here appears for the first time, continued until the passing of the General Militia Act for Scotland in 1802.

[2] Instructions accompanying the commissions, dated 25th August 1715.

[3] *Paper Register of the Great Seal.*

[4] The principal Disarming Acts were 1 Geo. I. stat. 2, cap. 54; 1715. 11 Geo. I. cap. 26; 1724. 19 Geo. II. cap. 39; 1746. 20 Geo. II. cap. 51; 1747. 21 Geo. II. cap. 34; 1748. 26 Geo. II. cap. 29; 1748.

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In the Civil War of 1745 the Hanoverian Government depended almost entirely for success upon the Regular troops, aided by the Dutch and Hessian auxiliaries. Eighteen commissions for independent companies issued through Duncan Forbes of Culloden to the Whig clans of the north, the unlucky Volunteers and Train-bands of Edinburgh who yielded the capital to Prince Charles Edward without a blow, the Glasgow Regiment of Volunteers, and the Argyllshire Militia, were the chief local additions to the forces of the Crown. Perthshire was deeply pledged on the other side.

The stress of the Seven Years' War, in which Great Britain found herself opposed to France, Austria, Saxony, Sweden, Russia, and finally Spain, with Prussia as her sole ally, rendered it imperative to free the Regular troops from home duty for employment on foreign service. Accordingly by an Act passed on the 28th of June 1757 the English Militia was reorganised, and a strong effort was made to attain a similar result in Scotland, a Bill being brought into the House of Commons proposing a Militia establishment of 6000, which was considered to be in just proportion to the English force of 32,000.[1] The measure received almost universal support, and Perthshire took an active interest in the proposal. An advertisement appeared in the newspapers calling the heritors to meet at Perth on the 1st of April 1760 to "consider of the most proper and effectual method of expressing to the legislature their desire to see a well-regulated militia established in Scotland."[2] Other counties and many of the principal burghs held similar meetings, and petitions were showered upon Parliament in favour of the Bill. But the spectre of Jacobitism had not then been exorcised from the English mind, and it was urged that to grant a militia to the sister kingdom was simply to arm Scotland against England. A proposal to include in the measure the fifteen disarmed counties (of which Perthshire was one) deepened the prejudice against the measure, and on the second reading the Bill was thrown out by a majority of 110 in a house of 278 members, Lord Barrington, then secretary of state for war, being one of the tellers for the majority.[3]

In 1776, after hostilities had broken out with the American colonies, a third attempt was made to pass a Scots Militia Bill, an establishment of 6000 being again suggested. This measure was strongly opposed by Burke on the ground that the proposed numbers would amount to one-fifth of the English Militia, and that, as Scotland only contributed one-fortieth of the land-tax (out of which the cost of the entire force was to be defrayed), a Scots Militia 6000 strong would be a heavy burden on the English taxpayer. The Bill was accordingly thrown out by 112 votes to 93.[4]

Yet another attempt was made during the American War. On the 15th of May 1782 the Marquess of Graham moved for leave to bring in a Bill to establish a Scots Militia of the same strength as formerly suggested. Leave was given

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1759, p. 659; 1760, p. 68.
[2] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 22nd and 25th March 1760.
[3] *Ibid.*, 22nd April 1760.
[4] *The Parliamentary History of England*, vol. xviii. p. 1229.

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and the Bill was read a second time on May the 31st. In committee, however, on the 10th of June, the Secretary at War moved to insert a clause permitting a part of the proposed Militia to enlist in the Regular Army. The Marquess of Graham declined to consent to a proposal which would establish such a difference between the Militia of Scotland and that of England, and the Secretary's motion having been carried by 41 votes to 37, the Marquess asked, and obtained, leave to withdraw the Bill.[1]

In 1793, at the commencement of the great French War, Mr. Secretary Dundas introduced a Bill for the better ordering of the Militia of Scotland, but it was considered preferable to raise Fencible regiments, and the measure was set aside. Finally, on the 19th of July 1797, when the country was face to face with dangers greater than any which had menaced her in the previous struggles with France, the Act 37 George III. caput 103 was passed, by which, after an interval of more than a century, a Scots Militia was re-established. Since that date Scotland has never been without this branch of the Reserve Forces.

A narrative of the Perthshire Militia from 1797 to the present day will be found in the article which follows this, but a brief outline of the constitution of the Scots Militia, and of the policy of the many Acts dealing with the force in general which were passed during the early years of the nineteenth century, may be given here.

The Act of 1797 fixed the quota of Militia to be supplied by Scotland at 6000 men, and the execution of the new Statute was entrusted to the lords-lieutenant.[2] In every parish a return was made of all men between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three inclusive, and after omitting therefrom all who could plead exemption, viz. those serving in the Volunteers and Yeomanry, all professors, clergymen, schoolmasters, constables, indentured clerks, apprentices, seamen, and men with more than two legitimate children, a ballot for the required quota was taken. When a sufficient number of men volunteered no ballot was necessary. Substitutes were allowed. The men were enlisted to serve within Scotland during the war and for one calendar month after the proclamation of peace. The field-officers were nominated by the Crown, the other officers by the lords-lieutenant, and all were to have a certain property qualification.

Owing to the blundering fashion in which the measure was placed before the people, rioting took place in several districts, and it became necessary to pass a second Act extending the date for the initiation of the organisation from the 1st of August 1797 to the 1st of March 1798. It was also thought advisable to reduce the quota for Scotland to 5500.[3] In 1798 the total number of men liable to ballot in Scotland was returned at 24,330 and the number actually appor-

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1782, pp. 410–12.

[2] On the 17th of March 1794, with a view to the immediate raising of Volunteers and Fencible cavalry in Scotland, thirty-three commissions of lieutenancy had been issued to as many noblemen and gentlemen in that country.

[3] 38 Geo. III. cap. 12, 30th December 1797.

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tioned, at 5492. Perthshire was second on the list with 2210 men liable and 500 men apportioned, Lanarkshire producing 2375 and 536 respectively.[1] The entire force of 5492 was called out and embodied by two Orders in Council of the 18th of May and the 18th of November 1798.[2] In 1799 the age limit was altered to nineteen to thirty inclusive,[3] and in 1801 the quota was increased to 5768, of which Lanarkshire was to produce 563 and Perth 526.[4]

From the day appointed by the lords-lieutenant of counties for the assembly of the Militia, the officers and men were to be paid on the same scale as the officers and men of His Majesty's other regiments of foot. Officers on half-pay and sergeants of Chelsea Hospital were to retain their half-pay and allowances in addition to their Militia pay, and non-commissioned officers and men maimed or wounded on actual service were to be entitled to the benefits of Chelsea Hospital. By subsequent Statutes certain provisions were made for the wives and children of militiamen on service.

On the 26th of June 1802, in order to prepare for eventualities, a new Militia Act was passed by which Scotland was to produce a force of 7950 men,[5] and this Statute, amended from time to time, continued in force for over fifty years. Men might be raised by voluntary enlistment, but failing a sufficient number of volunteers, a ballot was to be taken of all those between the ages of eighteen and forty-five who were physically fit and not exempt in virtue of certain employments. Substitutes were allowed, and a sum of £10 ensured five years' exemption. The service was restricted to Great Britain and was for a period of five years or such further time as the Militia should remain embodied—the annual training being twenty-one days, extended in 1803 to twenty-eight days.[6] The numbers actually apportioned were 8012, Perthshire again being second on the list with 653, and Lanarkshire leading with 751.[7]

In June 1803 a supplementary quota provided for by the Act of 1802 was called out, and in the same year the property qualifications were relaxed to a certain extent.

The policy of the Act of 1802, which had been drawn up by the Addington Administration, was to provide a purely defensive force. A militiaman enlisting in any other of His Majesty's forces was severely punished, and any officer or recruiting sergeant enlisting a militiaman was liable to a fine of £20.[8] In 1803, however, militiamen who had been seamen were allowed to enlist in the Navy,[9] and with Pitt's return to power in 1804 began the development of a policy originally inaugurated by him in 1798, by which the Militia became a recruiting ground for the Army, every man enlisting into the Line receiving a bounty. On

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1798, p. 290. [2] Narrative in 41 Geo. III. cap. 67.
[3] 39 Geo. III. cap. 62.
[4] 41 Geo. III. cap. 67. (No attempt appears to have been made in Perthshire to raise this enlarged quota. See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia*, 1797–1902, p. 133, *note*.—[Ed.])
[5] 42 Geo. III. cap. 91. [6] By 43 Geo. III. cap. 19. [7] *Scots Magazine*, 1802, p. 857.
[8] Hence the historic formula addressed to the young recruit—"Are you a militiaman?"
[9] 43 Geo. III. cap. 62.

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the 10th of July 1804 an Act was passed which, among other things, provided "for augmenting His Majesty's Regular Forces, and for the gradual reduction of the Militia of Scotland,"[1] and in April 1805 another Act permitted a number of men proportionate to the county quota to enlist from each Militia regiment into the Army.[2] On the 14th of August 1807—no doubt in consequence of the situation created by the Treaty of Tilsit—a further Act was passed,[3] by which two-fifths of any one Militia regiment might enlist, the vacancies so caused being filled up by a fresh ballot, so as to bring the Militia total to the number specified by the Act of 1802. The ballot was to be taken within a limited time, lest it should interfere with the recruiting for the Army, and parishes were to be fined £60 for every man deficient on a specified date. Officers also were to be allowed to transfer their services. By another Act passed on the 13th of March 1809[4] two-fifths of the Militia were again permitted to enlist, and on the 27th of May 1809 it was enacted[5] that a number of private militiamen equal to one-half of the original quota should be levied in Scotland before the 1st of October 1810. Parishes were fined £40 for every man deficient on that day.

From the 11th of April 1811 a regular system "to provide a permanent supply of men for His Majesty's Regular Forces" was adopted by which a certain proportion of the Militia was annually allowed to enlist in the Line, the quota for England being fixed at 5714, and that for Scotland at 1142.[6] The vacancies so caused in the Militia were supplied in the first instance by recruiting by beat of drum, and, failing that, by ballot. Men might also be raised as supernumeraries to supply future vacancies caused by enlistment.

On the 1st of July 1811 the Interchange Act was passed,[7] by which British regiments were allowed to volunteer for service in Ireland and *vice versâ*. No regiment was to remain out of its own country for more than two years successively, and not more than one-fourth of the British Militia was to serve in Ireland, nor more than one-third of the Irish Militia in Great Britain. On the 6th of December 1813 the restriction was removed, and the services of all regiments volunteering for the sister countries were accepted,[8] the natural corollary of an Act passed on the 24th of November previous,[9] by which the Crown was authorised to accept the voluntary offers of a proportion of the officers and men of the Militia to serve in any part of Europe, either as Militia or Regulars, the total force so to be recruited from the Militia not to exceed 30,000 men, and no regiment to be reduced below one-fourth of its strength. Volunteering under this Act was stopped on the 25th of December 1814.

The conclusion of the war in 1815 marks the end of a well-defined epoch in the history of the force, and these notes on the Perthshire Militia of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries may here be brought to a close.

[1] 44 Geo. III. cap. 66. For further mention of this Act see article entitled *The Perthshire Yeomanry, Volunteers, and Local Militia*, 1794–1902, p. 226.
[2] 45 Geo. III. cap. 31.
[3] 47 Geo. III. cap. 71.
[4] 49 Geo. III. cap. 4.
[5] 49 Geo. III. cap. 53.
[6] 51 Geo. III. cap. 20.
[7] 51 Geo. III. cap. 118.
[8] 54 Geo. III. cap. 10.
[9] 54 Geo. III. cap. 1.

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THE PERTHSHIRE MILITIA[1]

1797–1902

BY THE EDITOR AND COLONEL D. M. SMYTHE OF METHVEN

THE year 1797, which witnessed the passing of the Scots Militia Act, was one of the most critical in the history of our empire. We were at war with France, Holland, and Spain; we saw Austria, our sole ally, defeated and forced to sign a humiliating peace; for a time two of our fleets were in open mutiny, and during the previous winter the French had twice attempted to invade our soil. From the last of these dangers the country was saved by the great victories off Cape St. Vincent and Camperdown, but in July 1797 the situation was sufficiently perilous for the many time-worn prejudices against a Scots Militia to be overcome. The manner, however, in which the Act was at first received in Scotland was by no means encouraging. The Government attempted to carry it into execution before the people had had time to realise its purport, and it was consequently misunderstood—especially in the Highlands, where it was believed that the ballotted men were to be transported to the Indies and that the Act as a whole was a scheme for depopulating the country. These delusions were no doubt fostered by the enemies of the Government—for sedition at home was another of the dangers which menaced the State in 1797—and as a result there were riots more or less all over Scotland. In Perthshire the feeling was particularly violent, and the Lord-Lieutenant and his deputies were unable to proceed with the execution of the Act. Troops, however, were hurried into the county, the Volunteers were called out, and after the capture of the principal ringleaders the people gradually quieted down. But the Government thought it prudent to delay the enforcement of the Act until March 1798, by which time its provisions had come to be better understood. The ballot was

[1] The portion of this article which deals with the period 1798–1803, has been compiled from papers in the Atholl charter-room, occasionally supplemented by the contemporary Press. The material for the portion dealing with events from 1803 onwards has been obtained from the regimental *Record Book*, Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, the *Manual of Military Law*, and (1803–1820 only) the Atholl charter-room. The lists of officers for 1798 and 1803 are from papers in the Atholl charter-room, supplemented by the official lists, *Gazettes*, and Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register*; that for 1855 from the *Record Book* and *Monthly Army Lists*, supplemented by Burke's *Landed Gentry*. The contributors are indebted to Miss Murray MacGregor for notes with regard to members of her clan; also to Major Peter Chalmers, Blairgowrie, and others, for information concerning many of the officers serving in 1855.

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then taken without further resistance, and in the various parishes subscriptions were made for the benefit of such ballotted men as did not wish to serve. In the same month the Duke of Atholl, lord-lieutenant of the county, was appointed colonel of the Perthshire Militia, and the organisation of the regiment commenced. As mentioned in the preceding article, the county had to produce 500 "private men." The returns preserved in the Atholl charter-room, however, show that the establishment of the regiment was six battalion and two flank companies, with a total of not more than 484 "rank and file." [1]

In May 1798 the Militia was called out, but it was directed that only about one-half of the men ballotted should be embodied. Perthshire was required to produce 273 of her quota, and on the 25th of June some 320 officers and men assembled at Perth under Alexander Graham Stirling of Duchray, who had been appointed lieutenant-colonel. Drill-sergeants were procured from the 90th Regiment and the 2nd Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles; all ranks worked hard; and the "9th or Royal [2] Perthshire Militia Regiment of Foot" was not only declared in July to be "more forward" than any of the other Scots regiments,[3] but by August the Duke of Atholl had been able to make an offer to the Home Secretary [4] to provide supernumeraries—a proposal which was declined with congratulations to the Duke and his regiment on their exertions. On the 15th of September the Perthshire Militia was reviewed by Major-General Richard Vyse, and by the 23rd of September it had moved to Glasgow. It was shortly afterwards reviewed by Major-General Drummond of Strathallan,[5] and early in October it was sent to Stirling, where it remained during the following winter.

By the end of November 1798 the complement of officers of the Perthshire Militia was nearly full. The table on the following page shows who were holding commissions in the regiment at that date.

The full-dress uniform was a scarlet jacket with blue facings, white waistcoat, blue pantaloons, and short black gaiters—the drummers' coats being decorated with lace and wings. The head-dresses were somewhat varied. The Colonel's is described simply as a "hat with a feather" (it was probably a cocked hat), while the other officers had caps bound with velvet and adorned with silk cockades, spiral feathers, and silver trophy-plates. The Sergeant-Major wore a "fine hat" with a silver and yellow cord-band, a silk cockade and a red-and-white hackle; the Drum-Major, a cocked hat trimmed with silver

[1] *i.e.* corporals and privates. See *note* 3, page 134. The rest of the establishment was as follows:—a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, five captains, a captain-lieutenant, nine lieutenants, an adjutant, a quarter-master, a surgeon, a paymaster, and a surgeon's mate (the last two holding double commissions). There were twenty-six sergeants, and eighteen drummers.

[2] The regiment is designed "Royal" in the returns preserved in the Atholl charter-room. The earliest dated is one of the 7th of August 1798.

[3] Atholl charter-room. Letter dated 17th July from Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby (then commander-in-chief in Scotland), to the Duke of Atholl.

[4] The Militia and Volunteers were then chiefly administered by the Home Office. See *note* 2, p. 191.

[5] See his biography, pp. 436–37.

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OFFICERS OF THE 9TH OR ROYAL PERTHSHIRE MILITIA REGIMENT OF FOOT, NOVEMBER 1798

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO PERTH. MILITIA.
Colonel . . .	John, 4th Duke of Atholl[1] . .	Colonel, . 1st Manx Fencibles	23 May 1798
Lieut.-Colonel.	Alexander Graham Stirling of Duchray[2].	Lieut.-Col., late 122nd Foot	,, ,, ,,
Major . . .	Robert Stewart, yr. of Fincastle	Capt. hf. pay, and 2nd R. Manx Fenc.[3]	,, ,, ,,
Captain . . .	Colin Campbell, yr. of Kilbryde[4].	Capt. . . 19th Foot	7 June ,,
,, . . .	Alexander Campbell[5] . . .	,, . . late 91st Foot	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	James Stuart Oliphant of Rossie	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Joseph Stewart, yr. of Foss .	Capt.-Lieut., Perthshire Militia	19 ,, ,,
,, . . .	Alexander Macduff of Bonhard	Lieutenant . ,, ,,	9 Sept. ,,
Captain-Lieut.	Alexander Munro,[6] *adjutant* .	,, . ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
Lieutenant . .	Walter Campbell	...	7 June ,,
,, . . .	Robert Mann, *quartermaster* .	Qrmr. . . late 2nd Batt. 90th Foot	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Daniel Cameron	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Anthony Maxtone of Cultoquhey[7]	Ensign . . Somerset Militia	24 ,, ,,
,, . . .	Thomas Steele[8]	...	26 ,, ,,
,, . . .	Archibald Menzies	Ensign . . Perthshire Militia	9 Sept. ,,
,, . . .	John Stewart (of Persie?) . .	,, . ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	Alexander McGlashan of Eastertyre, *paymaster* . .	...	1 Nov. ,,
,, . . .	James Menzies[9]	Ensign . . Perthshire Militia	... ,,
Ensign . . .	Henry Coldstream[10]	...	7 June ,,
,, . . .	David Morrison[11]	Lieutenant . 2nd Bread. Fencibles	21 Nov. ,,
,, . . .	Bowyer Edmonstoune,[12] *assistant surgeon*	...	25 ,, ,,
,, . . .	James Hosack	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . . .	John Buchanan[13]	...	27 ,, ,,
Adjutant . .	Alexander Munro	Lieutenant . 50th Foot	7 June ,,
Quartermaster.	Robert Mann	Qrmr. . . late 2nd Batt. 90th Foot	,, ,, ,,
Surgeon . . .	James Hosack[14]	...	12 Sept. ,,

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.

[1] Colonel in the Army, 23rd May 1798.

[2] Second son of John Graham of Duchray. Alexander Graham Stirling is described in *Or and Sable* (p. 556) as succeeding to Duchray on the death of his elder brother in 1818, and as assuming the surname of Stirling about the year 1819. But papers in the Atholl charter-room show that from 1798 onwards he signed himself "Graham Stirling," and when not with the regiment resided at Rednock, the family seat. He had certainly succeeded to Duchray by 1803. He afterwards became a general, and died in 1849.

[3] Formerly lieutenant, 77th Regiment or Atholl Highlanders.

[4] Commanded the Grenadier Company.

[5] Commanded the Light Infantry Company. Had served in the siege of Gibraltar as an ensign in the 97th Foot, and with the 42nd Highland Regiment during the Netherlands campaign, 1793-5. Was afterwards successively captain-lieutenant and captain in the 91st Foot, one of the regiments reduced in 1795-6.

[6] Joined the Militia from lieutenant, 50th Foot. He had previously been a major in the 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles, and had served altogether some twenty years.

[7] Resigned on the 24th June 1799 on appointment as cadet in the East India Company's Service.

[8] Probably Thomas, only son of the Right Hon. Thomas Steele, paymaster of the Army, and Charlotte, eldest daughter of General Sir David Lindsay of Evelick. Mrs. Steele's son eventually succeeded to Evelick, and died a major-general in 1847. He was father of General Sir Thomas Steele, G.C.B. (see his biography, p. 539 *et seq.*).

[9] James Wingate (of Milnearn?) was appointed lieutenant on the 7th June 1798, but was out of the regiment by the end of the year. James Menzies was probably promoted in his stead.

[10] One John Coldstream was at that time sheriff-substitute for the Western Division of Perthshire. Ensign Coldstream was promoted lieutenant on the 15th November 1799. Another Ensign, John Campbell, was appointed on the 7th June 1798, but had left by the end of the year.

[11] Son of David Morrison, manufacturer, Perth (?).

[12] Son of Edmonstoune of Cambuswallace. Appointed assistant surgeon, 25th June 1798. Resigned, 24th June 1799, on appointment as assistant surgeon in the East India Company's Service.

[13] Son of Archibald Buchanan, manufacturer, Callander.

[14] Robert Henderson, surgeon in Coupar Angus, was appointed surgeon to the Militia on the 7th June 1798, but resigned on the 21st September.

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lace, silk cockade and red hackle. The drummers on the other hand wore bear-skin caps with feathers, and brass plates in front. The sergeants of the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies had silk-bound caps with cockades, silver lace, brass plates, and respectively white feathers and green hackles, while the sergeants of the battalion companies wore caps with leather cockades, brass plates, and white breast feathers. The privates' caps were bound with worsted and were decorated with the brass plates, the men of the flank companies being distinguished by white goose feathers and green hackles respectively, and those of the battalion companies by red-and-white goose feathers. The men also had leather drilling caps with coloured worsted tufts to correspond with the feathers, and "slop" (*i.e.* undress) clothing, consisting of a jacket, waistcoat, pantaloons, gaiters, and stock, was issued.[1] Watch-coats (*i.e.* extra coats for sentries) were provided in 1799. The hair was worn in a queue until 1808.[2]

By the end of November two six-pounder field-guns had been supplied to the regiment—apparently by the Duke of Atholl[3]—and a bombardier and gunner had been attached from the Royal Artillery in order to instruct the men how to handle them.

In November 1798 orders were issued that the full strength of the Scots Militia should be embodied—the Government proposing that the men required should be drawn from the lists already made out of persons liable to serve. The Duke of Atholl, however, urged that a new ballot should be taken, as many of the men who had been entered on the existing lists had since joined the Volunteers in the belief that they would thereby be exempt from the Militia. He also pointed out the difficulty of completing the quota from men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-three, stating that in Perthshire one man in every four of the requisite age would have to be taken. His suggestion that the age limit should be raised to thirty was negatived at the time, but was adopted in the following summer.

In March 1799 the Perthshire Militia moved to Ayr Barracks, small detachments being sent in June to Girvan and Port Patrick, and later to Irvine and Saltcoats. The regiment was reviewed by Major-General Drummond of Strathallan on the 30th of August, and in September colours were presented by the Duke of Atholl.[4]

[1] There is in the Atholl charter-room a note to the effect that 600 coats, waistcoat-fronts, and breeches newly issued to the 1st Manx Fencibles (another regiment of which the Duke of Atholl was colonel) were altered in 1798 for the Perthshire Militia, but this is not borne out by the Duke's bills for the Militia clothing, from which these notes have been taken.

[2] Captain John Davis, *Historical Records of the Second Royal Surrey Regiment of Militia* (London, 1877), p. 169.

[3] An estimate for supplying two light six-pounders is in the Atholl charter-room.

[4] It is probable that the actual presentation was made by the Duchess of Atholl, as she was present, but the Duke was the donor. The regimental colour probably bore the county arms, as, according to the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 21st April 1798, that was the custom of the time. The illustrations given opposite page 136 show that the regimental colour presented in 1812 bore the same arms.

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By this time a band of sixteen performers was in existence under one Charles Weichsel, who composed all the music for it. For full dress the bandsmen wore white jackets[1] with wings, buff belts, pantaloons "with silk tassles," and cocked hats. Leather caps with brass plates were worn for undress. There was one piper, who wore a blue tunic with epaulets and lace, and the belted plaid[2]—presumably of Murray tartan.

In October 1799 all ranks of the regiment gave one day's pay to the widows and children of the "sufferers in the late expedition to Holland."[3]

The officers of the Perthshire Militia appear to have dispensed much hospitality while quartered at Ayr. On the 16th of April 1799 they gave a public dinner to General Drummond,[4] which was followed on the 12th of June and 3rd of July by similar entertainments to the officers of the Lochaber and Clan Alpine Fencibles respectively. On the 2nd of November they gave a dinner to the officers of the Oxfordshire Fencible Cavalry.

By March 1800 the quota had been completed and the regiment was one over-strength. That month—in consequence of an Act passed in the previous year, allowing a certain proportion of the Militia to enlist into the Line—forty-seven men volunteered to go on active service anywhere abroad. In April the regiment was moved to Greenock, Captain Oliphant's and Captain MacDuff's companies being sent to Irvine, and Captain Stewart's to Saltcoats. The companies left at Greenock were miserably uncomfortable. The men were billeted and had to pay 3s. a week for the poorest lodgings; provisions were scarce, extravagantly dear, and of an inferior quality; and the regiment had to drill in the streets, as no open ground could be procured. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham Stirling was obliged to let the men go out to work, as they were starving on account of the expenses to which they were put, and under these circumstances it is not surprising to read that the regiment was "losing ground daily in the matter of discipline." The Duke exerted himself to procure a change of quarters, and by the beginning of June the whole regiment was housed in Glasgow Barracks, to the great relief of officers and men.

In spite of the discomfort experienced at Greenock we read that on the 26th of April the officers of the Perthshire Militia gave a public dinner to the officers of the Greenock Volunteers.

In 1800 the regiment was twice reviewed at Glasgow by General Drummond—the first time early in July, when it was commanded by the Duke of Atholl, and again on the 26th of September. In the latter month men were allowed to help with the harvest, labour being scarce.

On the 3rd of February 1801 the Perthshire Militia was three over-

[1] Atholl charter-room. There is also a note of "blue clothing" for the band, which was probably the undress uniform.

[2] Atholl charter-room.

[3] *Caledonian Mercury*, 3rd October 1799.

[4] General Drummond, being a Perthshire man, was evidently on very friendly terms with the regiment. He presented some wine decanters to the officers' mess.

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strength,[1] and early in July, under the command of the Colonel, it was again reviewed on Glasgow Green by General Drummond. Towards the end of the month it set out for Fort George in two divisions, marching *via* Aberdeen. In that year we read that out of 520 non-commissioned officers and men 518 were Scots—a higher proportion than in any other Militia regiment. On the other hand there were only 37 "principals" (*i.e.* men drawn in the ballot)—no less than 483 being substitutes.[2] In December 1801 the regiment moved into winter quarters at Aberdeen.

But negotiations for peace were by that time in progress; in the following March the Treaty of Amiens was signed; and early in April 1802 the Militia was ordered to Perth for disembodiment. On the 30th of the month the regiment was disbanded, and a contemporary account tells us that "there never was such a day at Perth. The privates got all the post-chaises they could muster, filled them with the officers, after drawing them to the North Inch, where they were disembodied, took them back to the town in the same style, and carried them from the carriages to the Inn on their shoulders; Never did a corps part on better terms, and in general with great regret both by officers and men. The whole was conducted with great decorum, the men, after being regaled by the officers with porter, departed without any tumult or confusion, and many of them left Perth that night, agreeable to what Col: Graham recommended."[3]

The Adjutant, the sergeants, and a proportion of the drummers, were retained on full pay and were directed to remain at Perth. The men were granted fourteen days' extra pay, and many of them are said to have enlisted in the Army. A very complimentary letter on the services of the regiment was received from Lieutenant-General Vyse, then commanding the forces in Scotland.

It was not long, however, before a new Militia was embodied. In June 1802 the General Militia Act was passed, Perthshire's quota of privates was fixed at 653, and in November the Duke of Atholl was reappointed colonel. The organisation of the new regiment proceeded throughout the winter, and as many men as possible were enlisted voluntarily, the ballot only being enforced when other means had failed. The sergeants were chiefly appointed from the former Militia and a great many men re-enrolled.[4] On the 14th of March 1803 the title of

[1] In the article which precedes this, p. 126, it is mentioned that in 1801, under the Act 41 Geo. III. cap. 67, Perthshire's quota was increased to 526, but the regimental returns to April 1802 (the month in which the regiment was disembodied) show the same establishment as in 1798, *i.e.* 484 rank and file.

[2] "Return of the Non-Commissioned Officers and Private Men, Principals, Substitutes, and Country of the North British Militia, 24th December 1801," preserved in the Atholl charter-room.

[3] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 205.

[4] A paper in the Atholl charter-room gives the establishment of the new Militia regiment as follows:—a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, a major, eight captains, ten lieutenants, six ensigns, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a surgeon, a sergeant-major, a quartermaster-sergeant, thirty-two sergeants, thirty-two corporals, a drum-major, eighteen drummers, and 635

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"Royal" was again granted,[1] but owing to the new Scots Militia being numbered with that of the entire United Kingdom instead of separately as in 1798, the number of the Perthshire regiment was now 68 instead of 9.

At the end of March the Duke of Atholl resigned the command—probably because by that time Government had decided to re-establish the Volunteers, and he knew that as lord-lieutenant his hands would be more than full. The Duke's nephew, William, third Earl of Mansfield, was appointed colonel in his stead.

On the 7th of April 1803 the regiment was embodied at Perth, the number of rank and file who assembled being 437. The establishment was fixed at eight companies of eighty men each. The uniform must have been much the same as formerly, as new clothing which had been bought for the old regiment just before the peace was issued to the new one.[2] A band was formed at once.

From the 8th of June the establishment of companies was increased to ten and the privates to 980. There were to be two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, and the number of the other officers and of the non-commissioned officers was to be correspondingly increased.[3] A supplementary ballot was therefore taken, but there was much difficulty in getting the necessary men, and in consequence but few of the additional officers had been appointed by the end of the year. At the end of this article will be found a list of the officers of the regiment prior to the augmentation.

In July 1803 the Militia left Perth for West Barns Camp, and in November moved to Haddington, where it remained until May 1805. While the regiment was at Haddington detachments were sent to Linton[4] "as gunners" and to Dunbar Barracks "as artificers," recruiting parties being also sent to Perth and Glasgow. In June 1804 there were 979 rank and file in the regiment, but from that time the numbers began to decline, owing to the Act for the gradual reduction of the Militia of Scotland referred to in the preceding article.

privates—a total of 768. The Adjutant was to be upon the same footing as the adjutants of the Line, receiving 8s. a day, but was to hold no other commission with pay. The Paymaster was included among the subalterns above-mentioned, and his clerk among the non-commissioned officers. Pay was to be allowed for a surgeon's mate, but he was not to be considered as forming part of the establishment. From 1803 onwards no field-officers in any of His Majesty's forces were allowed to have companies—hence the increase in the number of captains.

[1] Atholl charter-room.

[2] See additional note, p. 143.

[3] *i.e.* to ten captains, twenty-two lieutenants, eight ensigns, an adjutant, a quartermaster, a surgeon, a sergeant-major, a quartermaster-sergeant, forty-eight sergeants, forty-eight corporals, and twenty-two drummers (including drum-major)—making with the field-officers and privates a total of 1148.—Atholl charter-room. In the regimental *Record Book* the quota fixed for Perthshire by the Act of 1802 is given as "685 rank and file," and the augmented quota of June 1803 as "1028 rank and file," but the papers quoted from the Atholl charter-room show that these numbers included the corporals. The figures in the *Record Book* were probably taken from the Weekly or Monthly States, which showed corporals and privates under one heading of "rank and file." All figures given in the text as referring to "rank and file" are taken from the *Record Book*, and should probably therefore be understood to include corporals.

[4] East Linton (?).

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In April 1805, as a result of the first of a new series of Acts permitting enlisting into the Line,[1] 110 men volunteered for the Army. In the next month the regiment left Haddington, and on the 19th of June embarked at Port Seton for Ramsgate, where it arrived on the 1st of July. During the next five years it was quartered at Ramsgate, Ashford, Canterbury, Dover, and other places in Kent, detachments at different times being stationed at Margate, Broadstairs, Westgate, Deal, and Eastware Bye.

By the 17th of September 1805 the establishment of companies had again been reduced to eight, and the privates to 653, all men above that number being borne as supernumeraries. From this time onwards there was only one lieutenant-colonel in the regiment, and until 1810 only one major.[2] In the autumn of 1807, in consequence of the Act allowing two-fifths of every Militia regiment to enlist, 413 men transferred their services to the Army, and in September a party under Captain Craigie was sent to Perth to receive the men who were to replace them. As a result of a ballot taken during the ensuing winter, the companies were again increased to ten and the rank and file to 848,[3] but the number of field-officers remained as before. By April 1808 the regiment was eleven over its new establishment.

In June 1809 Lord Mansfield resigned the command of the Perthshire Militia and was succeeded by Thomas, tenth Earl of Kinnoull.[4] During this year 211 men volunteered for the Line, and recruiting parties were in consequence sent to Perth. Only thirty-seven privates, however, were obtained by voluntary enlistment, and a ballot was therefore taken in July 1810. But even after this measure the regiment was twenty-six short of the quota, and fines of £40 a man were paid by the defaulting parishes.[5]

Meantime the regiment had been ordered to Scotland, and embarking at Ramsgate on the 16th of June 1810, had arrived at Leith on the 23rd. In July it was sent to Edinburgh Castle, where it remained for a year.

In 1811, 176 men enlisted in the Army, 170 being the quota required annually under the new Act referred to elsewhere. In July of that year the regiment was sent to Penicuik to guard prisoners of war, and in the same month, in consequence of the Interchange Act, all but thirteen privates volunteered for service in Ireland. The regiment, however, remained in Scotland, and in November 1811 moved to Haddington. From September it was again reduced to eight companies, but two companies were attached to it from the Royal Lanarkshire Militia.

In February 1812 the regiment returned to Edinburgh Castle, and in August

[1] Fuller details with regard to the various Acts mentioned, are given in the preceding article, p. 127.

[2] Between 1810 and 1814 two majors are shown in the published official lists. In 1815, according to a list in the Atholl charter-room, there was only one.

[3] This figure certainly included corporals.

[4] Late lieut.-colonel-commandant, Eastern Regiment of Local Militia. Formerly lieut.-colonel-commandant, Perthshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry.

[5] Atholl charter-room.

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new colours were presented by Lord Kinnoull. On the 17th of November it was sent to Glasgow on account of some anticipated disturbance among the weavers of that city, but everything remained quiet, and early in January 1813 the regiment returned to Edinburgh, two companies being sent to Haddington and Dunbar. During the year 1813 eighty-three men transferred to the Regular Army.

On the 10th of April 1813 the regiment left Edinburgh and marched in three divisions by Carlisle, Shrewsbury, Exeter, and Dartmoor, to Plymouth, which was reached on the 2nd of June. There the headquarters remained until September 1814, detachments being sent at various times to Maker Heights, St. Nicholas Island, Dartmoor, Pendennis Castle, and the prison ships. In August 1813 the Lanarkshire companies left to rejoin their regiment. The contingent sent to the Line from the Perthshire Militia dwindled in that year to one sergeant and thirty-two rank and file, and in 1814 it was only six.

But in May 1814 peace was signed, and on the 6th of October the regiment sailed from Plymouth for Dundee, where it arrived eight days later. On the 15th it marched to Perth, and on the 21st of October it was disembodied, after having been on service eleven years and six months. As before, only the staff and non-commissioned officers were retained on the peace establishment. All the privates who had served five years and upwards were discharged, and the others (221 in number) were warned to hold themselves in readiness for re-embodiment or training.

The warning was by no means superfluous, for in the following year the regiment was again embodied at Perth, though not until more than a month after the battle of Waterloo. It assembled on the 23rd of July, and, as before, was divided into eight companies, but the effective privates only numbered 198. No ballot was taken to complete the quota. On the 14th of November the Militia was marched to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and remained there until the 12th of February 1816, when it returned to Perth. It was finally disembodied on the 28th of February 1816 under the same conditions as formerly, with the addition that officers who had served for several years in the regiment were granted pensions.

For many years after this the Militia received very little encouragement from Government. The great expenditure incurred in the long war with France necessitated the most rigid economy with regard to the national forces, and there was a general belief that Great Britain was saved from aggression for all time to come. With but few exceptions, therefore, the annual training of the Militia was suspended from 1816 onwards, and in 1819 the permanent staff was cut down. In the following summer, however, on account of the riots in many parts of the country, the Militia was called out, and the Perthshire Regiment assembled on the 3rd of July 1820 for twenty-eight days' training. The establishment was the same as formerly, *i.e.* eight companies and 653 privates, but the number of privates who assembled was only 357. In November

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Royal Colour, showing the second Union. In the centre the Royal monogram surmounted by the crown and encircled with the Union wreath of roses, thistles, and shamrocks. Below, the title "Royal Perthshire Militia."

Regimental Colour (blue). In the centre the Arms of the County of Perth, viz.: or, a lyon rampant gules, armed and langued azure, standing on a compartment or mount proper, brandishing in his dexter forepaw a scymitar of the last, all within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered of the second; on a dexter chief canton of the third, a front view of the Palace of Scone argent, ensigned on the top with an Imperial crown proper. Crest, a demy Highlander affronté, bonnet, belted plaid, dirk, and pistols, brandishing in his right hand a broad-sword aloft in a threatening posture, a target on his left arm, all proper. Supporters; on the dexter, an eagle reguardant with wings addossé proper, and on the sinister, a war-horse argent, furnished gules. Motto; on a compartment below the shield, "Pro Lege et Libertate." (The same Arms will be found on the cover of this volume.)

COLOURS OF THE ROYAL PERTHSHIRE MILITIA, 1812

(Preserved at Dupplin Castle)

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of the same year the permanent staff was called out along with the Perthshire Yeomanry to help to suppress a riot at Brechin,[1] and in 1821 the Militia again assembled at Perth. A ballot had probably been taken since the previous training, for the number of privates had by that time increased to 600. There was another training in 1825, when the numbers showed a slight diminution. In 1829 the permanent staff was again reduced, and the operation of the ballot was suspended by Act of Parliament, but in 1830, on account of the disturbed condition of the Continent, it became necessary to call out a part of the Militia of the kingdom, and for two years the ballot was enforced,[2] though for the last time. In 1831 about half the Perthshire Regiment assembled for training—presumably under William Murray, younger of Ochtertyre, who had been appointed lieutenant-colonel in February of that year.[3] In 1833 the precedence of the Militia regiments—a question which had occasioned much dispute—was finally settled, and the Perthshire Regiment received the number 86.[4] Two years afterwards yet another reduction was made in the permanent staff. With these few exceptions there is nothing to record of the Militia for some forty years onwards from 1815, though officers were occasionally gazetted—Sir Thomas Moncreiffe, for example, being appointed lieutenant-colonel in 1846.

At length in 1852 the unsettled state of European politics, and the proclamation as Emperor of the French of the great Napoleon's nephew, led to the re-establishment of the force. An Act was passed for England and Wales which fixed a quota to be supplied by each county, but provided that the rank and file should be raised by voluntary enlistment, though the right was reserved to enforce a ballot in case of invasion, or of a county showing itself indifferent to its liabilities. The counties, however, might help each other to complete their respective quotas, and the ballot, though still legally established, has never been carried into execution under this or any subsequent Acts.[5]

Although as early as 1852 it was felt that a reorganisation of the English Militia was necessary, the new legislation was not extended to the sister countries

[1] Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes. [2] *Manual of Military Law*, p. 212, *note* a.

[3] Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register* for 1832. Lieutenant-Colonel Murray was eldest son of Sir Patrick Murray, who successively commanded the Strathearn Volunteers and Western Regiment of Local Militia (see article on the Volunteers, &c., pp. 215, 232). William Murray succeeded his father as seventh baronet in 1837, and was the first commanding officer of the 1st Administrative Battalion of the Perthshire Volunteers of 1861 (*Ibid.*, p. 238).

[4] The precedence was settled at a dinner given by King William IV. to the lords-lieutenant of counties on the 28th of February 1833. It was agreed to divide the Militia into three classes, according to the periods at which the different regiments had been raised, and lots were then drawn for precedence within each class. The first division included regiments raised before the peace of 1763; the second division, those raised between 1763 and the peace of 1783; and the third division, those regiments raised for the war of the French Revolution. Captain John Davis, *Historical Records of the Second Royal Surrey Regiment of Militia*, p. 214.

[5] Since 1852 there have been a number of Statutes dealing with the Militia, but as anyhow the general purport of these is well known, and details with regard to them can be found in the *Manual of Military Law*, only brief allusions will be made to the more important of the changes which have been effected.

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until the pressure of the Russian War rendered this step imperative. In May 1854 similar Acts were passed for Scotland and Ireland, but by that time recruiting was no easy matter, owing to the requirements of the Regular Army. Perthshire's quota was fixed at 511 privates, and on the 20th of February 1855 the county regiment was once more embodied at Perth. The establishment was at first four companies, but in May it was increased to six. There were only some 280 effective privates. The veteran Lord Kinnoull was still colonel, and Sir Thomas Moncreiffe was lieutenant-colonel. Lord Kinnoull, however, resigned the command in May 1855, and was succeeded in October by Sir Thomas Moncreiffe as honorary colonel, Major Henry Maurice Drummond[1] being promoted lieutenant-colonel a few days later. The table given opposite, page 139, shows the officers of the Perthshire regiment when first reorganised. Owing to the relaxation of the property qualification under the new Act, and to the greater encouragement given to officers of Army experience to join the Militia, the list shows rather fewer Perthshire names than formerly, but more officers who had served with the Regular Forces. The regiment was clothed[2] and appointed as a rifle corps, and was renamed the Royal Perthshire Rifles.[3] By a General Order with reference to the precedence of the Militia, issued from the Horse Guards on the 9th of August 1855, the number 86 was confirmed to the Perthshire regiment.[4]

As before, all ranks while training received the pay of the Regular infantry. A bounty was at first given on enlistment, but in recent years a small bounty has been given instead at the end of the annual training—a practice which has greatly tended to promote efficiency.

The Royal Perthshire Rifles were disembodied at Perth on the 17th of June 1856, each non-commissioned officer and private receiving fourteen days' extra pay. During the embodiment 143 men had enlisted in the Line. From 1856 to 1859 the regiment was not called out, but in 1857, on the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny, all but three privates volunteered to serve in India or any other part of the world. The offer was not accepted, as at that time the services of the Scots Militia were limited to Scotland, but the regiment received the thanks of the Queen.

In 1859 the Militia of the three kingdoms was put on one establishment and became one great national force available for service anywhere in Great Britain or Ireland, the Crown being further empowered to accept offers of service in the Channel Islands or Isle of Man. In the same year the Perthshire Rifles

[1] Sixth son of Admiral Sir Adam Drummond of Megginch. Assumed the surname of Hay on his marriage with Miss Hay of Seggieden in 1859.

[2] When the regiment first assembled, clothing of a light grey colour, with scarlet facings, was issued, but it was so unpopular and had consequently such a bad effect on recruiting, that within a few months it was changed for the dress of the 60th Rifles (*i.e.* "invisible green," with scarlet facings, and black belts).

[3] As the regiment was now a rifle corps no colours could be carried, and those presented by Lord Kinnoull in 1812 were accordingly given back to him.

[4] *Historical Records of the Second Royal Surrey Regiment of Militia*, p. 251.

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OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL PERTHSHIRE RIFLES (86TH), DECEMBER 1855

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO PERTH. RIFLES	REMARKS.
Hon. Colonel	Sir Thomas Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, Bart.[1]	Colonel, Perth. Rifles	30 Oct. 1855	Died, 15 Aug. 1879.
Lt.-Colonel	Henry Maurice Drummond[2]	Major ,, ,,	5 Nov. ,,	Resigned, 11 Dec. 1871.
Major	John Walter Wedderburn[3]	Captain ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, 1869.
Captain	Samuel E. Barrett[4]	...	15 Feb. 1834	,, 1862.
,,	Fletcher Norton Menzies[5]	...	3 ,, 1846	,, 18 Apl. 1856.
,,	Thomas Milles Riddell, yr. of Ardnamurchan and Sunart[6]	Lieut., 7th Dgn. Gds.	13 Dec. 1854	,, 1863.
,,	David Robertson Williamson of Lawers[7]	,, Perth. Rifles	8 June 1855	,, 25 Jan. 1856.
,,	Sir Robert Menzies of Menzies, Bart.	...	10 July ,,	,, 29 Apl. ,,
,,	William Graham Sandford[8]	Lieut., Perth. Rifles	5 Nov. ,,	,, 1859.
Lieutenant	Robert Stewart[9]	...	5 Sept. 1809	,, 1860.
,,	William Condie[10]	...	9 May 1855	Capt., Perth. Rifles, 26 Jan. 1856.
,,	Joseph Cahlmann Smythe[11]	Ensign, 62nd Foot	8 June ,,	Ensign, 53rd Foot, 9 May 1856.
,,	George Stein[12]	...	4 Sept. ,,	Resigned, 1858.
,,	Joseph Stewart Pender[13]	...	8 ,, ,,	,, 1859.
,,	Alexander Geddes[14]	Ensign, Perth. Rifles	5 Nov. ,,	Qrmr., Perth. Rifles, 22 Nov. 1856.
Ensign	Warham St. Leger Durdin[15]	...	7 Sept. ,,	Resigned, 15 June 1859.
,,	Alexander D. Mackay	...	6 Dec. ,,	Died, 18 Apl. 1856.
,,	Matthew James Cameron[16]	...	,, ,, ,,	Resigned, 1859.
,,	Francis MacNaghten Leslie[17]	...	12 ,, ,,	Ens. 105th Ft., 20 Dec. 1857. (antedated)
Adjutant Paymaster	Lord Charles Lennox Kerr[18]	Captain, 42nd Foot	24 July 1854	Retired, 1 Sept. 1881.
Quartermaster	...	...	...	...
Surgeon	George Webster Absolon, M.D., F.R.C.S.[19]	...	24 Nov. 1854	Retired, 1877.
Asst. Surgeon	Robert Thompson[20]	...	1 Dec. 1813	Out by Jan. 1859.

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Co.

[1] Late lieutenant and captain, Scots Fusilier Guards.

[2] Late captain, 42nd Foot (The Black Watch).

[3] Late captain, 42nd Foot. Eldest son of John Wedderburn of Auchterhouse, Forfarshire, and of Prospect and Spring Garden, Jamaica. Major Wedderburn afterwards resided at Marfield, near Blairgowrie.

[4] Son of Samuel Barrett, of Jamaica. Step-son of Laurence Oliphant of Condie. The Hon. John Rollo, who had been appointed captain in the Perthshire Militia in January 1846, resigned on the 6th July 1855.

[5] Second son of the late Sir Neil Menzies of Menzies, Bart.

[6] Succeeded his father, Sir James Riddell, as third baronet, 1861.

[7] Late ensign and lieutenant, Coldstream Guards.

[8] Second son of Erskine Douglas Sandford, Sheriff of Galloway. Was in the Diplomatic Service.

[9] Resided at Heath Cottage, New Scone. Son of John Stewart, who came of a Strathspey branch of the Stewarts of Fincastle. Father of Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart.

[10] Son of James Condie, writer, Perth. Was given a commission in the East India Company's Service shortly before the Mutiny, and died in India on his way up-country from Calcutta. William Stroker Cunningham was appointed lieutenant in the regiment on the same date as William Condie, but was given a commission in the 1st Somersetshire Light Infantry on the 2nd August 1855.

[11] Born at Ashburton in Devonshire. Son of a Lieutenant-General Smith (probably Lieutenant-General John William Smith, an Assistant Commissary-General), who died 1852–3.

[12] Son of Robert Stein, resident at Alloa. Promoted captain, 24th April 1856.

[13] Son of Thomas Pender, of the Inland Revenue, and grandson of the late Joseph Stewart Menzies of Foss.

[14] Youngest son of Robert Geddes, formerly merchant in Grantown, Strathspey. Lieutenant Geddes had served as colour-sergeant in the 42nd, and was afterwards quartermaster both of the Perthshire Rifles and of the Brigade Depôt at Perth. Resided at Mount Tabor Cottage, Perth. Resigned, 1878. Died 1899, aged 91.

[15] Fourth son of Warham Durdin of Sunville, Dromadda, and Midleton Lodge, County Cork. J. R. Prentice was gazetted ensign, 20th February 1855, but resigned on the 14th March.

[16] Promoted lieutenant, 27th May 1856.

[17] Sixth son of James Edmund Leslie of Leslie Hill, Ballymoney, and Seaport Lodge, Bushmills, Co. Antrim. Promoted lieutenant, 27th May 1856; captain, 28th June 1859.

[18] Third son of sixth Marquess of Lothian. Promoted major, 1st October 1875.

[19] Second son of Captain William Absolon, R.N.

[20] Resident in Fife.

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again assembled for training at Perth, and from that date onwards until 1893 the regiment trained there annually for some weeks. In 1860 flank companies were abolished, it being laid down that in future all the men of a battalion were to be dressed and sized alike. From 1861 to 1881 there was an annual period of extra drill for recruits, preliminary to the general training of the regiment.

From 1859 onwards the regiment steadily increased in numbers, and throughout the 'sixties it was most favourably reported on at the annual inspections. In 1868 it was informed on parade by the Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Kinnaird) that at the War Office it was considered equal to any other Militia regiment and qualified to hold a place in the Line. Two years later the inspecting officer declared that he had never seen so good a Militia regiment.

In 1867 the Militia Reserve was instituted, but few men joined it from the Perthshire regiment until 1872. From that date, however, until 1902, when this section of the force was discontinued, a large number of men signed on annually. In 1869 the property qualification for officers was finally abolished, and in 1871 most of the powers which had been conferred on the lieutenants of counties by the Act of 1797 (including the power of granting commissions), were transferred to the Crown. All commissions were from that date granted direct by the Sovereign, and the force came finally under the jurisdiction of the War Office.

On the 11th of December 1871 Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond Hay resigned the command and was succeeded by William, Viscount Stormont. On the 30th of the same month Perthshire's quota was raised to 600 privates.

On the 26th of July 1874, during the training, the regiment took part in a brigade field-day on the North Inch with the 1st and 2nd Administrative Battalions of the Perthshire Volunteers, and the 2nd Forfarshire Administrative Battalion. On the 24th of July 1875 there was another brigade field-day with some of the Perthshire and Forfarshire Volunteer corps.

In 1876 the annual training was held at Dorking, where the regiment formed part of the Second Army Corps, commanded by General Sir William Codrington. It afterwards took part in a review held at Aldershot by H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

On the 3rd of April 1878, in consequence of the Zulu War, the Militia Reserve was called out for service with the Army, and 113 reservists of the Perthshire Rifles were attached to the depôt of the 42nd or Black Watch. They were allowed to return home on the 25th of July. In the following year the establishment of the Perthshire Rifles was increased to eight companies—at which strength it has remained ever since.

From 1852 onwards all legislation had tended to associate the Auxiliary Forces more directly with the Regular Army, and in 1881 the final step was taken, when the territorial system was established. Under this scheme the Perthshire Militia was called upon to renounce its separate existence, but the regret which this occasioned was more than compensated for by the honour which was conferred by its being linked as 3rd Battalion to so distinguished a regiment as the Black Watch. Since that date the precedence of the Perth-

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shire Militia has corresponded with that of the Black Watch in the Line, *i.e.* it has ranked as the forty-second regiment of Militia. In 1877 the rifleman's shako worn by the Perthshire Militia since 1855 had been abandoned by non-commissioned officers and men in favour of a Glengarry bonnet, and in 1882 the regiment was ordered to adopt the uniform of the Black Watch.[1]

On the 20th of July 1882, on hearing of Arabi Pasha's rebellion, the battalion volunteered for active service, and was informed that if necessary its offer would be accepted, though under the existing laws, if sent beyond the Channel, it could only have served at Malta or Gibraltar.[2]

In July 1884 the battalion was presented with colours by Mrs. Macpherson, wife of Colonel Macpherson of Cluny, C.B., commanding the 42nd Regimental District. From 1881 onwards all recruits had been drilled at the depôt on enlistment, and in 1890 the practice was adopted of giving them a course of instruction in musketry before the training.

Colonel Lord Stormont died on the 12th of October 1893,[3] and was succeeded in the command of the battalion by Lieutenant-Colonel David M. Smythe of Methven. He resigned in February 1897, and the Hon. William Rollo (Master of Rollo) was appointed in his stead.

From 1893 to 1899 the annual training was held at Barry Camp, and in 1898 six companies took part in the autumn manœuvres on Salisbury Plain. In that year the Crown was finally empowered to accept voluntary offers from the Militia to serve anywhere abroad.

On the 14th of December 1899, on account of the serious aspect of the war in South Africa, the 3rd Battalion of the Black Watch was embodied at Perth and afterwards proceeded to Montrose under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel the Master of Rollo. It remained at Montrose until May 1900, when it was sent to Barry Camp, returning to Montrose in October. The Queen's Guard of Honour at Ballater was furnished by the battalion from the 30th of August to the 12th of November 1900. The battalion was quartered at Montrose until the 4th of December 1900, when it proceeded to Perth and was disembodied the same day. During the embodiment 163 men went from the Militia Reserve to join the 2nd Battalion The Black Watch in South Africa. The Militia Battalion itself was ready to serve abroad if required, but was not called upon to do so.

There was no general training of the Perthshire Militia in 1901, but in the following year the battalion trained on Salisbury Plain and took part in the review which was held on the 16th of June by Queen Alexandra, in the absence through illness of the King.

[1] *i.e.* the undress uniform—trews and Glengarry bonnets. On account of the short period for which the battalion assembles every year the kilt and feather bonnet, though worn by the officers and permanent staff, have not been issued to the men. If the battalion were to be embodied for a considerable time all ranks would probably be allowed these more expensive articles of dress. [2] This extension of service had been authorised in 1875.

[3] During the twenty-three years that Lord Stormont commanded the Militia he never missed a training until the summer of 1893.

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As this volume does not claim to record events which have occurred since the close of the South African War in 1902, this brief outline of the history of the Perthshire Militia since 1797 may end here with tables of the different colonels, honorary colonels, and lieutenant-colonels who have commanded the regiment.

Colonels of the Perthshire Militia, 1798–1855.

Name.	*Formerly*	*Period of Command.*
John, 4th Duke of Atholl, K.T.	Col., 1st Royal Manx Fencibles	23 May 1798 to 26 June 1802.[1]
		1 Nov. 1802[2] „ 2 May 1803.
William, 3rd Earl of Mansfield	...	2 May 1803[3] „ 6 June 1809.
Thomas, 10th Earl of Kinnoull	Lt.-Col.-Cdt. Eastern Regt. Perth. Loc. Mil.	6 June 1809 „ 7 May 1855.
Sir Thomas Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, Bart.	Lt.-Col. Perth. Militia.	7 May 1855 „ 30 Oct. „

Lieutenant-Colonels, 1798–1855.

Alexander Graham Stirling of Duchray	Lt.-Col. late 122nd Ft.	23 May 1798 to 26 June 1802.
		3 Nov. 1802 „ *c.* Oct. 1804.
Robert Stewart of Fincastle	Major, Perth. Militia.	29 Oct. 1803[4] „ 16 Aug. 1805.
Colin Campbell, yr. of Kilbryde	„ „ „	16 Aug. 1805 „ ... 1811.
James Stuart Oliphant of Rossie	„ „ „	12 Aug. 1811 „ 1 Feb. 1831.
Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre, Bart.	Capt. 42nd Foot.	1 Feb. 1831 „ 16 Jan. 1846[5](?)
Sir Thomas Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, Bart.	Lt., Scots. Fus. Gds.	16 Jan. 1846 „ 7 May 1855.

Honorary Colonels, 1855–1902.

Sir Thomas Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, Bart.	...	30 Oct. 1855 to 15 Aug. 1879.
H.R.H. The Duke of Edinburgh	...	21 June 1887 „ 30 July 1900.[6]

[1] The date of the passing of the General Militia Act for Scotland, under which a new Militia force was established.

[2] Date of the King's approval of his appointment. Date of commission not forthcoming.

[3] See note to list of officers appointed in 1803.

[4] Date of commission as second lieutenant-colonel, there being two in the regiment at that time. He did not become lieutenant-colonel (commanding) until Alexander Graham Stirling left.

[5] On account of the lack of complete lists of officers of the Militia between 1825 and 1850 it is difficult to state exactly when Sir William Murray retired, and whether any one was appointed in his place before 1846. He appears as lieutenant-colonel of the Militia in Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register* for 1844, and he therefore presumably held his commission until Sir Thomas Moncreiffe's appointment. He assumed the name of Keith in 1833, on his marriage with Helen, only child of Sir Alexander Keith of Dunottar.

[6] Though this article ends with the year 1902, it should be added that the Duke of Atholl (late lieutenant and captain, Scots Fusilier Guards) was appointed honorary colonel of the Perthshire Militia on the 18th July 1903.

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COMMANDING OFFICERS, 1855–1902.

Name.	*Formerly* [1]	*Period of Command.*
Henry Maurice Drummond Hay, Hon. Col.	Capt. 42nd Foot . .	5 Nov. 1855 to 22 Dec. 1871.
William, Viscount Stormont, Col., A.D.C.	Ens. and Lt., Gren. Guards	22 Dec. 1871 „ 12 Oct. 1893.
David Murray Smythe of Methven	Lt., 79th Foot . . .	18 Nov. 1893 „ 17 Feb. 1897.
Hon. William C. W. Rollo (Master of Rollo) [2]	...	17 Feb. 1897 . . . . .

Since this article was sent to press there has been presented to the Sandeman Library at Perth a sergeant's jacket, which is said to have belonged to Sergeant James Wingate, a member of the family of Wingate of Cornton, who was serving in the Militia (though then temporarily detached on recruiting duty), in the winter of 1809–1810. The jacket is scarlet, with blue facings, white turn-backs, white lace, and wings and shoulder-straps edged with white worsted. At the back of the collar is a "flash"—a relic of the queue—and the sash is scarlet, with a blue stripe down the centre. The buttons are of white metal and show a thistle encircled with a scroll inscribed "Royal Perthshire Mil." Above the scroll is a crown, and below it, what appears to be a thistle. It will be observed that the jacket tallies with the drummers' coats described on page 129, and it is probable that the wearer was a band sergeant.

[1] *i.e.* former commissions in the Army. All four officers were promoted to the command from the rank of major in the regiment.

[2] The Master of Rollo has held the honorary rank of colonel since 1904.

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OFFICERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED TO THE ROYAL PERTHSHIRE MILITIA REGIMENT OF FOOT (68th), 1803

Rank.	Name.	Formerly	Appointed to 68th Perth. Militia.	Promotion.	Remarks.
Colonel .	William, 3rd Earl of Mansfield .	...	31 July 1798 (?)[1]	...	Resigned, June 1809.
Lt.-Col. .	Alexander Graham Stirling of Duchray[2]	Colonel, hf. pay and Lt.-Col., 9th Perth. Militia	3 Nov. 1802 (antedated)	...	Brig. Gen., Irish Staff, *c.* Oct. 1804.
Major . .	Robert Stewart of Fincastle . .	Captain, hf. pay and Major, 9th Perth. Militia	3 Nov. 1802 (antedated)	Lt.-Col., 29 Oct. 1803	Out by 16 Aug. 1805.
Captain .	Colin Campbell, yr. of Kilbryde	Captain, hf. pay and Captain, 9th Perth. Militia	7 April 1803	1st Maj., ,, ,, ,,	
,, .	Alexander Campbell	Captain, hf. pay and Captain, 1st Bread. Fencibles	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., 16 Aug. 1805	Died, 1811.
,, .	James Stuart Oliphant of Rossie	Captain, 9th Perth. Militia	,, ,, ,,	...	Captain, Strathearn Vols., 20 June 1803.
,, .	Thomas Craigie[4]	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	2nd Maj., 23 April 1804 Lt.-Col., 12 Aug. 1811	Out by 1 Feb. 1831.[3]
,, .	Alexander Macduff of Bonhard .	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	Major, 9 May 1810	,, 22 Jan. ,,
,, .	John Livington Campbell, yr. of Achalader[5]	Lt. and Capt., hf. pay Coldstream Guards	,, ,, ,,	...	Died, 18 May 1806.
,, .	Neil Menzies, yr. of Weem . .	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Lt. and Capt. Coldst. Gds., 30 Nov. 1803.
,, .	William Moray[6]	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 17 Sept. 1806.
Lieut. .	John Stewart of Persie	Lieut., 9th Perth. Militia (?)	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 1 Oct. 1803[7]	Cornet., 17th Dgns., 17 Sept. 1803.
,, .	Alexander McGlashan of Eastertyre, *paymaster*	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 15 Feb. 1834.
,, .	James Menzies	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	,, 17 Sept. 1806.
,, .	Peter MacGregor[8]	Ensign, hf. pay 72nd Foot	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 8 Dec. 1803	,, 1820.
,, .	Donald Stewart	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ensign, 26th Foot, 9 July 1803.
,, .	Archibald Campbell	Ensign, 3rd Bread. Fencibles	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 17 Sept. 1806.
,, .	John Graham	...	7 May ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, .	David Seton[9]	...	20 July ,,	...	1st Lt., 95th Ft., 3 Aug. 1805 (?).
Ensign .	William Mann[10]	Ensign, 9th Perth. Militia	7 April ,,	Lieut., 30 July 1803	Capt., Fife Mil., – ,, 1803.
,, .	Duncan Robertson of Kindrochet	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	Ens., 57th Foot, 7 Sept. 1804.
,, .	William Munro[12]	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	Adjt., Atholl Vols., 20 June 1803.[11]
,, .	Peter MacGregor[13]	Ensign (?) Clan Alpine Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	,, 14 Dec. ,,	Capt., 42nd Foot, 9 July 1803.
					Ensign, 1st ,, 18 Sept. 1804.

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Ensign .	Archibald Campbell[14]	Lieut., 3rd Bread. Fencibles	7 April 1803	Lieut.,	8 Dec. 1803	Out by 23 Jan. 1846.
,, .	Gregor MacGregor[15]	...	,, ,, ,,		...	Ensign, 1st Foot, 5 Sept. 1805.
Adjutant .	Alexander Munro, *captain* . .	Adjt., 9th Perth. Militia	,, ,, ,,		...	Out by 27 Feb. 1808.
Quartermr.	Robert Mann, *lieutenant* . . .	Qrmr., ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,		...	,, July 1829.
Surgeon .	James Hosack	Surg., ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,		...	,, 24 Dec. 1807.
Asst. Surgn.	William Smytton	...	1 July ,,	Ensign,	5 Oct. 1803	,, 17 Sept. 1806.

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.

[1] This is the date given in the official lists, but Lord Mansfield did not become colonel until the resignation of the Duke of Atholl in 1803. The King's approval of the appointment was intimated to the Duke as lord-lieutenant on the 15th of April 1803, and Lord Mansfield took over the command on the 2nd of May. In a "Weekly State," dated the 30th of April, the regiment is described as "commanded by the Duke of Atholl."

[2] Erroneously described in the *Army Lists* of 1803–1804 as "late of the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry." His appointment as brigadier-general was antedated to the date of his commission as colonel, *i.e.* 29th April 1802.

[3] No official lists of the officers of the Militia (except the permanent staff) are extant for the years 1826–1849. All dates referring to this period are from Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register*.

[4] Third son of Lawrence Craigie of Dunbarnie. Before joining the 9th Perthshire Militia he had held a commission as major in the 12th Foot, and had commanded the Grenadier Company of that regiment at the storming of Seringapatam in 1799. In the official list for 1810 his commission as captain in the Militia is dated the 1st October 1800.

[5] Captain Campbell had served in Egypt in 1801 with the 1st Battalion of the Coldstream Guards.

[6] Second son of Charles Moray of Abercairny, late colonel of the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry. William Moray was present at the battle of Waterloo as aide-de-camp to Sir Colquhoun Grant, and received three wounds. He assumed the name of Stirling on succeeding to his mother's property of Ardoch. Succeeded to Abercairny 1840.

[7] In the official list for 1809 the date is given as the 10th October.

[8] Son of Captain Robert MacGregor of Dalvorair, late captain Royal Clan Alpine Fencibles. Peter MacGregor had also served in the Clan Alpine, Fencibles (see list of officers, p. 184, *note* 8). He was killed at the capture of Fort Chumar in Bundelkhand, 29th January 1807, while serving as lieutenant in the 17th Foot. He was mentioned in despatches for his gallantry. His name appears in the *Army Lists* until 1810.

[9] One of the Setons of Cariston.

[10] Son of the Quartermaster.

[11] Antedated. Lieutenant Robertson was serving in the Perthshire Militia at least until the 30th of August 1803, and his appointment to the Atholl Volunteers had not been officially sanctioned by the 12th of April 1804.

[12] Son of the Adjutant. He probably owed his commission as captain in the 42nd to the fact that General Sir Hector Munro, who was either a relation or friend of his father's, was at that time colonel of the regiment.

[13] Eldest (?) son of Gregor Mor MacGregor, farmer and drover at Cor-Assaig at the foot of Glen Massan, near Kilmun. Wounded in both legs at the battle of Mahedpur on the 21st December 1817, while commanding the Grenadier Company of the 2nd Battalion 1st Foot. A brother-officer wrote of him that "nothing could exceed his gallantry" on that occasion, and he refused to return himself as wounded. He was finally killed on the 27th of February 1818 at the capture of Fort Talneir (see biography of Major-Gen. Sir Evan MacGregor, p. 505). He appears, however, in the *Army List* of 1818 as having been placed on half-pay on the 25th of June 1817.

[14] Does not appear in the official list for 1804. From 1807 onwards in the official lists he appears to have been confused with Archibald Campbell, senior, for although the date of his lieutenancy is given as the 8th of December 1803, he is mentioned as having held a previous commission as lieutenant from the 1st of July 1797—the date on which his namesake was promoted lieutenant in the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles. Archibald Campbell, junior, was promoted lieutenant in the same corps on the 19th of April 1800. From a list of officers of the Militia dated "Ramsgate, 17th September 1806" (in the Atholl charter-room), it is clear that only Archibald Campbell, junior, was then serving in the regiment.

[15] Another son of Gregor Mor MacGregor at Cor-Assaig. The date of his appointment to the Militia is from the official list for 1804. In a regimental list of the 16th May 1805 the date is given as the 1st November 1803. His appointment was approved by the King on the 14th of September 1803. Killed on the 10th of August 1814, during the siege of Fort Erie, while serving as lieutenant with the 1st Battalion of the 1st Foot.

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THE CONSTITUTION OF THE FENCIBLE REGIMENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

It will be remembered that on the reorganisation of the English Militia in 1757, the attempt to establish a similar force in Scotland was defeated by the votes of English members of Parliament.[1] As Scotland, however, was soon afterwards denuded of Regular troops to reinforce the British armies abroad, it became necessary to provide a force of some kind to guard the national fortresses and the military depôts in the kingdom. The hasty levies raised in the '15 and '45, styled in the official documents "Fencible men or Militia," had consisted simply of such forces as the great Whig nobles could readily muster, and had been disembodied when the crisis which called them into existence passed away. In 1759 it was decided to follow the old precedent, and raise two regiments of Fencibles of 1000 men each. The revival of the old phrase "Fencible men" as applicable to an embodied territorial force was received with favour, and neither the Duke of Argyll nor the Earl of Sutherland, the two nobles to whom letters of service were issued, had difficulty in filling the ranks of their respective corps. Each was a territorial regiment in the strictest sense of the term, being raised within the territories of the chief. Out of thirty-eight officers of the Argyllshire Fencibles, twenty-four were Campbells, two were MacLeans, two MacNeils, and the remaining ten represented as many western clans. In like manner the officers of the Sutherland Regiment were drawn from the counties of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. The enlistment for these corps was purely voluntary; the men were to serve only in Great Britain, and were to be entitled to their discharge in three years, or at the expiry of the war.

Both of these regiments were disbanded at the peace of 1763, leaving behind them so favourable a record for discipline and efficiency, that in 1778, during the American War, when the country was again swept clear of Regular troops, several Fencible corps were embodied, both in the Highlands and Lowlands.

The distinctive conditions of service of the Fencible regiments were these. The men were voluntarily enlisted—a bounty of £3 3s. being given to each—and in all respects of pay, clothing, arms, and accoutrements, they were on the same footing as the soldiers of the Regular Army. They were to serve in any part of Scotland but not out of it, except in case of an invasion of England, and in no event were they to be called upon to serve beyond the limits of Great Britain. The men were not to be drafted from the regiments into which they had enlisted, and in the event of their being ordered to England they were not to be reduced there, but were to be marched back to Scotland as a corps for disbandment. The nomination of officers was left to the personages to whom the letters

[1] See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 124.

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of service were addressed. Officers were to have military rank only while the regiment remained on the establishment, and when reduced they were not to be entitled to half-pay. Officers from the half-pay, however, who might be selected for commissions, were to be replaced thereon on the reduction of the regiment. Each regiment consisted of ten companies of 100 men each, *i.e.* a grenadier, a light infantry, and eight battalion companies. All the regiments so raised were disbanded in 1783.

In 1793, on the outbreak of the war with France, the Regular regiments serving in Scotland were ordered to form part of the force destined for the campaign in the Netherlands, and recourse was once more had to the services of the Fencibles. Seven corps were embodied on the same conditions as formerly, and the number was subsequently increased. In 1794 the members of the force were invited to extend their services to Ireland. A bounty of £5 was offered to each man willing to do this; and the original stipulation remained that at the conclusion of the war, each corps should be brought back to Scotland to be disbanded there. The invitation was well responded to, and from 1794 onwards no Fencibles were raised except such as agreed to serve in Great Britain and Ireland and the Isles adjacent. From this date also a few Fencible regiments were embodied in England and Ireland, and in 1798 one was formed in Wales. The Manx regiments, raised in 1793–1795, and 1803, are referred to elsewhere.[1]

In 1799 a large portion of the force, if not the whole of it, was required to extend its services to Europe, the alternative being reduction, and a refusal to comply with this further request was probably the reason why so many Fencible regiments were disbanded at that time. The 1st Breadalbane and 1st Argyll Fencibles were certainly obliged to conform to this new regulation (see article on the Breadalbane Fencibles, page 157), and the fact that the 2nd Battalion of the Breadalbane Regiment (which had served in Ireland during the French invasion of 1798) was also reduced in 1799, seems to point to the new test having been universally applied. Of the twenty-two battalions of Fencibles who were serving at the peace of 1802, it is known that at least seven battalions, viz.—the Rothesay and Caithness, the Argyll (two battalions), Inverness, and Clan Alpine Fencibles, the Ross and Cromarty Rangers, and the 3rd Battalion of the Breadalbane Regiment, were available for foreign service, while the Ancient Irish actually served in Egypt in 1801.[2] Garth's statement that in 1799 it was resolved to discharge some six or seven Fencible regiments whose services did not extend beyond Scotland (among which he mentions the 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles), is ambiguous and misleading.

The general disbandment took place in 1802, when all the Fencible regiments then in existence were reduced. The establishment in that year of a permanent Scots Militia rendered unnecessary any further organisation on a large scale of this more ancient but partial system of national defence.

[1] See note on the Clan Alpine Fencibles, p. 183.

[2] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 890.

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THE FOURTH (OR BREADALBANE) REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE MEN[1]

1793–1802

BY THE EDITOR

IT has been shown that Fencible regiments serving under the terms explained in the foregoing note had been raised as far back as the Seven Years' War, but no such corps were recruited in Perthshire before the great struggle with France at the close of the eighteenth century. If the history of the Perthshire Fencible regiments may therefore be said to be a short one, it will scarcely be denied by any one who glances at the following pages, that, even judged by the standard of those days of great national effort, the number of Fencible regiments raised by Perthshire men between 1793 and 1802 was remarkable, especially in view of the fact that within the same period two regiments—the 90th and 116th Foot—were raised (or to a large extent recruited) in the county for the Regular Army.

On the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1793 one of the first to offer a regiment of Fencibles was John, fourth Earl of Breadalbane, who volunteered to raise within three months a regiment of two battalions, to be recruited in Perthshire or "the immediate neighbourhood." On the 2nd of March the Secretary at War intimated the King's acceptance of one battalion, and a few days later followed the official sanction for a second—Lord Breadalbane being appointed colonel of both. The regiment was to be raised "for the internal protection of North Britain," and its services were to be limited to Scotland, except in case of invasion. The recruiting area proposed by Lord Breadalbane was agreed to, and an undertaking was given that the men should not be drafted. If marched out of Scotland the regiment was to be sent back there for disbandment, and was to be reduced as near as possible to the district in which it had been raised.[2] Each battalion was to consist of two flank and six battalion companies; three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and sixty privates, were allowed for each company, and the Grenadier Company in

[1] This article has been in the main compiled from the regimental records preserved in the Breadalbane charter-room, supplemented by contemporary Press notices and Lt.-Col. Holden's MS. notes from War Office Papers. The information regarding the mutiny in the 1st Battalion has been chiefly taken from an account of the subsequent Court Martial, published by authority.

[2] War Office letter of the 2nd of March 1793, preserved in the *General Order Book* of the 2nd Breabalbane Fencibles.

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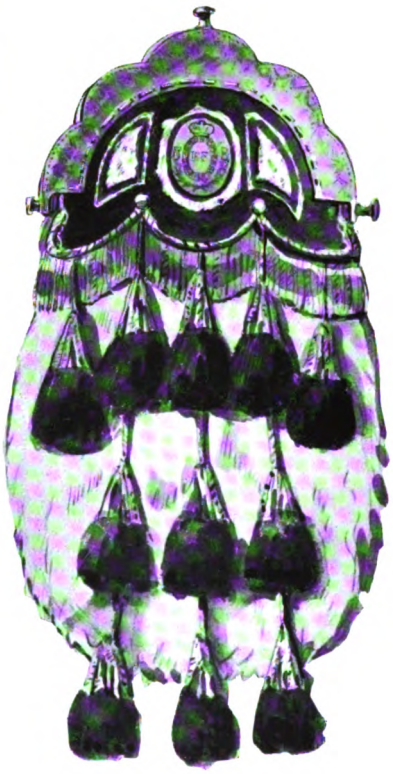
Obverse

CAST OF MEDAL

Reverse

CAST OF MEDAL



SPORRAN WORN BY THE BREADALBANE FENCIBLES

Obverse

CAST OF MEDAL

Reverse

CAST OF MEDAL

RELICS OF THE BREADALBANE FENCIBLES

(*Preserved at Taymouth Castle*)

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addition to the above was to include two pipers. The nomination of the officers was left to Lord Breadalbane,[1] and the quotas fixed by him as the minimum number of men to be recruited under the various commissions were: for a captain thirty-five, for a lieutenant eight, and for an ensign six. In order to expedite the raising of the corps, Lord Breadalbane promised a bounty at his own expense for every man enlisted by any officer, supernumerary to the prescribed quota. The standard of height for recruits was fixed at five feet three, and the age limit between fifteen and forty-five.

Headquarters were established at Perth, and the short space of time within which the regiment was raised speaks volumes for Lord Breadalbane's influence and for the patriotic feeling which was then dominating the country. Stewart of Garth tells us that five hundred men were enrolled at Taymouth within a few days, and the regimental records show that by the 8th of April the regiment was nearly complete. The standard of height for recruits was consequently raised to five feet four, and the age limit was reduced to thirty-six.

The regiment when first embodied was known as the Perthshire Regiment of Fencible Men, but in answer to an application from the Colonel, permission was given on the 1st of August 1793 for the official title of the regiment to be the Breadalbane Fencibles. Like the other Highland corps of Fencibles then in existence—the Strathspey, Sutherland, Argyll and Gordon Regiments[2]—the full-dress uniform of the Breadalbane Fencibles was the belted plaid, presumably of Breadalbane tartan,[3] the philabeg or "little kilt" being worn when off duty. The jackets were scarlet, with yellow facings, and the officers', at least, had epaulets and silver lace.[4] A black stock was worn. The buttons were of white metal and showed the letters "B.F." within a scroll bearing the motto "Nemo me impune lacessit"; above the scroll was a crown, and beneath it were two sprays of thistles. It is supposed that the men wore flat bonnets similar to that shown in the circular medal reproduced on the opposite page; while the officers apparently had higher ones of the type then in vogue[5] (see oval medal reproduced

[1] Lists of the officers first appointed to the three battalions of the regiment will be found on pp. 151, 158, 166, and 167 respectively. Argyllshire appears to have been strongly represented in the regiment, this being due, of course, to Lord Breadalbane's large landed interests in that county.

[2] These regiments are enumerated as wearing the belted plaid and kilt in an order, dated the 31st August 1793, with regard to the dress of the Breadalbane Fencibles.—*General Order Book*, 2nd Battalion.

[3] *i.e.* black, green, and blue, with a yellow stripe.

[4] A jacket of this description (probably Lord Breadalbane's) is preserved at Taymouth Castle. In addition to the yellow facings, the coat-tails are turned back with white, on which is displayed a silver thistle mounted on scarlet.

[5] The bonnet worn by Francis McNab, twelfth Laird of McNab, in the well-known portrait by Raeburn, is said to be that of the officers of the Breadalbane Fencibles, as the wearer is commonly supposed to have held a commission in the regiment (see Smibert, *Clans of Scotland*, p. 157). His name, however, is not to be found in any of the published official lists of the Breadalbane Fencibles, nor in the *War Office Registers Various*, and the Fencibles have probably been confused with the Breadalbane Volunteers raised in 1803, in which corps McNab was major (see article on the Volunteers, p. 219). McNab's bonnet is a good deal higher than the one shown on the medal, and the feathers are differently arranged.

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on the same page). The officers' bonnets were at first adorned with fur, but in 1797 feathers or "hackles" were adopted—red for the battalion companies, and white and green respectively for the Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies. The sporran—a peculiar one—is also reproduced on the preceding page. The lower part was made of white fur and was ornamented with eleven brown fur tassels, suspended by silver cords, and arranged in rows of five, three, and three. The upper part of the sporran consisted of an engraved silver check top with a red leather panel, in the centre of which was an oval shield in silver, showing a design similar to that on the regimental buttons. The whole shield was surrounded with white fur, and on either side of the leather panel were two triangular pieces of the same, surrounded with silver lace. The lower edge of the panel was festooned with a deep fringe of silver bullion.

On the 27th of May 1793 both battalions of the Breadalbane Fencibles were inspected at Perth by Lieutenant-General Leslie, and according to a contemporary account acquitted themselves well. On the following day it is recorded that Lord Breadalbane and the officers of the regiment gave "an elegant ball and supper" to the county, which was largely attended and very successful. We also read that about the same time the regiment earned the gratitude of the townspeople of Perth by its exertions in helping to put out a fire, and by the generosity with which the officers subscribed for the relief of the sufferers.[1]

But the Breadalbane Fencibles were not to be quartered much longer at Perth. Troops were required on the coast, and accordingly on the 12th of June the 1st Battalion marched to Dundee and Montrose, four companies being destined for each town. The departure of the battalion from Perth was much regretted, owing to the good behaviour of the men during their stay there.

As from this date onwards the 1st and 2nd Battalions were never quartered together, such fragments of their history as have been recovered will be given separately—the same course being adopted with regard to the 3rd Battalion, raised some eighteen months later.

1ST BATTALION BREADALBANE FENCIBLES

After the departure of the 1st Battalion from Perth in June 1793 no glimpse of it is obtained until the following September, when we hear of the companies at Montrose firing a *feu de joie* in honour of Lord Breadalbane's wedding, and of a dinner given by the officers to celebrate the same event. A few days afterwards the companies at Dundee were sent north to Aberdeen, and in November we hear of them as being on the alert upon an alarm of French frigates off the coast.

On the 17th of February[2] 1794 a large increase of establishment was authorised for the regiment. Each company was to consist henceforth of four

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 28th May 1793.

[2] Date from a paper in the Achalader charter-chest.

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FOURTH (OR BREADALBANE) REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE MEN

OFFICERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED TO THE 1ST BATTALION[1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO BR. FENC.	PROMOTION IN BATTALION.	REMARKS.
Colonel .	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane[2] .	...	1 March 1793	...	Colonel until 1799.
Lieut.-Col.	William Maxwell Morrison[3] . .	Major, hf. pay, late 77th Foot (Atholl Highlanders)	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1796.
Major . .	Alexander MacLean of Coll . .	Captain, late Western Fencibles	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., 25 Oct. 1794[4]	Resigned by Nov. 1797.
Captain .	Lachlan McLean	,, hf. pay, Provincials	,, ,, ,,	Major, . 17 Feb. ,,	
				Lt.-Col., 24 Nov. 1797	In battalion until 1799.
,, . .	Colin Campbell of Glenfalloch .	,, ,, 2nd Batt. late 71st Ft.	,, ,, ,,	Major, . 28 ,, ,,[5]	Resigned by 19 April 1798.
,, . .	Alexander Nairne[6]	,, Scots-Dutch Brigade	,, ,, ,,	...	Major, 3rd Batt., 9 Dec. 1794[4]
,, . .	William Cunningham	Ensign, 17th Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1796.
,, . .	Hon. Francis Gray[7]	...	,, ,, ,,	Major, . 19 April 1798	In battalion until 1799.
Capt.-Lieut.	Colin Campbell	Lieut., hf. pay, late 74th Foot	,, ,, ,,	Capt. on augmentation.[8]	Out by 1796.
Lieutenant	Gavin Drummond,[9] *paymaster* .	,, ,, late 77th Foot (Atholl Highlanders)	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	In battalion until 1799.
,, . .	John[10] McDonald	...	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt. ,,	Capt., 19th Ft. by 9 Dec. 1794
,, . .	Alexander Campbell	Lieut., hf. pay, N. Carolina Rangers	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 25 Oct. 1794	In battalion until 1799.
,, . .	Walter Graham	Ensign, ,, late 105th Foot (Queen's Highlanders)	,, ,, ,,	...	Lieut., 3rd Batt., 9 Dec. 1794.
,, . .	Duncan Campbell[11]	,, ,, 2nd Batt. late 84th Ft.	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned by 19 Mch. 1794.
,, . .	Selkirk Stewart	Lieut., ,, Scots-Dutch Brigade	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 25 Oct. 1794	In battalion until 1799.
,, . .	James Campbell, *quartermaster* .	,, 40th Foot	,, ,, ,,	,, 15 Nov. ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Colin Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ens. 98th Ft. by 23 Sept. 1794
,, . .	Donald McLean	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ens., 79th Ft., 21 Aug. 1793.
Ensign . .	Hector McLean, *adjutant* . . .	Sergt.-Major, 3rd Guards	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., . 19 Mch. 1794	
				Captain, 9 Dec. ,,	In battalion until 1799.
,, . .	William Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 19 March 1794.
,, . .	John Campbell[12]	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ens., Marines, 13 Aug. 1794.
,, . .	John Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Lt., 91st Ft., 22 Feb. 1794.
,, . .	Andrew Mitchell	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., . 19 Mch. 1794	Out by 1795.
,, . .	—— Lindley[13]	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . before July ,,	,, ,, July 1796.[14]
Chaplain .	George Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,		,, ,, 1799.
Quartermr.	James Campbell, jun.	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Quartermr. until 1799.
Surgeon .	Donald Smith	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Surg., 3rd Batt., 9 Dec. 1794.

Agents, Messrs. Ross and Ogilvie, Argyll Street, London.[15]

[1] From papers in the Breadalbane and Achalader charter-chests, *W. O. Registers Various*, official lists of the Reserve Forces, 1793–8 and 1799 (including MS. notes at War Office), *London Gazette*, and contemporary almanacks. [2] Afterwards lt.-gen. Cr. marquess, 1831. [3] Formerly Morrison Maxwell. [4] Antedated. [5] He is not shown in the official lists after 1796, but he appears in the *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1795 and 1797; the *Scots Almanack*, 1796 and 1798; and the *Army List*, 1798. Mentioned in the Breadalbane papers as commanding the battalion at Aberdeen, February and March 1798.

[6] A younger son of the third Lord Nairne (?) He had sons in the Scots-Dutch in 1747. (Family papers in the possession of Mrs. J. Maxtone Graham.)

[7] Fourth son of eleventh Lord Gray. [8] Appointed to Grenadier Company. Lieut.-Col. Maxwell had the Light Infantry Company.

[9] Designed "of Drumaquhance," 1803. [10] So in official lists, 1794–5. "Alexander" in *Gazette*, June 15, 1793, and *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1794–5.

[11] Lived at Carie, in Rannoch. Eldest brother of General Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava (?). [12] One Ensign John Campbell was surgeon's mate.

[13] So in Achalader charter-chest, *Gazette*, June 15, 1793, and almanacks. "Lindsay" in official lists. [14] Not in the official list of that date, but appears in the *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1797. [15] By July 1794 the agent for the 1st and 2nd Battalions was Patrick Campbell, second son of John Campbell of Achalader.

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sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, and one hundred privates (besides the pipers for the grenadiers) and two new companies were to be added to each battalion. A great many promotions took place in consequence of the augmentation, but it was found difficult to obtain the necessary number of men, and the new establishment does not appear to have ever been completed.

On the 27th of March orders were received for the battalion to march to Montrose, Arbroath, and other towns on the Forfarshire coast, from which it may be inferred that the companies which had been quartered at Montrose the previous summer had also spent the winter at Aberdeen. In July the battalion moved to Glasgow.

From the 25th of December 1794 each company was reduced to three sergeants, three corporals, and fifty-seven men—this reduction evidently taking place on account of the requirements of the third battalion which Lord Breadalbane was then raising for service both in Great Britain and Ireland. Any officers, non-commissioned officers, or privates, over the new establishment were to be borne as supernumeraries, and men were invited to transfer at a bounty into the new battalion.

On the 1st of December 1794, while the 1st Battalion was stationed at Glasgow, a mutiny broke out, owing to a private of the Light Infantry Company—one Hugh Robertson from Breadalbane—being imprisoned for some military offence. There was reason to fear that he would be sentenced to receive corporal punishment, and the other men of the company (who were also from Breadalbane), feeling that this would bring unendurable disgrace on them all—goaded further, it is said, by a belief that undue favouritism had been shown to the West Highlanders by Major Alexander MacLean of Coll, who was then in command of the battalion, and by an idea that in the absence of Lord Breadalbane and of their company officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Morrison, there was no one to take their part—endeavoured to force their way into the guard-house to procure the release of the prisoner, in which attempt they were assisted by some other men of the regiment and by a large number of the townspeople of Glasgow. They do not appear, however, to have used their arms—indeed many of them were unarmed at the time—but though driven back by the guard, they remained deaf to the remonstrances of Major MacLean and of Captain Colin Campbell of the Grenadier Company, who, addressing them in Gaelic, used every possible argument to induce them to return to their homes quietly. At the end of two hours Captain Campbell, finding his efforts useless, and wishing to prevent bloodshed, advised Major MacLean to release the prisoner, which he accordingly did, after receiving an assurance from the mutineers that they would themselves place him under arrest the next day. Robertson's release, however, encouraged the men to demand that two other prisoners should be given up, and as Major MacLean had intended (as he afterwards stated in evidence) to pardon these offenders, this request was also complied with.

A statement published some three weeks later by the officers of the regiment shows that the latter were ready to make every allowance for the " mistaken

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sense of honour" which had originally prompted the men to mutiny; lays stress on the fact that "no person whatever was hurt nor any violence offered"; and points out that, once the prisoners had been surrendered, the men had returned quietly to duty, the ringleaders had voluntarily given themselves up, and that they had offered to do this "previous to any general officer or troops coming to Glasgow."[1] The statement goes on to say that a disturbance which had been made by the townspeople after the departure of the prisoners for Edinburgh[2] had been quelled by a detachment of the Breadalbane Fencibles—not, as alleged, by the Glasgow Volunteers—and that the services of the men of this detachment had been requited by "the thanks of the Lord Provost and general officers, besides a handsome acknowledgment from Major Corbet" and the said Volunteers. In conclusion we read that "Notwithstanding this unfortunate affair . . . in every other view the soldiers of this Regiment have upon all occasions behaved themselves with the greatest sobriety, and . . . they have been and still are upon the best of terms with their officers."[3]

Stewart of Garth tells a striking story of the prisoners' march to Edinburgh. One of them, John MacMartin by name, feeling that he was probably going to meet his death, begged permission of Captain Colin Campbell (who was commanding the party) to return to Glasgow to settle some affairs of the utmost importance to a friend, promising that he would rejoin the party in good time "to be delivered up in the Castle." Captain Campbell was somewhat startled at this proposal, but he had known MacMartin from his childhood up, knew that his word could be relied upon, and therefore granted his request. MacMartin returned to Glasgow by night, transacted his business, and within a few hours was on his way back to join the other prisoners. Being afraid, however, of being seen and arrested as a deserter, he took a circuitous route through woods and over hills, which greatly delayed him, and he had consequently not made his appearance at the hour appointed. To quote General Stewart:—

"The perplexity of the officer when he reached the neighbourhood of Edinburgh may be easily imagined. He moved forward slowly indeed, but no soldier appeared; and unable to delay any longer, he marched up to the Castle, and as he was delivering over the prisoners, but before any report was given in, MacMartin, the absent soldier, rushed in among his fellow prisoners, all pale with anxiety and fatigue, and breathless with apprehension of the consequences in which his delay might have involved his benefactor."[4]

General Stewart, in lamenting the punishments subsequently inflicted on the mutineers, emphasises the fact that the ringleaders had voluntarily surrendered

[1] The Commander-in-Chief had immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for apprehending the mutineers, by collecting round Glasgow as many troops as could be spared.

[2] The men who surrendered had been at once sent off to Edinburgh to stand their trial by court-martial, and two officers of the regiment who had accompanied the prisoners' party part of the way had been attacked on their return to Glasgow by some of the townspeople and had been forced to take refuge in a house.

[3] *Scots Magazine*, December 1794.

[4] *Sketches* (1st ed.) vol. ii. app. p. lxxxvi.

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themselves, and pleads that "the generous self-devotion and sacrifice of life of the soldier MacMartin, to save from censure his officer and friend," might have been "accepted as a sufficient expiation for the crimes of the whole, including Sutherland, the soldier who was shot." The sentences passed on the unfortunate men who mutinied on the 1st of December, though by no means exceptional ones for that period, seem indeed appalling to modern ideas, and very little allowance appears to have been made for the prisoners' otherwise exemplary behaviour, though, as we shall see, two of them were recommended to mercy. But the account of the court-martial shows that similar disturbances had previously occurred in the battalion, and it was no doubt considered necessary to make examples. It also transpires that Alexander Sutherland, the man who suffered capital punishment, was not directly concerned in the mutiny of the 1st of December, but was tried for the more serious offence of having incited the people of Glasgow to attempt the rescue of the other prisoners on the day on which they left for Edinburgh.[1]

A court-martial presided over by Colonel Montgomerie of the 3rd Fencibles sat at Edinburgh Castle from the 6th to the 24th of January 1795 and passed sentence as follows:—Of six men tried for the mutiny of the 1st of December—Donald McCallum, John Malloch, Duncan Stewart, Ludovick McNaughton, John Scrymgeour, and John MacMartin—the first three were condemned to death, but Duncan Stewart was recommended to mercy on account of his youth.[2] Ludovick McNaughton was adjudged to receive fifteen hundred lashes, and John Scrymgeour and John MacMartin one thousand lashes each, the latter, however, on account of "extenuating circumstances" being also recommended to mercy.[3] Alexander Sutherland[4]—tried for mutiny on the 18th of December—was condemned to death, and the sentence having been forthwith confirmed by Lord Adam Gordon, then commander-in-chief in Scotland, it was carried out on the 21st of January on Musselburgh Sands. The other sentences passed were suspended pending the King's pleasure, and on the 9th of February it was intimated that His Majesty had been graciously pleased to pardon the six offenders, provided that the first three enlisted into a battalion of the King's Americans (now the 60th Rifles), then serving in the West Indies, and the other three into a battalion of the same regiment, then serving in North America.[5] Such, however, was the horror of transportation for life, even when the price of

[1] Published account of the court-martial.

[2] He was only fifteen years of age.

[3] McCallum, Malloch, and McNaughton were Breadalbane men. The first two (who are said to have been known as somewhat disorderly characters prior to the mutiny) belonged to the Light Infantry Company. McNaughton and Scrymgeour belonged to Lord Breadalbane's Company, MacMartin to the Grenadiers, and Sutherland to Captain Drummond's. Stewart was a recruit who, although so young, had previously deserted from the Sheffield Regiment.

[4] Browne in his *History of the Highlands* (1838 ed., vol. iv. p. 372) calls this man Morland, though his account of the Breadalbane Fencibles is obviously copied from Stewart of Garth's.

[5] *General Order Book*, 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles.

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personal liberty, that in April three of the prisoners [1] attempted to endure the barbarous alternative offered them.[2] But after undergoing a portion of the sentence they too accepted the King's pardon, and on the 18th of May all six marched to Leith, where they embarked for Canada.[3]

Meanwhile, a few days after the departure of the prisoners for Edinburgh the 1st Battalion had changed its quarters—being sent in three divisions to Whitburn, Linlithgow, and Falkirk. A company which had been stationed at Greenock under Captain Campbell of Glenfalloch also marched north at the same time, and it is recorded as a proof of the sobriety and good discipline of the men of this company, that not a single complaint had been made against them by any of the inhabitants. A day or two later Lord Breadalbane visited the Falkirk division, which was under the command of Major Lachlan McLean, and ordered a joint entertainment for his men and for a party of the 3rd Dragoons then quartered there. The evening is said to have "concluded in great harmony."[4]

In February 1795 the drafts for the 3rd Battalion were ordered to Ayr, and we hear that upwards of one hundred men had volunteered for the new battalion from the division at Falkirk.

In April Lord Breadalbane was once more at Falkirk on a visit to the battalion (the whole of which appears to have then been quartered there), and there were great festivities to celebrate the Prince of Wales' wedding. In June the battalion left for Musselburgh, and prior to its departure the Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean of Coll, gave a concert to the inhabitants of Falkirk. The band, we are told, had been in existence for two years under the supervision of one John Henry Rose, a native of Germany, who had composed some marches and "troops" for the regiment.[5]

The 1st Battalion spent the summer of 1795 at Musselburgh, and on September the 16th was reviewed by Major-General Hamilton. Lord Breadalbane had arrived a few days before, and we read that the exercises were performed much to the satisfaction of the General "and a numerous and genteel company."[6] The inspection over, permission was given for a certain proportion of the men to help with the harvest, labour being very scarce. In October the Breadalbane Fencibles left Musselburgh, carrying with them a flattering letter of dismissal from General Hamilton, and on the 23rd of the month the battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean, took possession of the newly-erected barracks at Ayr. In November two companies were sent to Stranraer, and throughout the winter different companies were stationed by rotation at Ballantrae and Girvan.

On November the 25th an order was issued that all battalions of Fencible infantry whose effectives did not amount to 700 rank and file should be reduced

[1] I conclude that the three were McCallum, Malloch, and Stewart, and that they underwent corporal punishment so that they might anyhow avoid being sent to the West Indies.

[2] *Caledonian Mercury*, 23rd April 1795.

[3] *Ibid.*, 21st May 1795.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23rd December 1794.

[5] *Ibid.*, 27th June 1795.

[6] *Ibid.*, 17th September 1795.

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to 500.[1] The establishment of the 1st Battalion was consequently fixed at 500 rank and file from December the 25th, making a total of 589, all ranks.

The battalion remained in the same quarters during the spring of 1796, and on the 10th of May was accorded a vote of thanks by the Town Council of Ayr for its very prompt and effectual assistance in extinguishing a fire.[2] On the 25th of June the battalion was reviewed at Newton Green by General Stewart—the ground being kept during the review by the Ayr Volunteers—but by the end of July it had set out on a long march north. Early in August it marched through Aberdeen under Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean, headquarters and four companies being destined for Banff, two companies for Peterhead, one each for Fraserburgh and Cullen, and two for Elgin.

The battalion appears to have been divided between the above-mentioned places during the following winter, but in 1797 two of the companies at Banff, together with those at Cullen and Elgin—five in all—were sent to Fort George. Headquarters, however, still remained at Banff. The revolutionary societies appear to have been more than usually busy this year, for it is recorded that on the 4th of June, the King's birthday, Sergeant-Major John McLean and Clerk-Sergeant Alexander Knowles, in the name of the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates of the 1st Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles, offered a reward of two hundred and fifty guineas for the discovery of any person who should seek to seduce them from their duty[3]—truly an astonishing sum to be voted by some five hundred men, the great majority of whom pocketed less than eighteenpence a week.[4]

In July 1797 we hear of parties recruiting at Perth, and in September the battalion was said to be only one short of its establishment. This summer help was again given with the harvest, and sergeants were lent to drill the corps of Volunteers which were being raised in the vicinity. At the beginning of October the outlying companies were called in, and the battalion moved to winter quarters in Aberdeen Barracks. Towards the end of the year Lieutenant-Colonel MacLean of Coll resigned and was succeeded by Major Lachlan McLean.

In April 1798, while the battalion was still quartered in the Granite City, a duel took place between Lieutenants George Rae and John McVean, which ended fatally for the latter. Lieutenant Rae was tried for murder by the High Court of Justiciary on the 18th of June, and was acquitted.[5]

In June the battalion was encamped on Don Links, and towards the end of August it was reviewed by Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, who some two months previously had succeeded Lord Adam Gordon as commander-in-chief. Soon afterwards came the news of the French landing in Mayo, and

[1] *Regimental Order Book*, 1st Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Caledonian Mercury*, 18th August 1796.

[4] On the 25th of May 1797 the pay of the infantry private had been raised from 8½d. to 1s. a day, but stoppages for messing, necessaries, washing, &c., reduced 7s. a week to less than 1s. 6d. *History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 935.

[5] *Caledonian Mercury*, June 18th and 21st, 1798.

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along with the 1st Argyllshire Fencibles (who were also quartered at Aberdeen), the battalion volunteered for service in Ireland, should more regiments be required there.[1] The French force, however, was so soon crushed, that it was unnecessary to bring troops from such a distance, and the 1st Breadalbane Fencibles remained in Scotland. In October they moved north to Fort George, and in November we read that an order was received that as many weavers and hecklers as could be spared from the regiments in the fort should be allowed to go to Inverness to assist the manufacturers of that place. Eleven men were sent from the Breadalbane Fencibles.

All immediate fear of a French invasion was now past, and the close of 1798 found the British Government joining in a new coalition against France, and once more preparing to resume offensive operations in Europe. It was probably therefore on account of the demand created by this new situation that some at least of the Fencible regiments—if not all—were asked to extend their services far beyond the limit originally fixed. In the middle of March orders were received that the 1st Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles must be disbanded unless three hundred men should offer to serve in Ireland or Europe unconditionally, and unless Lord Breadalbane should engage to complete the battalion to the existing establishment within three months at the latest.[2] No bounty was offered for this extension of service. On the 20th these new terms were communicated to the battalion by Major Gray (who was then in temporary command), with the additional information that Lord Breadalbane was hourly expected, and that the Argyllshire Regiment had volunteered to a man. For a few days the issue seems to have hung in the balance, but by the end of the month it had become evident that the necessary number of volunteers would not be forthcoming. Orders were therefore given that the battalion should be disbanded, and this was carried into effect on the 18th of April 1799 at Fort George. The Adjutant and Quartermaster were placed on half-pay,[3] and the colours were deposited at Taymouth Castle, where they are still to be seen.

2ND BATTALION BREADALBANE FENCIBLES

By the 1st of June 1793 the 2nd Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles had completed its establishment of rank and file, and shortly after this date we find it stationed at Dumfries. The headquarters of the battalion remained there until the following year, but at the beginning of November one company was sent to Annan, and two each to Kirkcudbright and Wigtown, "to be cantoned during the winter," detachments from these companies being quartered in the surrounding districts. In February 1794 an augmentation took place similar to that in the 1st Battalion; the two senior lieutenants were in consequence promoted to the rank of captain, and six ensigns became lieutenants.

[1] *Regimental Orderly Book*, 1st Battalion, 1798–1799.
[2] Contemporary *Army Lists*.
[3] *Ibid.*

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FOURTH (OR BREADALBANE) REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE MEN

OFFICERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED TO THE 2ND BATTALION [1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO BR. FENC.	PROMOTION IN BATT.	REMARKS.
Colonel	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane [2] .	...	1 Mch. 1793	...	Colonel until 1799.
Lt.-Col.	Andrew McDouall of Logan . .	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Col., Pr. Rl.'s Fenc. Cav.,[3] 1 May 1795.
Major	William Robertson, yr. of Lude	Capt., hf. pay late 77th Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	Col., Perth. Fenc., 30 Oct. 1794.
Captain	Duncan Campbell	,, ,, 2nd Batt. late 84th Ft.	,, ,, ,,	Major, on augmentation [4]	
				Lt.-Col., . 9 Dec. 1795	In battalion until 1799.
,,	Alexander Munro [5]	Lieut., hf. pay 12th Foot	,, ,, ,,	Major, . . 31 ,, 1794	Lieut., 50th Foot, 24 Aug. 1797.
,,	John Ronaldson	Ensign, ,, ,, 30th ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	Died before 11 Oct. 1796.
,,	Alexander McDonald	Capt-Lt., ,, late 76th Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1798.
,,	John Campbell, of Airds . . .	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, July 1794.
,,	John Thomas Erskine [6] . . .	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned before 20 May 1795.
Lieut.	Charles Stewart Lindsay . . .	Capt., hf. pay Provincials	,, ,, ,,	Captain, on augmentation	,, ,, 8 Sept. ,,
,,	Murdoch McLean	Lieut., ,, ,, late 74th Foot	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	Capt., 2nd W. Indian Regt., 1 July 1795.
,,	Hugh Campbell	,, ,, ,, 35th ,,	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 25 June 1795	Died before 11 Oct. 1796.
,,	John Sinclair	,, ,, ,, 42nd ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned before 12 July 1794.
,,	John Cameron	Ensign, ,, ,, late 94th ,,	,, ,, ,,	Captain, . 23 July 1794	In battalion until 1799.
,,	John MacLean	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 11 Oct. 1796	,, ,, ,,
,,	Allan Robinson	Lieut., 2nd Batt. 42nd Foot	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 31 Dec. 1794	Retired before 23 Jan. 1796.
,,	John Gordon	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 20 May 1795	Capt., Pr. Rl.'s Fenc. Cav., 1 May 1795.[7]
,,	John McDougall	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned before 12 July 1794.
,,	William Maine	...	,, ,, ,,	Captain, . 9 Dec. 1795	In battalion until 1799.
Ensign	John Roy, *adjutant*	Chatham Staff	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., on augmentation	
				Captain, . 9 Dec. 1795	Resigned before 16 April 1799.
,,	Robert Robertson [8]	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., on augmentation	Out by July 1796.
,,	William Forrester	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	
				Captain, . 5 Mch. 1796	In battalion until 1799.
,,	James Campbell [9]	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., on augmentation	Out by 1796.
,,	Alexander Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	Lieut., 3rd Batt. 9 Dec. 1794.
,,	Alexander Stewart	...	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	Out by July 1796.[10]
Chaplain	Thomas Adamson	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, 1799.
Qrmr.	James Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Retired before 25 April 1796.
Surgeon	James Kerr	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., . 17 Feb. 1794	Out by 9 Jan. 1796.

Agents, Messrs Ross and Ogilvie, Argyll Street, London.

[1] From the same sources as the list of the 1st Battalion. [2] Lord Breadalbane had no company. [3] *i.e.* Princess Royal's Own Fencible Cavalry.
[4] All promotions "on augmentation" are dated 1st March 1793 in the official lists. [5] Commanded the Grenadier Company.
[6] Does not appear in the almanacks after 1795, but is shown in the official lists until April 1799, inclusive, though he makes the company-officers 1796–9 one above the establishment. In the *Gazette*, 20th May 1795, Lieut. John Gordon is shown as promoted *vice* Erskine, resigned. [7] Antedated.
[8] Appears as Ensign "John" or "J." Robertson in the *Edinburgh Almanack* for 1795 and 1797, and as Ensign Robert Robertson in the *Scots Almanack* for 1796.
[9] Surgeon's mate. Does not appear in the *Scots Almanack* for 1796 nor in the official lists of July 1796 and June 1797, but is shown as lieutenant in the list dated May 1795, and as ensign in the *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1795 and 1797. [10] Not in list of that date, but in *Edinburgh Almanack*, 1797, as ensign.

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In the middle of March 1794 the battalion was ordered north, and proceeded to Dundee by Musselburgh, Leith, Queensferry, Kinross, and Perth. Its conduct at Dumfries, we are told, had been exemplary for "regularity and sobriety." A band was in existence by that time, and colours had been presented—presumably by Lord Breadalbane.

The battalion, under Lieutenant-Colonel McDouall, was reviewed at Dundee on the 16th of June by Lieutenant-General Sir Hector Munro. It is said that ten thousand spectators were present, and that it was allowed by all the old officers who witnessed the proceedings that the day would have done credit to a veteran corps. After the review the officers gave a dinner which was largely attended by guests both from the town and from the county; volleys of musketry were fired to celebrate Lord Howe's recent victory; hogsheads of porter were distributed to the men; and the day ended in mirth, but "with the greatest good order." [1]

Shortly after this, six companies were sent to Montrose and Arbroath, and in July 1794 the whole battalion moved still further north, leaving one company behind at Arbroath. Headquarters and two companies were sent to Banff, and companies or detachments were quartered at Fraserburgh, Peterhead, Forres, Elgin, Portsoy, Cullen, and Inverness.

On the 29th of September the thanks of the Provost and Town Council were conveyed to the companies at Banff for putting out a fire on a sloop, which had threatened destruction to almost every vessel then in port, and five guineas were given to the Adjutant, Lieutenant Roy, to be distributed among the men as a gratuity.

The 2nd Battalion appears to have experienced the same difficulty as the 1st in completing the increased establishment, and the highest total reached was 894, all ranks, this being some 250 below the authorised number. In December 1794 came the order for the reduction of establishment, already mentioned as having been received by the 1st Battalion.

In the same month the companies at Forres and Elgin were moved to Banff and Macduff, and from about that date two companies were stationed at Aberdeen. In February 1795 several men volunteered for the 3rd Battalion, and a month later the whole of the 1st Battalion moved to Aberdeen. In April a detachment was sent to Stonehaven for three months, and from July to October the battalion was encamped on the links of the Old Town.

On the 4th of June we read of the officers drinking the King's health with the Lord Provost and Magistrates at the Town Hall. In August the troops at Aberdeen were inspected by Lord Adam Gordon, and on the 22nd of September an inspection was held by Sir Hector Munro, the general officer in command of the garrison. In the latter month such men of the battalion as understood the use of the sickle were allowed to help with the harvest, on condition that they did not sleep out of camp.

Towards the middle of October 1795 headquarters and six companies moved

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 21st June 1794.

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into winter quarters at Fort George; one company each was sent to Peterhead and Fraserburgh, and two were divided between Banff and Macduff, with detachments at Cullen and Portsoy. In May 1796 the whole battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell marched back to Aberdeen, and for a few days in June it was distributed between Old Meldrum, Ellon, Inverury, and Kintore, to keep the peace during a general election.

In July the battalion was sent to Dundee, and on the 25th of the month it was reviewed in its new quarters by Major-General Drummond of Strathallan. Lord Breadalbane was on duty with the battalion at Dundee during the following autumn and winter, and is said to have commanded the garrison during his stay there. From October onwards a company was stationed at Arbroath.

The winter of 1796–1797 was an anxious one for Great Britain and her allies, and the threatening aspect of affairs may be traced in the orders issued during that period to the 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles to prepare the regimental transport required in case of an invasion, and to complete the establishment of the battalion with as little delay as possible.

By the beginning of March 1797 the battalion had left Dundee and was quartered in Edinburgh Castle. From that date onwards two light field-pieces were attached to the battalion, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery was engaged in instructing the men how to handle them.

About that time the standard of height for recruits was raised to five feet five, and the age limit was reduced to thirty, but this made it more than ever difficult to keep the battalion up to strength.

In May 1797 we read of the 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles furnishing a guard of honour to the Lord High Commissioner, and in June of their being reviewed on Bruntsfield Links by Sir James Stewart. On the 2nd of June the 2nd Battalion testified its loyalty in the same manner as the 1st Battalion, by offering a hundred guineas for the apprehension of any person who should attempt to seduce the men from their oath of allegiance.[1] During its stay in Edinburgh the battalion was constantly employed in escorting prisoners of war from Leith; we also hear of the "usual guard" being supplied for the races, and of a detachment being provided for a signal station on Arthur's Seat. On the 30th of August, under the command of Major Munro, the battalion was reviewed by Lord Adam Gordon.

Early in October the Breadalbane Fencibles marched into Fife, headquarters and four companies being sent to Kirkcaldy, three to St. Andrews, two to Dunfermline, and one to Anstruther Easter and Wester. Later in the month the quarters of the Dunfermline and Anstruther companies were changed, and from the end of November 1797 until the beginning of June 1798 the battalion was distributed as follows:—headquarters and four companies at Kirkcaldy, two companies at St. Andrews, and one company each at Kennoway, Auchtermuchty, Ely, and Falkland.[2]

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 3rd June 1797.

[2] From the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 7th May 1798 it would appear that some men were stationed at Dysart in March 1798.

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In February 1798 the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the battalion undertook to subscribe, during the continuance of the war, one day's pay each per month to the fund for national defence which was then being raised by voluntary subscription in response to a general appeal made by Pitt.[1] Many contributions made to this fund by Perthshire corps will hereafter be noticed, but none more liberal than this of the 2nd Battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles.

In May a court-martial was held at Edinburgh on Captain and Adjutant John Roy—apparently at the instance of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Campbell. Five charges were brought against Captain Roy, but he was acquitted of all except of disrespectful behaviour to the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major, and of having obstructed the settlement of the public accounts of the regiment by refusing to sign the paymaster's certificate. Sentence was passed that he was to be suspended from rank and pay for six months, but on account of his previous good character, and of the fact that he had not only a wife and family, but also aged parents, dependent on him, he was recommended to mercy, and the sentence appears to have been remitted. There was evidently a strong popular feeling in favour of Captain Roy—probably owing not only to his own merits but to the fact that the first charge brought against him had been shown to be trumped-up—for in July the Kirkcaldy Loyal Volunteers presented him with a sword of honour as a mark of esteem for his character "and to testify their sense of the great advantage" they had derived from "his zealous and able exertions in training them for the defence of their King and country."[2]

Early in June 1798 the battalion left Fife for Glasgow, marching by Queensferry, Bathgate, and Airdrie, but by the end of the month it had been sent on to Ayr, where on the 19th of August it was again reviewed by General Drummond.

The battalion had apparently been moved south in order that it might be within reach should more troops be required in Ireland, which was then in open rebellion, but by the end of June the insurrection had been crushed, and it was therefore not until news was received of the landing of the French at Killala on the 22nd of August, that the Breadalbane Fencibles felt called upon to offer an extension of their services. On the 2nd of September Major Colin Campbell's Company made a "voluntary and unsolicited tender" to serve in Ireland "or any other part of Great Britain," and this offer having been followed by others, five days later 289 of all ranks set out for Stranraer, leaving behind them the invalids of the battalion and those of the rank and file who had declined to leave Scotland, with the necessary proportion of officers and non-commissioned officers. At Stranraer the battalion was met by Lord Breadalbane, who, delighted at the spirit shown by his men, announced his intention of bestowing on every volunteer a silver medal with a proper emblematic device to be worn "as an honourable mark of distinction."[3]

The battalion sailed from Port Patrick on the 12th of September and reached

[1] *General Order Book*, 2nd Battalion.

[2] *Scots Magazine*, July 1798.

[3] *Battalion Standing Orders*, 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles. A reproduction of this medal will be found opposite p. 149.

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Carrickfergus the following day. Thence it marched by Belfast, Lisburn, Moy, Omagh, and Strabane to Londonderry, where the 3rd Battalion of the regiment was already quartered. The 2nd Battalion arrived at Londonderry on the 27th of September, and Lord Breadalbane took over command of the garrison, which consisted of his regiment and the Cambridgeshire Fencible Cavalry.

But with the surrender of the French force at Ballinamuck on the 8th of September all immediate danger of invasion had ceased, and early in October the Breadalbane Fencibles, along with the other British regiments of Fencibles and Militia then in Ireland, received the thanks of both Houses of the Irish Parliament for having come to the assistance of the country in its hour of need.[1] About the same time we hear of Lord Breadalbane ordering a *feu de joie* in honour of the battle of the Nile, and on the 11th of October a draft of 119 officers and men arrived from Scotland for the 2nd Battalion, bringing its numbers in Ireland up to a total of 408. The barrack accommodation at Londonderry was evidently scanty, for with the approach of winter any men who were bricklayers or carpenters were told off to help to build huts for the troops.

Early in November we read of the Breadalbane and Cambridgeshire Fencibles escorting prisoners of war to Buncrana on Lough Swilly, and later in the month a detachment of the Breadalbane Fencibles was quartered at Letterkenny. On the 24th of November Lord Breadalbane handed over the command of the garrison at Londonderry to a senior officer, Brigadier-General Dunne, but he remained with his regiment two months longer. On the 1st of December 1798 a final draft of 15 non-commissioned officers and men arrived from Scotland, reducing the numbers left behind at Ayr to 134.

At the end of January 1799 the Irish Legislature again passed votes of thanks to the British regiments of Fencibles and Militia—this time for the continuance of their services in the country[2]—but this measure did not succeed in reconciling the men of the 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles to the length of their stay in Ireland. By that time it had become apparent that they would not indefinitely continue to serve beyond the shores of Great Britain, and as they were now in all probability required to extend their services to all Europe, it is not surprising to learn that by the end of February orders had been given that the battalion should return to Scotland for disbandment. On the 5th of March the 2nd Breadalbane Fencibles left Londonderry for Belfast, marching by Coleraine, Ballymoney, Ballymena, and Antrim, and on the 18th sailed for Port Patrick. By the 22nd the battalion had reached Stranraer, whence it proceeded to Paisley, the detachment from Ayr joining it on the way.

The last monthly return of the battalion, made out on the 3rd of April, showed a total of 552, all ranks, *i.e.* 34 below the establishment.

The 2nd Battalion was disbanded at Paisley on the 18th of April 1799—the same day as its sister corps. Its colours in like manner were sent to Taymouth Castle, and the Adjutant and Quartermaster were put on the half-pay list.[3] About

[1] *General Order Book*, 2nd Battalion. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Army Lists.*

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sixty men enlisted into the Line, and some forty into the Militia and other Fencible corps. The arms of the battalion were handed over to the Paisley Volunteers and were sent by them under escort to Edinburgh Castle.

3RD BATTALION BREADALBANE FENCIBLES

Sadly little information has been handed down with regard to the 3rd, or "Glenorchy," Battalion (as it was named) of the Breadalbane Fencibles. This is the more to be regretted as this battalion not only had a longer, but probably a more eventful, term of existence than the other two. Raised by Lord Breadalbane in December 1794 on the extended terms of service introduced in that year, the 3rd Battalion was stationed in Ireland from May 1795 until its disbandment in 1802, and it must thus have seen much of the strife which rent that unhappy country in the closing years of the century.

During the embodiment of the battalion its headquarters were established at Ayr—possibly on account of the proximity of that town to the south-western coast—and recruiting parties were sent to various places, one in especial being quartered at Perth. It seems doubtful, however, if any recruits could have been obtained in that neighbourhood, seeing the great demands that had recently been, and were then still being, made on the population of the county.[1]

The establishment was fixed at ten companies, and from 500 to 700 men were allowed to exchange at a bounty from the old battalions of the regiment into the new one. It is not known, however, how many altogether availed themselves of the offer, though, as has been mentioned, one hundred men alone joined from the division of the 1st Battalion then quartered at Falkirk. Lord Breadalbane was appointed colonel of the new battalion, with the permanent rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Army.[2] John Campbell of Achalader was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and Captain Alexander Nairne, from the 1st Battalion, major.

Throughout the early months of 1795 the battalion was drilling at Ayr, and on the 24th of April it was inspected there by General Dundas, Lord Breadalbane being present. A contemporary report tells us that all the recruits were passed, and that the battalion was believed to be the finest body of men which had been raised since the commencement of the war.[3]

On the day after the inspection the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles began to march towards the coast for embarkation, and by the 26th of May they had reached Arklow. In the following August, as already mentioned,[4] they were

[1] See notes on the 116th Foot, p. 100; the Perthshire Fencibles, p. 176; and the Drummond Fencibles, p. 179. In 1794, owing to a threatened French invasion, a large number of Fencible corps were raised, and the same year witnessed the formation of Volunteer corps.

[2] From 1794 onwards one step of promotion in the Army was given to every man who raised a regiment of Fencible infantry, or to one of his officers—provided the officer in question had served in the Army in a rank not higher than that of major. Letter from the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, dated . . . 1794, preserved in Atholl charter-room.

[3] *Caledonian Mercury*, 30th April 1795.

[4] See note on 116th Foot, p. 101.

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sent to Dublin on an alarm of a mutiny among the Regular regiments quartered there. The soldiers had begun to leave barracks, but on the arrival of other troops they were forced back to their quarters, and order appears soon to have been restored.

The Breadalbane Fencibles were still stationed at Dublin in October 1795, but by the 20th of February 1796 we find them at Kells. They spent the following summer and autumn there, and in November moved into winter quarters at Blaris Camp. In January 1797 a band was being formed, and two months later we read that the battalion was helping to carry out a general disarmament of the population in the counties of Down and Antrim.[1] In May we hear of the Breadalbane and Argyll Fencibles keeping the ground at Monaghan during the execution of a deserter from the Militia,[2] but muster-rolls which have been preserved show that the headquarters, at least, of the battalion were at Blaris Camp during this summer.[3] In January 1798 the regiment was at Enniskillen, and in July at Armagh; but by the end of August it had returned to Enniskillen, whence, during the brief French campaign, some 300 officers and men were pushed on to Sligo.[4] A month later the battalion had marched to Londonderry, where it was shortly joined by Lord Breadalbane and the 2nd Battalion.

What little is known of the duties performed by the Breadalbane Fencibles at Londonderry has already been related, but it must be mentioned that in December 1798 the Colonel was able to report that his 3rd Battalion had offered to extend its services to any country in Europe.[5] The battalion consequently escaped the disbandment which was the fate of so many Fencible corps in 1799.

On the 17th of May 1799 the battalion—now the sole representative of the Breadalbane Fencibles—left Londonderry for Strabane, where it remained for three years. Some time during the summer of 1799 Lord Breadalbane resigned the command of the regiment—for what reason is unknown—and on the 13th of July in the same year Colonel Archibald Campbell,[6] a younger brother of Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell of Achalader,[7] was appointed colonel. At the time of his appointment, however, Colonel Archibald Campbell was serving as a brigadier-general in the West Indies, and though he was at home for a time both in 1799 and 1801, professional jealousy on the part of some of the junior brigadiers on the staff in Ireland seems to have precluded him from joining his regiment.[8] So far, therefore, as is known, the 3rd Battalion was never commanded by its Colonel except during the embodiment, and the short period of Lord Breadalbane's visit to Londonderry. Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell died in November 1799, and Alexander Nairne, who was promoted in his stead, was presumably in command of the battalion during the rest of its existence.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, March 1797. [2] *Ibid.*, May 1797.
[3] Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes.
[4] *State Papers, Ireland.* Ed. Désbrière, *Projets et Tentatives de débarquement aux Iles Britanniques* (Paris, 1901), vol. ii. p. 114. [5] *Caledonian Mercury*, 26th January 1799.
[6] See his biography, p. 438 *et seq.* [7] See list of original officers of the battalion, pp. 166-7.
[8] Letter from Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell, dated 10th September 1801, preserved in Achalader charter-chest.

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With the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens in March 1802 the further maintenance of the Fencibles became unnecessary. The Breadalbane Regiment accordingly received orders for disbandment, and on the 8th of June 1802 left Strabane on its return to Scotland. On the 24th it reached Belfast, whence it speedily embarked for Stranraer. From Stranraer it marched to Ayr, where it was disbanded on the 28th of July. Colonel Campbell, the Adjutant, and Quartermaster, were placed on half-pay, and Lord Breadalbane was also allowed half-pay from the same date.[1]

The colours passed into the hands of the Humes of Auchendolly, and after being preserved by them for many years, were deposited in St. Giles' Cathedral, by the present head of that family.

[1] *Army Lists.*

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FOURTH (OR BREADALBANE) REGIMENT OF FENCIBLE MEN

OFFICERS ORIGINALLY APPOINTED TO 3RD BATTALION[1]

RANK.	NAME.	FORMERLY	APPOINTED TO 3RD BATT.	PROMOTION IN BATT.	REMARKS.
Colonel	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane .	Major, 78th Foot[2]	17 April 1795	...	Resigned before 10 July 1799.
Lt.-Col.	John Campbell, of Achalader .	...	9 Dec. 1794	...	Died, 27 Nov. 1799.
Major	Alexander Nairne	Captain, 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	Lieut.-Col., . 7 Dec. 1799	In battalion until 1802.
Captain	Colin Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Major, 2nd Batt., 15 Nov. 1797.
,,	John Carfrae	Lieut., hf. pay late 82nd Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	Died before 19 April 1800.
,,	Richard Maitland	,, 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	Major, . . 7 Dec. 1799	In battalion until 1802.
,,	Alexander Campbell	,, 2nd ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Ewen M^cLaurin	,, 1st ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Duncan M^cDougall[3]	Lieut., hf. pay late 1st Batt. 84th Foot	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	John Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Charles Stewart	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned before 4 May 1801.
Lieut.	John Smith	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	John Murray[4]	Lieut., 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt., . 1 Feb. 1797	In battalion until 1802.
,,	George Finlay[5]	...	...	...	Out by June 1797 (?).
,,	George King	Lieut., 2nd Batt. Bread. Fenc.	9 Dec. 1794	...	,, 1798 (?)[6]
,,	Martin Irving	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, 1799.
,,	Henry Torrance	Lieut., 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	Captain, . 1 April 1798	In battalion until 1802.
,,	Archibald Fisher	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned by 24 July 1800.
,,	Francis Sutton	Ensign, 2nd Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Colin Campbell[7]	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Ens., 1st West India Regt., 3 Oct. 1799.
,,	John Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1798 (?).
,,	Alexander Dirom[8]	...	,, ,, ,,	Captain, . 19 April 1800	In battalion until 1802.
,,	James Hutton	Ensign, 2nd Batt. Bread. Fenc.	...	...	Out by July 1796.
,,	John Moncur[9]	...	9 Dec. 1794	Captain, . by 4 May 1801	In battalion until 1802.
,,	Donald Smith	Lieut., 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Patrick Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Walter Graham	Lieut., 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	...	Superseded, 20 July 1799.
,,	Robert Wise	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1798 (?).

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Lieut.	Devereux Travers	...	9 Dec. 1794	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Alexander Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned before 13 Nov. 1800.
,,	Duncan Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	William Erskine Campbell	...	...	...	,, 1796.
,,	William Hobson[10]	...	9 Dec. 1794	...	,, 1799.
Ensign	Archibald Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., . . 1 July 1797	In battalion until 1802.
,,	James M^cIntyre[11]	...	...	,, . . . 1 Nov. ,,	Ens., 71st Foot, 14 July 1800.
,,	Colin Campbell	...	9 Dec. 1794	,, . . 1 April 1798	,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
,,	Alexander Smyth	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 11 Aug. ,,	In battalion until 1802.
,,	John M^cNicol	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Finlay M^cMartin	...	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., . 20 July 1799	In battalion until 1802.
,,	Archibald Campbell, jun.	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 19 April 1800	,, ,, ,,
,,	John Dewar	...	,, ,, ,,	,, . . 24 July ,,	Out by 1802.
Chaplain	Alexander Girvan[12]	...	,, ,, ,,	...	,, 1799.
Adjutant	Martin Irving	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Adjutant until 1 March 1797.
Qrmr.	Colin Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned by 3 June 1799.
Surgeon	Donald Smith	Surgeon, 1st Batt. Bread. Fenc.	,, ,, ,,	...	In battalion until 1802.

Agents, Messrs Cane and Son.[13]

[1] Except where otherwise stated this list has been compiled from the *London Gazette*, contemporary almanacks, and published official lists (with MS. notes at War Office) for 1796–7 and 1799–1801.

[2] See list of the 116th Regiment of Foot, p. 102, *note* 10. Lord Breadalbane was given the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Army from the 17th April 1795. His commission as colonel of the 3rd Battalion (preserved in the Achalader charter-chest), empowered him to have a company, but he does not appear to have availed himself of this permission until February 1797, when a captain-lieutenant was appointed.

[3] Appointed paymaster, 9th August 1798.

[4] Adjutant from the 1st of March 1797 until 1802.

[5] The names of Lieutenants George Finlay, James Hutton, and William Erskine Campbell, are from the *Gazette*. They do not appear in the official lists. Finlay is shown in the *Edinburgh Almanack* for 1797, and Hutton in the *Scots Almanack* for 1796.

[6] Lieutenants George King, John Campbell, and Robert Wise appear neither in the *Scots* nor the *Glasgow Almanack* for 1798, but are shown in the *Edinburgh* and the *Town and County Almanack* for the same year. Wise appears as "Whyte" in the last-named almanack.

[7] Fifth son of John Campbell of Melfort. Nephew of the Lieutenant-Colonel. Afterwards a lieutenant-general and K.C.B.—*A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort*, p. 21 *et seq.*

[8] Shown as "Dixon" in some of the almanacks.

[9] Does not appear in the official lists until 1797, but is shown in the *Gazette* of the 11th July 1795, and in the almanacks (except the *Scots Almanack* of 798) from 1796 to 1802 inclusive.

[10] Shown as "Hebson" in the *Gazette* of July 11th 1795, some of the almanacks, and a paper in the Achalader charter-chest.

[11] His appointment is mentioned in the *Gazette* of July 11th 1795, but his name does not appear in the official lists until 1799. He is shown in the *Edinburgh Almanack* for 1797 and 1798 as ensign, and in the *Edinburgh* and *Scots Almanacks* for 1799 as lieutenant. His promotion is noted in the *Gazette* of the 16th December 1797.

[12] "Guvan" in the *Scots Almanack* for 1796. Styled "Dr." in the *Gazette*.

[13] First mentioned in the *Glasgow Almanack* for 1798. They appear both in the official lists and the almanacks from 1799 onwards.

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THE PERTHSHIRE FENCIBLE CAVALRY

OR

PERTHSHIRE FENCIBLE LIGHT DRAGOONS[1]

1794–1800

BY THE EDITOR

THE Fencibles raised in 1793 consisted only of infantry regiments, but in March 1794 a circular letter addressed by Pitt to the lords-lieutenant of counties suggested, among other steps, the formation of troops of Fencible cavalry, the conditions of whose service, generally speaking, should correspond to those of the Fencibles raised in 1793, except that the levy money was "to be furnished by the persons who undertook to form such troops, and that the horses were also to be found by them, but were to be paid for at a reasonable price by Government."[2] The area of service was to include the whole of Great Britain.[3]

As a result of Pitt's letter, a county meeting, presided over by the Duke of Atholl, lord-lieutenant, was held in Perth on the 11th of April, at which it was resolved to raise some troops of Fencible cavalry on the above terms, the levy money to be found by the landowners of the county. It was recommended that each should contribute £1, 1s. for every £100 of valued rent, but a subscription list was opened for those who preferred to fix their contributions themselves. No less than £1500 was subscribed at the meeting.

It was subsequently decided that three troops should be raised,[4] the establishment of which would be as follows :—

Officers—	
i.e. 1 major, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 3 cornets, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon	11[5]
Non-commissioned Officers—	
i.e. 3 quartermasters,[6] 12 sergeants, 3 trumpeters	18
Rank and File	150
Total . . .	179

The bounty given was ten guineas, and each non-commissioned officer and private received besides from the county fund £3, 15s. for a horse, and a guinea for a stable jacket. Charles Moray of Abercairny[7] was appointed major-com-

[1] This article, except where otherwise stated, has been compiled from regimental returns preserved in the Atholl charter-room, Col. Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers, published official lists of the Militia, Fencibles, &c., 1794–1800, and the contemporary Press.

[2] Clode, in his *Military Forces of the Crown* (vol. i. p. 102), says that this circular was the last recorded attempt of a British Ministry to raise forces without the consent of Parliament.

[3] *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. v., p. 155.

[4] No other county in Scotland raised more than two troops at thattime.

[5] Actually ten, as the Adjutant held two commissions. [6] *i.e.* quartermasters-sergeant.

[7] Late captain, 13th Dgns. Formerly captain, 49th Foot (during Gen. Græme of Gorthie's colonelcy).

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mandant, the captains being George Græme, younger of Inchbrakie and Aberuthven,[1] and Alexander Muir Mackenzie of Delvine.

The corps was being raised at Perth throughout the summer of 1794, and we read that during this period there was some discontent among the men, owing to their not having understood that they would only receive half of their pay in money, and that the other half would be kept back for grass money and other allowances. This misunderstanding might apparently have led to a serious mutiny had it not been for the prompt measures taken by Captain Græme, who, in the absence of Major Moray, was in temporary command of the regiment at the time.[2]

Another incident which occurred while the regiment was quartered at Perth is mentioned by one of the officers, Lieutenant Oliphant of Gask, in a letter written in July 1794 to his uncle Robertson of Strowan. He describes how "a man last night . . . came to the bed side of one of our lads & insisted upon his drinking 'Damnation to the King & success to the Friends of the People,' which he refused to do; & in the mean time another recruit, who was in the room, went & put on his sabre, & came back & told the Friend of the People that he was his prisoner; upon which the gentleman changed his key & said, he meant to have said 'God bless the King'! but our gallant trooper detained him prisoner till he was committed to the Guard; and he was this morning delivered over to the local Magistrate and thrown into Goal, there to remain till he stands his trial."[3] This occurrence is interesting as throwing light on the dangers to which the country was exposed at that time by enemies at home, and as explaining subscriptions such as those made in 1797 by the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the Breadalbane Fencibles, and, as will be seen, by the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry also.

By the 14th of September the regiment numbered 139 effectives, and early in October it received orders to march to Stirling. By the end of the year the numbers had risen to 163, and a further increase was to come.

In the spring of 1795 a general augmentation of the Scots Fencible Cavalry was authorised, and the establishment of the Perthshire corps was accordingly fixed at six troops, with officers and non-commissioned officers as follows:—

Officers—	
i.e. 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 3 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 5 lieutenants, 6 cornets, an adjutant, chaplain, and surgeon	21
Non-commissioned Officers—	
i.e. 6 quartermasters, 18 sergeants, 6 trumpeters	30
Rank and File	240
Total . . .	291[4]

[1] Late captain, half-pay, late 72nd Foot. Succeeded his father, 1796.

[2] *Or and Sable*, p. 350. [3] T. L. Kington Oliphant, *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 429.

[4] The Adjutant, as before, held a double commission, so that the actual number of officers on the increased establishment was twenty.

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Consequent upon this augmentation a general promotion took place in the regiment. The new commissions dated from May the 29th 1795, although the enlarged establishment does not appear to have become an accomplished fact before January 1796.

In June 1795 the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry set out from Stirling for Aberdeen Camp, and we read that the Stirling Volunteers assembled in uniform at the departure of the corps and marched with it as far as the bridge—a tribute to the good behaviour of the men during the preceding winter. On its march through Perth the regiment was met by the corps of Volunteers which had recently been raised there under Major Sharp of Kincarachy.[1]

On the 7th of August, while the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry was at Aberdeen, a court-martial was held on Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele, on a charge of disrespectful conduct to the Commanding Officer and other officers of the regiment. The incident which gave rise to this trial was in itself trifling to a degree, but as more will hereafter be heard of Lieutenant Steele, it may perhaps be worth while to give some account of it. Laurence Oliphant of Gask had offered his services to the corps at the original county meeting, and had at once been appointed lieutenant. Some time afterwards John Steele had been engaged as adjutant, cornet, and riding-master, and had been shortly promoted, Major Moray of course intending that he should rank as junior lieutenant. When the officers were gazetted, however (to quote a contemporary account), "it appeared that the name of Mr. Steele stood before that of Mr. Oliphant; on which account he, Mr. Steele, claimed rank as senior lieutenant, and did duty as such till the 4th of June last, when the officers were invited to drink of His Majesty's health with the Magistrates of Stirling; on which occasion, after the officers had taken their places in a circle at the Cross, Lieutenant Oliphant went up and took the officer immediately above Lieutenant Steele by the arm, standing at the same time before Mr. Steele, and, as he says, trode upon his toes. It has not appeared in evidence, so far as we can judge of it, whether Mr. Oliphant came into that situation with an intention to supersede Mr. Steele and stand above him, or only to speak to the officer next above him; it appears, however, that Lieutenant Steele conceived the former, and said to Lieutenant Oliphant—'Don't put me out of my place'; to which the other answered, that 'he had as good a right to that place as he, Mr. Steele, had.' On which, Lieutenant Steele replied, that 'he was a scoundrel for saying so, or pretending so,' and these words he repeated after the major came up and interfered."[2]

The officers of the regiment, after consultation, decided to put Lieutenant Steele under arrest, and in the course of the next few days they endeavoured to make him sign an apology, but this he declined to do, unless Lieutenant Oliphant would previously acknowledge that in coming and standing before him he had not meant to insult him. It was "verbally communicated" to him that Lieutenant Oliphant had meant no offence, but he did not regard this as sufficient, and claimed a trial by court-martial.

[1] See article on the Volunteers, etc., p. 186 *et seq.* [2] *Caledonian Mercury*, 13th August 1795.

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The first part of the charge—that of disrespect to the Commanding Officer—was subsequently dropped, but Lieutenant Steele was found guilty of "improper and unbecoming behaviour" towards Lieutenant Oliphant, and was adjudged to receive a reprimand in public orders. The prisoner in his defence complained that the other officers of the corps, who had been the only witnesses called, had given by no means impartial evidence, and that they had tried to make him sign a humiliating apology, not only to Lieutenant Oliphant, but to themselves. Whether or not this was so, it is evident that Lieutenant Steele was not popular with his brother officers.

In September 1795 the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry was still at Aberdeen Camp, and on the old establishment, but the augmentation was being busily recruited for. In October the regiment began to march south, and November found it once more in winter quarters at Stirling. New officers had now joined, further recruiting had been stopped, and in January 1796 the new troops were inspected. In March the regiment numbered 276, all ranks, and it was probably about this date that the more ambitious title of the Perthshire Fencible Light Dragoons was adopted.

Towards the end of June the Perthshire Light Dragoons left Stirling—much regretted by the inhabitants of that town—and on the 27th marched through Dunbar on their way to West Barns Camp.

In July there was another court-martial in the regiment, and one which excited general interest, inasmuch as no less personages than Colonel Moray and Lieutenant-Colonel Græme were on trial at the instance of Lieutenant Steele.

Lieutenant-Colonel Græme was alleged to have used violent language to Lieutenant Steele on parade and to have shaken his stick over his head; to have put him under arrest without due cause, and afterwards to have refused him a court-martial. He was also charged with having "in a scandalous, unwarrantable, unjust, ungentlemanlike, and unsoldierlike manner" thrown an aspersion on the "honourable corps" in which Lieutenant Steele had previously served. The language and statements ascribed to Inchbrakie are certainly not pleasant reading, but they must have been shown to have been misrepresented or exaggerated, for the Court were of opinion that "although some of the expressions used by Lieut-Colonel Græme . . . might have been better omitted, yet in consequence of the behaviour of Lieutenant John Steele . . . and the other circumstances of the case, no blame attached to Lieut-Colonel Græme on that account." He was also acquitted of the other charges.

Colonel Moray was arraigned on no less than thirty-four counts. The majority of these were alleged instances of falsified returns of men or horses, which need not be detailed; others were to the effect that a recruit had paid £20 to Colonel and Mrs. Moray for his discharge; that more than the bounty of ten guineas prescribed by Government had been given to recruits; that 2s. 6d. had been stopped out of each man's pay for a pair of spurs; that men had been enlisted after orders had been received that further recruiting was to cease; and that Lieutenants J. P. Drummond and James Moray, who had been recently gazetted,

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were not in the corps—the former being in the East India Service and the latter a boy at school.[1]

Colonel Moray was acquitted of twenty-five of these charges; seven more were declared not to attach to him and were therefore not proceeded with; but he was declared guilty of having had some of the horses of his troop inspected twice over, and of having given more than the prescribed bounty for recruits. As regards the former offence, however, the Court found that it proceeded from inadvertency "and not from any culpable design." As regards the latter they were of opinion that in consideration of Colonel Moray's "honourable acquittal on so many different charges, many of which were found to be frivolous (not to give them a harsher appellation)," and as it had appeared that "in some instances his private fortune had [been] applied for the advantage of his regiment and that of the public service," and that none of the charges dishonourable to him had been substantiated; and as they were "also of opinion that when he gave his instructions for recruiting (at the rate of ten guineas to the recruits and one guinea to the bringers) he was not at the time aware that he was deviating from His Majesty's orders," the Court therefore, "in the most humble manner," begged leave to recommend Colonel Moray to His Majesty's clemency.[2]

On the 7th of September Lord Adam Gordon signified His Majesty's pleasure that the degree of guilt imputed to Colonel Moray should be entirely remitted, and that Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele should be superseded in both his commissions. The finding of the court-martial, which had hitherto been kept secret, was now made public, and great were the rejoicings on Colonel Moray's estate over the news of his honourable acquittal. About forty of his tenants met at Blackford, and over one hundred at Fowlis Wester, to testify their happiness and to drink to the prosperity of Colonel Moray and his regiment.

At the end of September 1796 the camp at West Barns was broken up and the Perthshire Light Dragoons set out for England, this change of quarters being apparently rendered necessary by the disturbed condition of the northern counties. On the 28th of September—the day before the departure of the corps—the force in camp was reviewed by Lord Adam Gordon, who expressed his approval of the appearance of the cavalry regiments present.

The Perthshire Light Dragoons appear to have been quartered at Durham until early in 1797, when they were moved into Westmoreland to keep that county quiet during a ballot for the Supplementary Militia. Captain Oliphant's troop was sent to Shap and great preparations were made to oppose him, but no encounter seems to have taken place.[3]

On the 1st of March headquarters and two troops were at Kendal, three troops were at Penrith, and Lieutenant Hay was commanding a detachment at Newcastle. Lieutenant-Colonel Græme was then and for some months after-

[1] Lieutenant James Moray was the Colonel's eldest son, and in July 1796 he was about sixteen—at that time by no means an unusual age at which to obtain a first commission.

[2] *General Order Book*, 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles (preserved in Breadalbane charter-room).

[3] *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 430.

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wards in temporary command of the regiment, owing to the illness of Colonel Moray.[1]

On the 1st of April headquarters and two troops were at Kendal, two troops were at Chester-in-the-Street, and one troop each at Penrith and Sunderland. Later in the month the headquarters appear to have been moved to Chester-in-the-Street, and there on June the 4th, at a parade for the King's birthday, Sergeant-Major Robert Craig read an address in which the non-commissioned officers and men of the regiment expressed their abhorrence of the endeavours of "evil minded and traiterous people . . . to sow the seeds of discontent and mutiny in the minds of the British soldiery by dispersing . . . inflammatory handbills among them," and announced their intention of subscribing one week's pay towards "the detection and prosecution of any persons" who might thus endeavour to mislead the soldiers of the regiment to which they belonged. The address concluded with an expression of unalterable attachment to King and country, and of regard "for our worthy Colonel."

On the 1st of July 1797 headquarters and four troops were at Chester-in-the-Street, the remaining two troops being at Sunderland. The regiment was then up to full strength.

By the 11th of September the Perthshire Light Dragoons were in Scotland once more, having been hurried across the Border at a day's notice on a scare of a Dutch invasion.[2] Headquarters and two troops were at Dumfries, and one troop each was stationed at Annan, Moffat, Wigtown, and Kirkcudbright.[3] The regiment was similarly divided on October the 7th, with the addition of a corporal and six privates "on command" at Newton Douglas.

By the beginning of the following year the regiment was back in England—this time at Hexham—and we read that on the 31st of January the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, gave twelve days' pay towards the fund for national defence, subscriptions to which were pouring in from all sides.

In April 1798 the headquarters were once more at Chester-in-the-Street; a little later they were again at Hexham, with troops at Carlisle, Penrith, and Appleby; and by July the regiment was quartered at Newcastle-on-Tyne. It remained there until May 1799, when it set out for Manchester, where a good many men enlisted into the Regular Army. In October the regiment left Manchester for Preston, Liverpool, and Warrington, and later in the year it was divided between Liverpool, Lancaster, and Preston, with detachments at Hornby and Kirkby.

But the days of the Perthshire Light Dragoons were drawing to a close. Mounted troops were wanted in Ireland, and the large number of Yeomanry

[1] Miss Græme (*Or and Sable*, p. 352) is mistaken in saying that Lieut.-Colonel Græme was in command of the regiment from the 29th of May 1795 onwards. Colonel Holden's Notes show clearly that Colonel Moray was commanding it when it was disbanded, and that Inchbrakie resigned the lieutenant-colonelcy in 1798.

[2] *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 431.

[3] *Order Book* of Major-General Campbell of Monzie (Monzie charter-chest).

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regiments which had been raised in England and Scotland since 1797 had lessened the necessity for the maintenance of Fencible Cavalry in those countries. Early in 1800, therefore, the fiat went forth that all the Fencible Cavalry must volunteer for service in Ireland, or forthwith be disbanded.[1] The great majority of the force had evidently no desire to serve further afield, and by the end of April in that year, out of thirty-two regiments which had been raised in England, Scotland, or Wales, all but thirteen had disappeared from the establishment.[2]

It is sad to have to relate that the Perthshire Light Dragoons were among those who chose to forego their existence rather than cross the Irish Channel. By the 27th of March 1800 the whole of Colonel Moray's regiment had assembled at Liverpool and it was disbanded there on the 7th of April. From 1798 onwards the regiment had recruited in England, and there were consequently a large number of Englishmen in the ranks on disbandment. The officers and non-commissioned officers received six months' subsistence, the Adjutant and Quarter-master were put on half-pay, and fifty-eight men enlisted at a bounty into the Line.

The table[3] on the following page shows what officers held commissions in the Perthshire Light Dragoons during the six years of its existence.

[1] *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, vol. v., p. 155.

[2] Published official lists of the Fencibles, Militia, etc., 1797 and 1800.

[3] Compiled from the published official lists for 1795–97, and 1799; the *Gazettes*, family papers, contemporary almanacks, and Lieutenant-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers.

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THE PERTHSHIRE FENCIBLE CAVALRY

OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED

Rank.	Name.	Appointed to Regiment	Promotion.	Remarks.
Major Comdt.	Charles Moray of Abercairny	9 May[1] 1794	Colonel, 29 May 1795	Colonel until 1800.
Captain	George Græme of Inchbrakie	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col., ,, ,, ,,	Resigned, 13 April 1798.
,,	Alexander Muir Mackenzie of Delvine	,, ,, ,,	Major, ,, ,, ,,	
			Lt.-Col., 14 April 1798	In regiment until 1800.
Lieutenant	John Murray,[2] yr. of Lintrose	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 29 May 1795	
			Major, 14 April 1798	,, ,, ,,
,,	John Steele, *adjutant*	,, ,, ,,	...	Superseded, 9 Sept. 1796.
,,	Laurence Oliphant of Gask	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 29 May 1795	Resigned, *c.* 21 Dec. 1797.
Cornet	Patrick Murray of Simprim	,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	In regiment until 1800.
,,	Alexander McLaurin (of Broich?), *paymaster*	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt., ,, ,, ,,	
			Captain, *c.* 21 Dec. 1797	,, ,, ,,
,,	James Hay of Seggieden	,, ,, ,,	Lieut. 29 May 1795	
			Capt.-Lt., 21 Dec. 1797	
			Captain, 14 April 1798	Adjutant, 7 Feb. 1798–1800.
Surgeon	Alexander Wallace	,, ,, ,,	Cornet, 29 May 1795	Retired, 14 Sept. 1796.

Agent, Mr. Donaldson, Invalid Office.[3]

OFFICERS APPOINTED LATER

Lieutenant	James Moray, yr. of Abercairny	29 May 1795	Capt.-Lt., 14 April 1798	Adjutant, 21 Sept. 1796–6 Feb. 1798.
,,	James Colquhoun[4]	,, ,, ,,	...	Retired before 23 June 1796.
,,	John Patrick Drummond	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, 20 Oct. ,,
Cornet	Richard Baillie[5]	,, ,, ,,	Lieut., 23 June 1796	Resigned, 9 Jan. 1798.
,,	Archibald Hill Rennie	,, ,, ,,	,, 21 Sept. ,,	,, 4 April 1799.
,,	Archibald Colquhoun	,, ,, ,,	,, 20 Oct. ,,	In regiment until 1800.
,,	James Ramsay[6]	,, ,, ,,	,, 21 Dec. 1797	,, ,, ,,
,,	George Milne, *assistant-surgeon*	,, ,, ,,	,, 10 Jan. 1798	,, ,, ,,
Chaplain	William Murray[7]	,, ,, ,,	...	Retired on pension, 24 Dec. 1796.
Cornet	James McKenzie Stewart[8]	29 July 1796	Lieut., 14 April 1798	In regiment until 1800.
Surgeon	John Welsh	10 Aug. ,,	Cornet, 15 Sept. 1796	
			Lieut., 5 April 1799	,, ,, ,,
Cornet	William B. Laird	18 Oct. 1797	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	James Oliphant	10 Jan. 1798	...	Resigned, 13 Sept. 1798.
,,	William Withers	1 Feb. ,,	...	Lieut., R. Waggon Train, 21 Sept. 1799.
,,	John[9] Sterling	—— ,,	...	Resigned, 23 Nov. 1798.
,,	James Brodie[10]	13 Sept. ,,	...	Captain, 4th Foot, 8 Aug. 1799.
,,	James Unsworth	6 Mch. 1799	...	In regiment until 1800.
,,	John Scott Lindsay	5 April ,,	...	Cornet, 3rd Dgn. Gds. 5 Aug. 1799.
,,	Robert Craig[11]	3 Oct. ,,	...	In regiment until 1800.
,,	Thomas McLean	10 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,

[1] So official lists and letter of service. Mr. Fortescue, quoting from the *Secretary at War's Letter Book*, dates the corps from May 3rd, 1794 and the augmentation from May 28th, 1795. *Hist. of the Brit. Army*, vol. iv. p. 942. [2] Late lieut., late 102nd Ft. [3] From 1796 appears in the official lists as Mr. Donaldson, "Whitehall." [4] Late lieut., Perthshire Fenc. [5] Late lieut., 2nd Batt. Bread. Fenc. [6] Late lieut., Southern Fenc. [7] Resident at Delvine. [8] Brother of John Stewart, 9th of Urrard. [9] So Holden MS. "James" in *Gazette* and almanacks. [10] Late captain, half-pay, late 93rd Foot. [11] Late sergeant-major.

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THE PERTHSHIRE REGIMENT OF FENCIBLES[1]

1794–99

BY THE EDITOR

THE first corps of Fencible infantry raised by a Perthshire man after the extension of the services of the force to Ireland in 1794 was the regiment commanded by Colonel William Robertson, younger of Lude, who had previously held commissions in the 77th Regiment or Atholl Highlanders and in the 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles. Colonel Robertson's letter of service[2] was dated the 30th of October 1794, and the establishment of his regiment was fixed at ten companies, with a total strength of 1110. Headquarters were fixed at Stirling, and a bounty of two guineas was offered by the Magistrates and Town Council of the burgh to the first twenty-five men resident in the town or county of Stirling who would enlist in Colonel Robertson's regiment. The official title conferred on the corps was that of "The Perthshire Regiment of Fencibles," but it is sometimes alluded to as "The Perthshire Highlanders" or "Perthshire Highland Regiment"—these names being due no doubt to a wish on the part of Colonel Robertson that his corps should be considered as belonging to his own part of the county. Stewart of Garth, however, tells us that "the number of Perthshire Highlanders, or Highlanders of any county," in the regiment "was very limited,"[3] and from the fact that headquarters were established at Stirling it would appear that few men were forthcoming from any part of Perthshire.

In Stirling also there was serious competition, for an attempt was being made there to raise a "Drummond of Perth" Fencible Regiment, for which many additional bounties were being offered,[4] but in spite of these difficulties Colonel Robertson's regiment was complete by the 12th of February 1795, and in March the officers were gazetted—their commissions being antedated to the date of the King's letter of service.[5] Two, at least, of Colonel Robertson's brothers received commissions, but as a whole the list of the officers originally appointed contains very few Perthshire names, nor, as years went on, does the number of officers from the county appear to have increased, if we except members of the Clan Donnachaidh, a fair number of whom joined the regiment.

Very little information is forthcoming with regard to the Perthshire Fencibles,

[1] From contemporary newspapers, Lieut.-Colonel R. M. Holden's MS. Notes, Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, and the *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. 560.

[2] The letter of service shows that the corps was available for Great Britain, Ireland, or the Channel Islands.—*War Office Miscellany Book*, No. 35, p. 437.

[3] The regiment, however, wore the kilt—presumably of Robertson tartan.—*State Papers, Ireland.*

[4] See note which follows this.

[5] *i.e.* Oct. 30th 1794. The *Secretary at War's Letter Book* dates the corps from October 20th.—*Hist. Brit. Army*, vol. iv. p. 943.

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but it is known that they remained at Stirling for some time after the completion of the establishment. Their services, however, were required in Ireland, and by the end of July 1795 they had left Scotland. In the middle of August we hear of them as being quartered at Enniskillen and as having received orders to march to Ardfinnan Camp. During the winter of 1795–1796 the regiment was quartered in County Galway—detachments being stationed at Athenry, Loughrea, and Ballinrobe in County Mayo—and headquarters, at least, appear to have been at Galway for some time prior to May 1798, when the regiment marched to Limerick.

While the regiment was at Limerick an unfortunate quarrel arose between Robert Rogers, a local merchant, and one of the officers, Lieutenant Levinston. A duel was fought on the 19th of September and Lieutenant Levinston was mortally wounded. This occurrence seems all the more painful when we read that the combatants were both "natives of Scotland, men of a like amiable disposition, and until the lamentable dispute . . . intimate acquaintances," but tragedies of this sort were all too frequent at that period. In the same month the regiment was sent to Rathkeale.

By that time serious trouble was brewing. Colonel Robertson, though an able and public-spirited man, and an officer of some experience,[1] lacked the tact and self-control essential to a commanding officer. As in the case of many of the Fencible regiments then quartered in Ireland, discipline was slack; party spirit ran high; and officers frequently brought each other (the Colonel included) to courts martial. Finally, in August 1798, two officers of the regiment, tried at the Colonel's instance on serious charges, were acquitted on the shallowest pretences by a tribunal composed of officers of the Limerick garrison, who, in giving sentence, did not hesitate to impute personal motives to the prosecutor. The Lord-Lieutenant ordered a revision of the proceedings, but the court adhered to its former decision. Lord Cornwallis thereupon decided that an example must be made, and, in spite of a recent favourable inspection report, orders were issued for the disbandment of the regiment.[2] By the end of the year the Perthshire Fencibles had set out from County Limerick, leaving sixty-four of their number to join the Gordon Highlanders at Athlone.[3] January found the regiment at Dublin; by the following month it had reached Liverpool; and it was disbanded at Preston on the 27th[4] of February 1799. The English non-commissioned officers and men received fourteen days' extra pay to take them to their homes, the Scotsmen twenty-one, and the Irishmen twenty-eight, but neither the Adjutant nor the Quartermaster appear to have been allowed half-pay.

[1] He had served in the American War, 1777–1781, with the 63rd and 55th Regiments successively. While in Ireland with the Perthshire Fencibles he invented "portable bridges for flying artillery," and in 1799 he sent in a military report "on the internal and external state of Ireland," which is said to have been acted upon by Government (*Royal Military Calendar*, vol. i.). In 1803 he succeeded to Lude, and raised the Clan Donachie Volunteers, maintained at private expense. For some years onwards from 1805 he held staff appointments in England and the Channel Islands, and died in 1820, having attained the rank of lieutenant-general.

[2] *State Papers, Ireland*, vol. 560.

[3] Lt.-Col. Gardyne, *Life of a Regiment—The History of the Gordon Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 54–5.

[4] Holden MS. Disbandment originally ordered for 25th.—*W. O. Miscellaneous Bk.*, No. 37.

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THE PERTHSHIRE REGIMENT OF FENCIBLES

OFFICERS FIRST APPOINTED[1]

RANK.	NAME.	APPOINTED TO PERTH. FENC.	PROMOTION IN REGT.	REMARKS.
Colonel	William Robertson, yr. of Lude[2]	30 Oct. 1794[3]	...	Colonel until 1799.
Lt.-Col.	John Robertson[4]	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment ,, ,,
Major	Donald Macdonald	,, ,, ,,	...	Superseded, 1 Jan. 1798.
Captain	Peter Serle	,, ,, ,,	Major, 1 Jan. 1798	In regiment until 1799.
,,	Harry Compton[5]	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by June 1797.
,,	R. G. L. Macdonald	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment until 1799.
,,	John Cook	,, ,, ,,	...	Lt. 12th Dgns., 18 Aug. 1796.
,,	Robert Fraser	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by June 1797.
,,	George Manuel[6]	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment until 1799.
,,	Alexander Fernandas[7]	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
Capt.-Lt.	Moore Hovenden[8]	,, ,, ,,	...	Superseded, 29 May 1796.
Lieut.	Robert Robertson[9]	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 29 May 1796	In regiment until 1799.
,,	John M. Macdonald	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Samuel[10] Clarke	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Lt., ... 1796	
			Captain, 29 May ,,	,, ,, ,,
,,	George Compton	,, ,, ,,	,, 31 Aug. ,,	,, ,, ,,
,,	Edmund Compton	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.[11] [1795.
,,	James Colquhoun	,, ,, ,,	...	Lt., Perth. Fenc. Cav., 29 May.
,,	Andrew Cotter	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment until 1799.
,,	Charles Robertson[12]	,, ,, ,,	Captain, 1 Dec. 1796	,, ,, ,,
,,	James Heywood	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Robert Jenkins	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment until 1799.
,,	Charles Quantley	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	George Evans	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Hector Urquhart	,, ,, ,,	...	,, 1798.
,,	John Viney	,, ,, ,,	...	In regiment until 1799.
,,	James Cook	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Thomas Palmer	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
,,	Edward Toomer[13]	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,,
,,	John Robertson	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,,
,,	Donald[14] Cameron	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,,
,,	John[15] Woodhall	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,,
,,	George Duncan	,, ,, ,,	...	Died before 1 March 1798.
Ensign	Duncan Robertson	,, ,, ,,	Lt., 1 Jan. 1797	In regiment until 1799.
,,	William Boys	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by June 1797. [1795.
,,	Alexander Lindsay	,, ,, ,,	...	Surg., Roxb. Fenc. Cav., 15 July
,,	Archibald Robertson	,, ,, ,,	Lt., 1 May 1797	In regiment until 1799.
,,	George Munro	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by June 1797.
,,	Arthur Compton	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	Donald M[c]Inlay[16]	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,,	John Skene	,, ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
Chaplain	John Robertson	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1799.
Adjutant	George Evans	,, ,, ,,	...	Adjutant until 30 July 1796.
Quartermr.	Hector Urquhart	,, ,, ,,	...	Resigned by 30 April ,,
Surgeon	George Duncan	,, ,, ,,	...	Out by 1 August 1797.

Agent, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.

[1] From the *W. O. Registers Various*, *Gazettes*, official lists for 1795–1797 and 1799 (with MS. notes), contemporary almanacks, and MS. Genealogical Tree of the Robertsons of Lude, in the possession of the Rev. A. Meldrum.

[2] Late captain, Independent Company, and major, 2nd Battalion Breadalbane Fencibles.

[3] Lieut.-colonel in Army from same date.

[4] Second son of James Robertson of Lude. Afterwards an officer in the Clan Donachie Volunteers (see article on the Volunteers, p. 222). Drowned in the Tilt, August 1820. Late capt., half pay, Independent Coy.

[5] Harry Compton and Robert Fraser are shown in the *Edinburgh* and *Town and Country Almanacks* for 1798, but appear neither in the official list of June 1797, nor the *Glasgow* and *Scots Almanacks*, 1798.

[6] Appointed capt.-lieut., 1st March 1797, and re-appointed captain, 1st Jan. 1798. [7] Paymaster.

[8] Late lieutenant, Independent Company. Superseded, "never having joined the regiment."

[9] Fourth son of Lude. Late lieutenant, 73rd Foot.

[10] So 1797 and 1799 lists. "James" in official lists 1795–6, *W. O. Registers*, *Gazette*, and most almanacks.

[11] Lieutenants Edmund Compton, Heywood, Evans, Palmer, Toomer, John Robertson, Cameron, and Woodhall, are omitted from the 1799 list and the *Glasgow Almanack*, 1798, but appear in the *Scots Almanack*, 1799.

[12] In the *W. O. Registers* the places of Lieutenants Charles and John Robertson are reversed, but in the almanacks and official lists they appear in this order. [13] "Toomes" in *Scots Almanack*, 1796.

[14] "Ronald" in official list and *Gazette*, 1795, and in almanacks already referred to, 1796–7.

[15] "T." Woodhall in *Scots Almanack*, 1799.

[16] So in *War Office Registers*. "M[c]Intay" in *Scots Almanack*, 1796, official lists, 1795–6, and *Gazette*.

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THE DRUMMOND OF PERTH FENCIBLES[1]

BY THE EDITOR

MENTION has already been made of an attempt to raise a regiment under the title of "The Drummond of Perth Fencibles" in the winter of 1794–1795. As the name implies, the regiment was to be raised under the auspices of Mr. Drummond of Perth,[2] but the Earl of Elgin was appointed colonel, John Hepburn Belshes of Invermay being nominated lieutenant-colonel. Headquarters were established at Stirling, and it is evident that the idea of a Drummond regiment was very popular in many quarters, for the contemporary newspapers abound in offers of bounties which may perhaps be mentioned in detail, as they throw an interesting light on the patriotism of the day and the difficulties to be met with in getting recruits.

5th December 1794.—"Mr. Young, carpet manufacturer to the Prince of Wales, offers a bounty of two guineas, over and above all other bounties, to every recruit within the town or parish of Stirling who shall enlist before the 1st of February," in the regiment to be raised "under the patronage" of Mr. Drummond of Perth.

10th December.—The Magistrates and Town Council of Perth make a similar offer to the first thirty recruits who shall come forward to serve in Lieutenant-Colonel Belshes' company of the said regiment.

11th December.—The town of Dunfermline promises an additional guinea to the first twenty-five men who enlist from that town or parish.

20th December.—The tenants on the Perth estates offer two guineas to the first hundred men from the parishes of Cargill, Auchterarder, Crieff, Muthill, Comrie, Balquhidder, and Callander, who shall enlist before the 1st of March 1795.

25th December.—Mr. M^{c}Innes, Surgeon in Crieff, offers three guineas, over and above all other bounties, to the first ten men who shall apply to him at Crieff to join the regiment.

9th February 1795.—"The farmers and others in the neighbourhood of Invermay" offer two guineas to each of the first thirty able-bodied men who shall enlist in Lieutenant-Colonel Belshes' company.

It would appear, however, that no great response was made to these generous offers—indeed the number of bounties offered in itself implies a difficulty in obtaining recruits—and when the regiment commanded by Lord Elgin was

[1] From the *Caledonian Mercury* and *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 1794–1795.

[2] Created Lord Perth, 1797. It seems curious that he should not have been appointed to the command of the regiment which was to bear his name, seeing that he had served in the Regular Army. (See list of officers of the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Regiment, p. 86.)

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finally embodied, it bore his name instead of that of Mr. Drummond of Perth. John Belshes, however, duly received his commission as lieutenant-colonel, so that it may be supposed that he succeeded in completing his company, and as some other names which suggest a connection with Perthshire are to be found among the officers, it is probable that the county contributed a fair number of men. Possibly the fact that the Colonel was not a Perthshire man may have had something to do with the difficulty in getting men to come forward, but it is more likely that the supply both of officers and men had been exhausted by the excessive demands made on the county during the preceding year.

After serving for some years in Ireland Lord Elgin's regiment was disbanded at the Peace of Amiens.

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THE ROYAL CLAN ALPINE FENCIBLE INFANTRY[1]

1799–1802

BY THE EDITOR

AN especial interest attaches to the last Fencible regiment raised in Perthshire—the Royal Clan Alpine Fencibles—inasmuch as the corps was the outward manifestation of the gratitude felt by the MacGregors towards a Sovereign who had remitted the proscription under which they had suffered for some hundred and fifty years. On the 28th of April 1798, Sir John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick, chief of the clan, was introduced into the presence of George III. by the Duke of Atholl, lord-lieutenant of Perthshire, and tendered a loyal address signed by three hundred and sixty MacGregors, who expressed their joy at the restoration of their name and made an offer of their services to the King.[2] The offer was accepted, and on the 31st of July following, a letter of service was issued to Sir John's brother, Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray,[3] empowering him to raise a regiment of Fencibles, of which he was to be colonel.[4]

The establishment was fixed at ten companies, consisting of fifty-seven privates each. Stirling was selected as the headquarters, and the regiment was recruited as much as possible from the clan—an examination of the lists of officers showing that many of the name of MacGregor received commissions.

[1] From contemporary newspapers, Colonel Holden's MS. Notes, and Stewart of Garth's *Sketches* I am indebted to Miss Murray MacGregor for the notes on various members of her family.

[2] In 1775, a year after the repeal of the proscriptive Acts, a similar offer had been made by Gregor MacGregor of Glengyle, but had not been accepted—(*History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. p. 453). Glengyle had been out both in the '15 and the '45. See later articles on *Jacobite Perthshire*.

[3] Colonel Murray had had a varied and interesting career; when only fourteen years of age he had served in Germany during the Seven Years' War as a volunteer in Keith's Highlanders, and at the peace of 1763 had received a commission in the 50th Regiment. Eleven years later he went out as a cadet to India, where he took part in the siege of Tanjore and the conquest of Rohilkand. In 1787 he returned home as a lieutenant-colonel and bought the estate of Napier Rusky in Perthshire from his elder brother. In 1797 he raised the Royal Highland Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, but relinquished the command of this corps on being appointed colonel of the Clan Alpine Fencibles.

[4] *W.O. Miscellany Book*, No. 37. Stewart of Garth says that the letter of service was received by Colonel Murray in December 1798, and as no officers were gazetted before February 1799, it is evident that some months elapsed before the regiment was embodied. A curious point in this connection is that the *Secretary at War's Letter Book*, from which Mr. Fortescue quotes (*Hist. Brit. Army*, vol. iv. p. 944), notes a letter of service issued to "Alex. M'Grigor" on July 31st, 1798, and another, dated September 21st, 1798, to "M'Gregor Murray." Only the earlier letter, however, is extant.

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Sir John MacGregor Murray's youngest brother, Robert,[1] was made lieutenant-colonel, but the major originally appointed was John Lamont—not Colonel Murray's son Alexander, as stated by Garth. Major Lamont received the one commission on the original establishment of the regiment which was to bear with it permanent rank in the Army. A noteworthy point in connection with the Clan Alpine Fencibles is that the men were engaged for service in Europe.[2] On the 24th of May 1799 the regiment was inspected at Stirling by Sir Ralph Abercromby (then commander-in-chief in Scotland), and was passed with 32 supernumeraries [3]—a proof that recruiting had not been found difficult.

The Clan Alpine Fencibles must have left Stirling about the end of June 1799, for on the 3rd of July they were entertained at a public dinner by the Perthshire Militia, then quartered at Ayr.[4] But the Fencibles were destined for Ireland, and by August they had reached Belfast, where they remained until the following summer. On the 22nd of March 1800 colours were presented by Mrs. Murray, wife of the Colonel, after which ceremony the regiment was reviewed by General Drummond.

Garth tells us that in that year the total establishment was increased to 1050, an augmentation which probably dated from the 1st of June, when a second lieutenant-colonel and major were appointed, besides several other officers. The new major was Alexander MacGregor Murray the younger (late captain, 90th Foot), who received permanent rank in the Army. In June 1800, 150 men volunteered to the Line,[5] but according to the same oft-quoted authority the Colonel in spite of this loss succeeded in keeping his regiment at the increased strength.

In June 1800 the regiment moved to Londonderry, where it remained until after peace had been declared.[6] At the end of June 1802, orders for disbandment having been received, the regiment left Londonderry for Belfast, whence it embarked for Stranraer. On the 15th of July it reached Stirling, and on the 24th was disbanded there by General Don. Major Murray was appointed to the 67th or South Hampshire Regiment, and Major Lamont and the Adjutant were placed on half-pay.[7]

Stewart of Garth tells us that from first to last 1230 men passed through

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Robert MacGregor Murray had also served in India, both in the infantry and cavalry of the East India Company. He took part in several campaigns—notably the first Maratha War, in which he did excellent service.

[2] *i.e.* in Great Britain, Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, or the garrison of Gibraltar.

[3] *Caledonian Mercury*. Garth tells us that the regiment mustered 765 rank and file on that day, but this number probably included all ranks. Oddly enough, on the 12th June and 24th July 1799, Col. Murray was authorised to recruit in any part of Great Britain, but this may have been with a view to enabling him to obtain men from counties nearer Ireland, where his regiment was to be stationed.

[4] Atholl charter-room. See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia*, 1797–1907, p. 132.

[5] Colonel Holden's MS. Garth says that in all upwards of 350 men enlisted into the Line.

[6] In the *British Almanack* for 1801 and 1802 the regiment is given as quartered at Belfast, but Colonel Holden's Notes show that this was not the case. In May 1801 there was a detachment at Dunrie Fort on Lough Swilly (letter from an officer, in the possession of Miss Murray MacGregor).

[7] I cannot trace the Quartermaster. Major Murray afterwards served in the 6th or Warwickshire Regiment and the 4th Ceylon Regiment. He was also at one time private secretary to General Sir George Nugent, and rose to be a major-general.

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the ranks of the Clan Alpine Fencibles, about 780 of whom were Highlanders, 30 English or Irish, and the remainder Lowland Scots. He describes Colonel Murray as quick to understand the various characters of the men under his command, and gives a favourable account of the discipline and good feeling in the regiment, stating that for nearly nine-tenths of the men hardly any check was necessary "beyond admonition, and representation of the disgrace they would bring on themselves and their kindred by discreditable conduct."

The story of the Perthshire Fencibles ends with the reduction of the Clan Alpine Regiment, but it should not be forgotten that besides the corps already mentioned, two other battalions of Fencibles were raised during the same period by Perthshire men, though not within the borders of the county.[1] John, fourth Duke of Atholl, raised a regiment of Fencibles in the Isle of Man[2] in February 1793, and a second battalion was added in April 1795 by his brother Lord Henry Murray, who had been one of the original officers of the 90th Regiment. The two battalions of Manx Fencibles were commanded respectively by the Duke and Lord Henry, and both were in existence until the Peace of Amiens, the 1st Battalion being thus not only the earliest, but the longest-lived, of the Fencible regiments raised by Perthshire men.[3] The 2nd Battalion served in Ireland, but it is not known whether either battalion was required to extend its services to Europe.[4]

The Isle of Man was not included in the General Militia Act for England and Wales of 1802, and it was probably on this account that, on the renewal of war in 1803, Lord Henry Murray obtained permission to raise four companies of Fencibles for the defence of the island. In 1804 an augmentation was sanctioned, on condition that the regiment should undertake, if necessary, to serve in Great Britain or Ireland. In 1806 Lord James Murray (second son of the Duke of Atholl) succeeded his uncle in the command of the regiment, and by 1809 the establishment had been increased to ten companies, with a view to the regiment becoming a recruiting ground for the Line. In 1810, however, the Manx Fencibles were reduced to four companies, and with the disbandment of these remaining companies in the following year the last Fencible regiment raised by a Perthshire man came to an end.

[1] A party, however, was recruiting in Perth for the Manx Fencibles in the autumn of 1795, and the published lists of the officers show a few names which suggest a connection with Perthshire. Robert Stewart, yr. of Fincastle, for example, served as a captain in the 2nd Royal Manx Regiment.

[2] The sovereignty of the Isle of Man came into the possession of the Dukes of Atholl in 1736, when the second Duke succeeded to it as heir to his grandmother, Amelia, wife of the first Marquess of Atholl and daughter of James, seventh Earl of Derby, Lord of the Isle of Man.

[3] It was the earliest of the Fencible regiments raised in 1793.—*Hist. Brit. Army*, vol. iv. p. 943.

[4] In 1798 the Duke of Atholl offered to raise another regiment of Fencibles, ten companies strong, for service in Great Britain or Ireland, to be recruited apparently from some English county. The offer was accepted in April 1798 and the Duke was nominated colonel, but nothing further seems to have come of it, probably because at that time he was engaged in organising the Perthshire Militia and Volunteers. The offer may have been made before he was appointed colonel of the Militia (although his commission in the Militia was dated the 23rd of May 1798 his appointment had been approved by the King on the 10th of March).—Atholl charter-room.

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ROYAL CLAN ALPINE FENCIBLE INFANTRY

OFFICERS OF THE REGIMENT WHEN FIRST COMPLETED[1]

RANK.	NAME.	APPOINTED TO REGT.	PROMOTION.	REMARKS.
Colonel .	Alexander MacGregor Murray of Napier Rusky . .	24 Feb. 1799	...	Colonel until 1802.
Lt.-Col. .	Robert MacGregor Murray	,, ,, ,,	...	In regt. ,, ,,
Major . .	John Lamont[2]	7 Sept. ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
Captain .	John MacGregor[3] . . .	24 Feb. ,,	...	Out by 1801.
,, .	Thomas Johnston[4] . . .	25 ,, ,,	...	In regt. until 1802.
,, .	Robert MacGregor of Dalvorair[5]	26 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, .	Charles Grant[6]	27 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, .	Thomas Brown[7]	28 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, .	John M[c]Lean[8]	1 Mch. ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, .	John MacGregor[9] . . .	2 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
Capt.-Lt. .	David Miller[10]	3 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
Lieut. . .	John Monro[11]	24 Feb. ,,	...	Out by April 1800.
,, . .	John Stewart[12]	25 ,, ,,	...	In regt. until 1802.
,, . .	Lachlan M[c]Quarrie . . .	26 ,, ,,	...	Out by 1802.
,, . .	John Taylor	27 ,, ,,	...	In regt. until 1802.
,, . .	Duncan Campbell . . .	28 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Robert Buchanan . . .	1 Mch. ,,	...	Out by 1802.
,, . .	James Gordon	2 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	James Clarke	3 ,, ,,	...	In regt. until 1802.
,, . .	Kenneth Murchison . .	4 ,, ,,	...	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Peter MacGregor[13] . . .	5 ,, ,,	...	Ens., 72nd Foot, 12 July 1800 (?).
,, . .	Duncan MacGregor . . .	6 ,, ,,	...	In regt. until 1802.
Ensign .	Malcolm MacGregor[14] . .	24 Feb. ,,	Lieut., 31 Aug. 1799	Out by 1802.
,, . .	Robert Gilchrist	25 ,, ,,	,, 1 June 1800	In regt. until 1802.
,, . .	John H. M[c]Pherson[15] . .	26 ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Peter MacGregor . . .	27 ,, ,,	,, before 1802	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	John Hedderick	28 ,, ,,	,, 1 June 1800	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Hugh MacGregor[16] . . .	1 Mch. ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,	,, ,, ,, ,,
,, . .	John M[c]Farlane	2 ,, ,,	...	Out by 1801 (?).[17]
,, . .	James S. Chapman . . .	3 ,, ,,	Lieut., 1 June 1800	In regt. until 1802.
Adjutant .	James Dixon[18]	...	...	Out by 21 Dec. 1799.
Qrmr. . .	Munro Ross[19]	10 July 1799	...	Quartermr. until 1802.
Surgeon .	John H. M[c]Pherson . . .	24 Feb. ,,	...	Surgeon ,, ,,

Agents, Messrs. Cox and Greenwood, Craig's Court.

[1] From the *War Office Registers Various*, official lists, 1800-1, *Gazettes*, contemporary almanacks, *History of the Clan Gregor*, and family papers in the possession of Miss Murray MacGregor.

[2] Late captain, half-pay, late 97th Foot. His commission in the Fencibles must have been antedated, as he does not appear in the official lists until January 1801.

[3] Late ensign, Royal Edinburgh Highland Volunteers. [4] Late lieut., half-pay, 34th Foot.

[5] In Aberdeenshire. He was also "fiar" of Easter Drumacharry in Perthshire. Died 1816, aged 80.

[6] Late lt., late 81st Foot. [7] Late ens., late 135th Foot. [8] Late lt., Dumbarton Fenc. Infy.

[9] Late lieutenant, Rothesay and Caithness Fencibles. Eldest son of Duncan MacGregor, who resided at Learan in Rannoch (he belonged to a younger branch of the family of Learagan). John MacGregor was afterwards cashier in the Commercial Bank, Edinburgh, and captain in the Edinburgh Militia. He was the father of General Sir Duncan MacGregor (see his biography, p. 511 *et seq.*).

[10] Commission as captain, but he appears as captain-lieutenant in the official lists and the almanacks. Late lieut., Dumbarton Fencible Infantry. [11] Late lieut., late Ross-shire Fencibles.

[12] Late 2nd lieutenant, Ardvorlich Company, 3rd Regiment (Strathearn Highlanders) of the Perthshire Volunteer Brigade.—Atholl charter-room.

[13] One of the Peter MacGregors—presumably the lieutenant—was a son of Captain MacGregor of Dalvorair, and was appointed ensign in the 72nd Highland Regiment on the 12th July 1800. He is, however, shown as lieutenant in the Clan Alpine Fencibles in the official list for 1801, in the almanacks already quoted, and in the *British Almanack* for 1802. Afterwards served in the Perthshire Militia.

[14] Possibly a younger son of Duncan MacGregor, resident at Learan, who was afterwards a captain in the 78th Regiment. [15] Late lieutenant, North Lowland Fencibles.

[16] Third son of John MacGregor, a member of another junior branch of the family of Learagan. Hugh MacGregor was afterwards a captain in the 79th Regiment, and served with that regiment in the Peninsula.

[17] Not in the official list for 1801, but is shown in the *British Almanack* for 1801 and 1802.

[18] Commission not forthcoming, but is shown as adjutant in the *Gazette*, June 4th, 1799, the *Scots Almanack*, 1800, and the *British Almanack*, 1801-2. William Duff, who was presumably his successor, was appointed 21st December 1790. Dixon was formerly adjutant, half-pay, "Captain Bradshaw's late corps."

[19] Late quartermaster, half-pay, late 102nd Foot.

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THE PERTHSHIRE YEOMANRY, VOLUNTEERS AND LOCAL MILITIA [1]

1794–1902

BY THE EDITOR

THE history of the Perthshire Volunteers dates from the second year of the great war with France—the force, as first established in the county, owing its origin, in the same manner as the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry, to the circular letter already mentioned as having been sent out by Pitt in March 1794.[2] Paragraph 2 of this circular recommended that Volunteer companies should be formed in certain towns, "especially in those situated on or near the sea coast," for purposes of local defence,[3] and on the 28th of March the lieutenants of counties [4] were empowered by Act of Parliament to accept any offers of such companies that might be made, and to grant commissions bearing temporary rank up to and including the rank of lieutenant-colonel.[5] On the 17th of April a further Act was passed,[6] which provided :—

(1) That all members of Volunteer companies or corps which should be called out in case of invasion, or for the suppression of riots and tumults, should receive the same pay as the officers and men of the Regular forces and should

[1] Except where otherwise stated, the portion of this article which deals with events between 1794 and 1827 has been compiled from papers in the Atholl charter-room, supplemented by extracts from contemporary newspapers. Owing to the fact that no records were kept by the Volunteer companies raised in 1859, it has not been easy to collect material for the later portion of the article, and I wish to express my thanks to the many Volunteers of the county, past and present, who have furnished information. I am particularly indebted to Colonel Sir Robert Moncreiffe and Major C. E. A. Milburne (late adjutant of the 4th Volunteer Battalion of the Black Watch), for the assistance they have given me in this matter. All dates of commissions, and most of the dates from 1859 onwards, are from official lists.

[2] See article entitled *The Perthshire Fencible Cavalry*, p. 168, and *note*.

[3] *Annual Register*, 1794. The first paragraph of the circular suggested that Volunteer companies should be raised as an augmentation to the Militia, but as there was no such force in Scotland until 1798—by which time Volunteers were established throughout the country on a separate footing, this proposal does not concern us. Curiously enough, Clode, in his *Military Forces of the Crown* (vol. i. p. 342), writes as if no Volunteer companies had been established independent of the Militia prior to 1802.

[4] The correct designation of the officers commonly known as "lords-lieutenant." To avoid confusion with deputy-lieutenants they will be referred to in the text under the better-known title.

[5] 34 Geo. III. cap. 16.

[6] *Ibid.*, cap. 31.

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be subject to military discipline, but should only be tried by courts-martial composed of their own officers.

(2) That the non-commissioned officers and drummers of such corps might be billeted.

(3) That any discharged Volunteer neglecting to deliver up his arms, accoutrements and clothing, should be fined.

(4) That commissioned officers, if disabled on actual service, should be entitled to half-pay; non-commissioned officers, in the same event, to the benefit of Chelsea Hospital; and widows of commissioned officers killed on service, to a pension for life.

(5) That Volunteers who had attended a specified number of drills should be exempt from the Militia ballot.[1]

Immediate effect was given to this Statute in England, but in Scotland the energies of the newly-appointed lords-lieutenant[2] were at first directed to the raising of troops of Fencible Cavalry, and Volunteer corps were therefore formed rather later than in the sister country. By the early summer of 1794, however, John, fourth Duke of Atholl, lord-lieutenant of Perthshire, had divided the county into thirty districts, for each of which a deputy-lieutenant was appointed, who was to be ready to enrol men under the new Acts and in other ways to assist the Lord-Lieutenant.

The first recorded outcome of these measures was a list drawn up on the 17th of July 1794 by James Robertson of Lude, a deputy-lieutenant, of persons "willing to serve on foot for King and country, according to the instructions received." The list was headed by Lude's second son, John, by Captain Stewart of Fincastle, Lieutenant Thomas Stewart (late of the 77th or Atholl Highlanders), "Mr. Stewart of Shierglas, Mr. Stewart, younger, of Foss, Mr. Robertson of Kindrochet," and nineteen men from Lude, Ballintoul, Kindrochet, Kynachan, and other places in the neighbourhood. This offer, however, did not lead to anything—probably because Volunteers were in the first instance required on the coasts and in the large industrial centres—and no companies were formed in the country districts of Perthshire for upwards of three years afterwards.

But in November 1794 came an offer from a committee of the citizens of Perth, headed by the Provost, James Ramsay, to raise three companies of thirty-eight men each for the defence of Perth and the neighbourhood. The letter in which this offer was communicated to the Lord-Lieutenant mentioned that 125 men had already subscribed their names, and that drilling had commenced on the 7th of November. On the 26th the establishment of two com-

[1] *i.e.* from having to serve in the Militia (or provide a substitute), if drawn in the ballot. They were not exempt from the ballot itself.

[2] As already mentioned in the article entitled *The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, no lords-lieutenant had been appointed in Scotland for thirty-seven years prior to 1794, but on the 17th of March in that year commissions of lieutenancy had been granted for each of the thirty-three counties.

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panies of sixty rank and file each was authorised, and more men having come forward, a third company of similar strength was sanctioned in January 1795. The "encouragement," as it was termed, allowed by Government was as follows:—

The officers and men were to have two days' pay per week, at the same rates as those of the Regular Army; there was to be an adjutant on full pay; and a drummer and fifer on two days' pay a week, besides a drill sergeant on full pay, were to be allowed to each company. An allowance for clothing was to be given every three years at the following rates: £3, 3s. 9d. for a sergeant; £2, 3s. 6d. for a drummer; £1, 11s. 3d. for a corporal; and £1, 9s. 3d. for a private. Firelocks and bayonets were the arms; these and the accoutrements were found by Government, and the officers' commissions were to be free of all charge, except a stamp duty of about 12s. As the Government allowance did not cover the cost of the uniforms, the officers placed all their pay to the credit of a general clothing fund, to which the men also contributed.[1]

The Perth Volunteers on enrolment did not pledge themselves to do more than support the civil magistrates in preserving peace and good order within the town and parish of Perth, and they claimed exemption from the clause in the Volunteer Statute by which they were to be subject to military law.

The uniform proposed by the Provost and his committee was a plain superfine blue frock coat with red cape and white linings. The buttons were to be gilt and were to bear a spread eagle with the motto "Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege" (the arms of the city of Perth[2]). A white kerseymere vest and breeches, white cotton stockings with half-gaiters of black cloth, and a round hat with black feather, were also proposed, and it was suggested that the cartouch boxes should be white, so that they might be a distinguishing mark if the corps should be called out at night.[3]

The title of Royal Perth Volunteers was conferred on the corps, and Captain James Sharp of Kincarachy[4] was appointed major-commandant on the 20th of January 1795. The other officers were—

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[1] Mr. Cowan in his *Ancient Capital of Scotland* (vol. ii. p. 339) says that "the men agreed to serve without pay, and to clothe themselves," and that "the Government eventually agreed to two days' pay weekly." But the papers in the Atholl charter-room show that, although the officers of these companies pocketed no money, pay was issued to all ranks until 1799, in which year the corps agreed to serve without it.

[2] There is no mention of the shield with a lamb, which the eagle bears on his breast.

[3] The uniform described by Mr. Cowan (vol. ii. p. 339) as that worn by the Perth Volunteers differs in only a few details from the one described here. It appears from the *Scots Magazine* for September 1794 that the regiment of Volunteers raised in Edinburgh in that year also wore blue coats, white kerseymere vests and breeches, and round hats with cockades and feathers.

[4] Captain Sharp is believed to have been in the service of the East India Company in his earlier years. Mr. Cowan (vol. ii. p. 338) alludes to him as Captain "Jelf" Sharp, but the additional surname was not assumed by his family until his granddaughter, who succeeded to the estate, married Captain Henry Jelf.

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Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*	*Promotion.*
Captain . .	James Paton[1]	20 Jan. 1795	Major, 11 Jan. 1797.
„ . .	Thomas Hay Marshall, manufacturer	„ „ „	...
„ . .	John Young	„ „ „	...
Lieutenant .	Charles Archer, merchant . . .	„ „ „	Capt., 11 Jan. 1797.
„ .	Thomas Black, merchant . . .	„ „ „	...
„ .	William Wood, merchant . . .	„ „ „	...
Ensign . .	John McEwan[2]	„ „ „	...
„ . .	James Proudfoot, merchant . .	„ „ „	1st Lt., 11 Jan. 1797.
„ . .	Robert Ross, merchant. . . .	„ „ „	„ „ „ „
Adjutant .	Peter McCraw[3]	10 June „	...

We first hear of the Perth Volunteers as being under arms on the 4th of June 1795, on which occasion officers and men marched at noon to the North Inch to fire three volleys for the King's birthday. A few days later, as already mentioned on page 170, they paraded to meet the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry on their march through Perth, and on the same evening they were again under arms to meet the Lord-Lieutenant. The Duke accompanied them to the North Inch and complimented them on the manner in which they performed their drill. On the 21st of August the Volunteers assisted the Ayrshire Light Dragoons to put down a riot caused by an alarm of scarcity of bread, and a letter of thanks was afterwards received by Major Sharp from the Sheriff-Depute of the county, Archibald Campbell, younger, of Clathick, expressing his approbation of the conduct of all ranks during this occurrence.

Though the Volunteers of the city of Perth were the only corps so far actually embodied, it is clear that the men in the country districts were ready to come forward as soon as their services should be wanted. On the 27th of June 1795, for example, twenty-three newly appointed Justices of the Peace—tenant farmers in Stanley and Strathord—sent in their names to the Lord-Lieutenant as being "able and willing to learn the use of arms, and to be enrolled either as Volunteer infantry or cavalry," according as circumstances should require.

On the 4th of November 1795 colours were presented to the Perth Volunteers on the North Inch by the Duke of Atholl and Provost Ramsay, each of whom, we are told, "made a suitable address," and in January 1796 the corps subscribed a sum of money for the wives and families of soldiers and sailors from Perth and the neighbourhood—the first of many instances of a similar generosity which will be mentioned later. On the 1st of September 1796 the Perth Volunteers were reviewed by Major-General Drummond of Strathallan in presence of the Lord-Lieutenant and the Earls of Kinnoull and Darlington.

Some months previously Major Sharp had offered to raise a fourth company,

[1] Sheriff-Clerk and Clerk of the Lieutenancy.

[2] Convener of the Trades. Out of the corps by 1797.

[3] A messenger-at-arms. The name is shown as "McCrane" in the published official lists of the Militia, Fencibles, and Volunteers.

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but the proposal had been declined by Government in August 1796 on the ground that sufficient Volunteer corps had already been formed. Two months later, however, Spain declared war against Great Britain, and it was probably on account of the more serious danger which this involved that the proposed increase of establishment was finally agreed to on the 11th of October. The new company was completed about the end of the year and the corps was then formed into a battalion, Major Sharp being promoted lieutenant-colonel-commandant, and Andrew Keltie, M.D., and the Rev. John Duff, M.A., minister at Kinfauns, being appointed surgeon and chaplain respectively. The promotions mentioned on the previous page were also consequent on the augmentation, and several new officers were appointed—many of them being men who had served in the ranks.

By that time the political situation had become still more threatening. Bonaparte was waging an ever-increasingly victorious campaign in Italy, and a French force under Hoche had attempted a landing in Bantry Bay. Accordingly in January 1797 the Perth Volunteers, among others in Scotland, offered their services for home defence, and during the next six months offers of Volunteer corps and of transport for the conveyance of troops in case of invasion came pouring in to the Lord-Lieutenant of Perthshire. On the 7th of February the parish of Culross made an offer of horses and carts, free of expense, and proposed that all the men in the parish between the ages of fifteen and fifty-five should be enrolled in order to learn the "military exercise," stipulating, however, that they should not be called out of their own deputy-lieutenant's district except in case of an invasion or attempted landing, in which contingency they would serve within the counties of Perth, Fife, and Clackmannan. This proposal was quickly followed by similar offers of transport from the Duke of Atholl's Strathord, Glenalmond, and Tullibardine tenants, Major-General Drummond's tenants at Machany, and the parishes of Blairgowrie, Rattray, Kinloch, and part of Bendochy.[1] In most cases the condition was made that the conveyances should only be utilised within the respective deputy-lieutenants' districts, or one stage further if necessary. By the middle of February the Duke of Atholl had been empowered to offer the Government the services of a company from Culross and of a second battalion from Perth. The strength proposed for the latter was four companies of fifty privates each, and it was suggested that the uniform should be of the same colour as that worn by the 1st Battalion, but that in other respects it should resemble the uniform of the 2nd Regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers.

The same circular letter of March 1794 which had formed the starting-point for the Volunteers and Fencible Cavalry had also proposed that other bodies of cavalry should be formed "within particular counties and districts, to consist of gentlemen and Yeomanry, or such persons as they shall bring forward." No levy money was to be given, and the horses were to be furnished by members

[1] The transport offered by these four parishes amounted in all to 216 carts and 350 horses.

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of the corps, but arms and accoutrements were to be supplied at public expense. Such corps as were formed would act within their own or adjacent counties for the suppression of riots or tumults, and would be liable to serve beyond them in case of invasion. No pay was to be allowed except while on service, under which circumstances they were to be paid as Regular cavalry and were to be liable to the provisions of the Mutiny Act.

By the beginning of 1797 a few corps had been established on the east coast of Scotland in accordance with these regulations, and concurrently with the offer of a Culross company and second Perth battalion, the Lord-Lieutenant communicated to the Secretary of State a proposal to raise four troops of Yeomanry cavalry, "on the plan of the Renfrewshire Yeomanry."[1] The formation of these three corps, however, was not authorised for some months, the Government being employed in drawing up a scheme of defence for Scotland, of which a Militia was to be a prominent feature; and in the meantime the Volunteer movement spread fast, though on somewhat limited terms of service.

At Dunblane, out of a total of 1200 inhabitants, 100 men enrolled themselves, and began drilling on the 2nd of March—a day on which an offer of a company was made from Doune, with a further proposal that the Doune and Dunblane companies should unite to form a corps under the command of Captain Stirling of Keir.[2] On the 6th, 152 volunteers came forward from Strathtay and Grandtully on condition that they should not be called upon to serve beyond the deputy-lieutenant's district except in case of invasion, and then only within the county. On the 11th the tenant-farmers on the Duke of Atholl's Glenalmond, Strathord, and Tullibardine estates followed suit; 70 men on the same day enrolled at Dunkeld; on the 18th a Volunteer corps was being formed at Alyth; and on the 25th, 400 men came forward from the parish of Little Dunkeld.[3]

On the 30th of March a meeting of the freeholders, Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply, and heritors, was held in Perth, the Lord-Lieutenant presiding, at which it was resolved that, if possible, further corps of infantry

[1] The Duke himself appears to have been responsible for this proposal. So far as I can ascertain, no offer to form a corps of Yeomanry was communicated to him until May. See below, p. 193.

[2] Copy of original enrolment (signed by forty-four men) in the possession of Mr. W. Gray, Inspector of Poor, Doune.

[3] Shortly before this a scheme for raising a large body of men (presumably Volunteers) on the clan system had been submitted to the Commander-in-Chief by the Duke of Atholl. It was calculated that 14,232 men in all could be obtained in this manner, and it was proposed to form a Perthshire brigade, 1896 strong, composed as follows:—

Duke of Atholl	630
Struan Robertson	315
Mr. Drummond of Perth	315
MacGregors	212
McNabs	212
Sir John Menzies of Weem	212
Total,	1896

Lord Breadalbane was put down for 530 from Argyllshire. This scheme is said to have been sanctioned by the Duke of York, but it was never carried into effect.

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should be raised under the Volunteer Act, also troops of irregular cavalry; and that, in addition, all able-bodied men should be called upon to enrol themselves to be ready to serve under the Lord-Lieutenant and his deputies in case of invasion, within thirty miles of their homes, with what arms they might possess or might be provided with. Labourers were also to be invited to undertake to act under "persons to be appointed for the purpose," in order, if necessary, to break up the roads and in other ways impede the march of an invader, their services being limited to the county of Perth. The meeting was further of opinion that a Militia should be established in Scotland, and that every assistance should be given to the established banks of the country, especially the Perth Banking Company. Money was to be lodged with the Company as formerly, and their notes were to be accepted in all payments and dealings whatsoever.[1]

These proposals for a general enrolment and for utilising the services of labourers are especially interesting as having foreshadowed measures which were passed by Parliament a year later, and which will be referred to in due course. But the patriotism of all classes in Perthshire was not more remarkable than the enterprise and ability shown by the leading men of the county.

The Duke of Atholl in a letter to the Duke of Portland, then home secretary,[2] informing him of the resolutions passed at the Perth meeting, mentioned that he had given orders for a general preliminary enrolment, and that sixty gentlemen had been appointed to assist the deputy-lieutenants in carrying this out, pending the adoption by Government of a definite scheme of defence. Referring to the resolution with regard to the Militia, the Duke expressed his fear that the establishment of such a force would damp the ardour of the Volunteers, and gave it as his opinion that no plan could be better adapted for utilising the energies of the country than the formation of Volunteer companies.[3] Events were to prove how well the Duke knew his countrymen, but in the meantime the expenses in connection with the Volunteers were evidently considered too great for the services which could be expected of them, and a few days later we find the Duke of Atholl submitting two alternative schemes by which a general enrolment of men in Perthshire might replace the proposed Volunteer corps.

[1] On the 27th of February the Bank of England had stopped cash payments.

[2] Though the Militia and Volunteers, as already mentioned (p. 129, *note*), were then chiefly administered by the Home Office, and the appointment of officers lay with the Home Secretary, application for pay or clothing allowance had to be made to the Secretary at War; arms were obtained from the Board of Ordnance through the Lord-Lieutenant or his deputy; inspections were arranged for by the officer commanding the Military District; questions of military discipline were referred to the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland; and questions concerning the strength and nature of regiments in regard to national defence were dealt with by the Secretary of State for War. In August 1803 the Home Office absorbed the administrative functions of the Secretary of State for War in regard to the Militia and Volunteers.—Atholl and Kinnoull charter-rooms.

[3] The Duke quotes some words which the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, and then secretary of state for war, had used some months previously:—"You might be overrun with half-a-dozen invasions before a Scotch Militia Bill could be agreed upon, formed, passed, and put in train for execution." Dundas's objections, however, were evidently overruled, for the Militia Act was introduced in July 1797.

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Meanwhile all over the county men were enrolling as Volunteers. Early in April came an offer of service from the parishes of Coupar-Angus, Meigle, and Cargill, headed by George Kinloch of Kinloch. The "more opulent" among the Coupar-Angus subscribers offered to fund their pay in order to help their comrades to procure uniforms, and drilling, we are told, had been going on there since the 15th of March. On the 14th of May a list was sent in of 167 men from Balquhidder and Loch Earn-side who agreed to serve as Volunteers under the usual limitations of place, but without mention of pay. The condition was imposed that "no Volunteer shall be called out to drill but when he pleases," and the subscribers further agreed that "when we turn out, none of us shall go near the ale-houses in the country, under the penalty of 5s. sterling as often as we transgress!" Evidently the corps was already in a forward state, for the list is attested by the Rev. Duncan Stewart, minister at Balquhidder, who states that he saw the above-mentioned "167 soldiers, looking good men, upon the Parade last Friday in the Highland dress," and from the *Scots Magazine* for May 1797 it appears that the men had been enrolled by William Stewart of Ardvorlich, one of the deputy-lieutenants, and that in the course of a few days they had reached a total of 200. The uniform, which was supplied at the men's own expense, was a short dark blue coat with scarlet "neck," and kilt and plaid of the Black Watch tartan.

Some time also during the course of this year twenty men in Clunie and Blackhill were enrolled by Adam Stewart of Clunie.

Between the 22nd of May and the 15th of June 1797 the long-delayed sanction was given for the 2nd Perth Battalion and the Culross and Coupar-Angus Companies, also for the joint corps from Dunblane and Doune, the Government having apparently decided to allow the enrolment of a certain proportion of Volunteers. The field and company officers of the new Perth battalion were :[1]—

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Appld. to Perth Vols.*
Lt.-Col. Cdt. .	Alexander Fechney of Ardargie, Provost	...	3 May 1797.
Major . . .	Thomas Hay Marshall[2] . . .	Capt., 1st Perth Vols.	„ „ „
Captain . . .	Thomas Black	1st Lt., „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . . .	William Wood	„ „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . . .	James Proudfoot	„ „ „ „	29 Aug. 1798.

Alexander Chalmers of Grangemount[3] and George Kinloch of Kinloch were

[1] On account of space it is impossible to give the names of all the officers of this and other battalions subsequently established. A complete list of the original officers of the battalion previously raised has only been included because it was the first Volunteer corps which existed in the county. On pp. 200–2 will be found a complete list of the original officers of the Yeomanry.

[2] Thomas Marshall, Thomas Black, William Wood, and James Proudfoot, are shown in the official list for 1797 as holding commissions in both Perth battalions. Thomas Hay Marshall was Provost 1800–1801, and 1804–1805; Thomas Black, 1798–1799.

[3] Commission dated 15th June 1797. He died in the summer of 1798.

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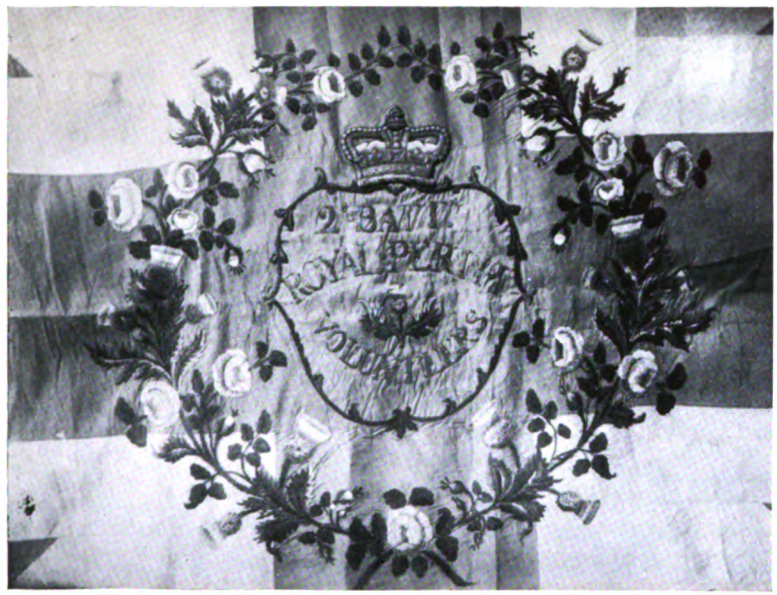

Royal colour, showing the first Union. Embroidered. On an ornamental shield azure, edged or, a thistle proper, accompanied with the title, "2d Battn. Royal Perth Volunteers," and above, the crown; all within a Union wreath of roses and thistles. Depth, 6 feet; breadth, 6 feet 6 inches.

Regimental colour (blue). On an oval shield an eagle displayed with two heads or, surmounted on the breast with an escutcheon gules, charged with the Holy Lamb passant reguardant, staff and cross argent, with the banner of St. Andrew; all within a double tressure flory counter flory argent; being the arms of the Royal Burgh of Perth. Underneath is the motto, "Pro rege lege et grege." On a white escroll surrounding the shield is the title, "2d Battn. Royal Perth Volunteers," surmounted by a crown; all within a Union wreath of roses and thistles. The colours are in perfect preservation, and the embroidery, which is the same on both sides of each colour, is an exquisite example of the work of the period.

CENTRES OF COLOURS OF THE 2ND BATTALION ROYAL PERTH VOLUNTEERS, 1797

(*Preserved at Bonhard*)

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appointed to the command of the Culross and Coupar-Angus Companies respectively, and the captains for the Dunblane and Doune corps were James Stirling of Keir,[1] commandant, and Robert Campbell.

In July the Perth Volunteers were reviewed by Major-General Alexander Hay, who, it is said, was extremely pleased with their discipline and appearance, and in August the 2nd Battalion had reached a strength of 227, all ranks.

Difficulties had evidently lain in the way of the formation of the proposed troops of Yeomanry, for no steps appear to have been taken in the matter until some three months after the date of the Lord-Lieutenant's offer to Government. Finally, however, a meeting was held at Perth on the 23rd of May 1797, with Mungo Murray of Lintrose as preses, at which thirty-seven "Heritors, Tenants, and others residing within the Eight Districts in the Neighbourhood of Perth," headed by Mungo Murray of Lintrose, John Drummond of Gairdrum, Ebenezer Oliphant of Condie, and Alexander Macduff of Bonhard, made an offer to serve as irregular cavalry under the Lord-Lieutenant or such officers as he might appoint, free of all expense to Government except that of providing pistols and sabres. In case of invasion the subscribers undertook to extend their services to the whole of the counties of Perth, Fife, and Angus, on the understanding that at other times they should only serve within their own districts.[2] The proposal was at once communicated to the Lord-Lieutenant, and by the 1st of June a corps of Yeomanry seems to have been in existence, for it was receiving orders, along with some of the Volunteer infantry, "to aid and assist all civil magistrates" in apprehending persons who had been engaged in "treasonable and rebellious proceedings."[3] No Yeomanry cavalry, however, was officially sanctioned in Perthshire until the following year, nor was any further increase in the Volunteer force authorised—the reasons probably being that the proposed area of service was too limited, and that the establishment of a Scots Militia had by that time been decided upon. So far also as is known there were no further enrolments in the county during 1797 except on the 12th of September, when, during the riots caused by the enforcement of the Militia Act, sixty-four tenants and residents at Blair Atholl and Struan made an offer to Robertson of Lude to enrol themselves as Volunteers—a step which might have been prompted by a wish to escape the ballot.

We get glimpses of the existing Volunteers during the Militia Riots. Most of the Regular cavalry quartered at Perth having been ordered to different parts of the county, their duties were performed alternately by the 1st and 2nd Battalions, and at Coupar-Angus Mungo Murray of Lintrose was obliged to call out the Volunteers to disperse a mob which had come from Meigle to attack his house. The Volunteers took nine of the rioters and escorted them to Perth. We also read that the Coupar-Angus and Perth Volunteers offered to go to Blair Atholl to keep the peace there, and that forty of the men who had volunteered from Strathord, though not yet officially sanctioned as a corps, marched to Perth

[1] Late lieutenant, 11th Dragoons. [2] Kinnoull charter-room. [3] Atholl charter-room.

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under Captain Charles Stewart[1] and James Stobie[2] to receive arms, and were played through the town by the band of the Perth Volunteers. The officers and some of the men had already ordered uniforms, and the question of providing both uniforms and pay for those who were not well off was under consideration.[3]

The Duke of Atholl, in reporting the Militia Riots to the Home Secretary, strongly urged the formation of more Volunteer companies and the temporary suspension of the ballot in the Highlands of Perthshire, in order to see whether the necessary quota of men could not be raised voluntarily, or until the people should have had time to learn that the Act had worked well in other parts of Scotland, but his advice was disregarded.

In November a sermon was preached to the 1st Battalion of Perth Volunteers at the East Church by the Rev. John Duff, and a collection was afterwards made for the benefit of such indigent soldiers' and sailors' families as were residing in the parish. In addition to the sum collected in the church, the officers and men of the 1st Battalion gave twenty-five guineas from their regimental funds for the same patriotic purpose.

Towards the close of 1797, in spite of the great naval victories which had been won by Jervis and Duncan in the course of the year, the spectre of invasion once more loomed on the horizon. Austria, defeated, had made her peace with France, and the entire energies of the Directory were now turned against Great Britain. From the end of November 1797 therefore, until the summer of 1798, a series of Acts was passed relating to the defence of the country, and the patriotism shown by the people at large was remarkable. The contributions made by some of the Perthshire Fencible regiments to the war loan issued by Pitt in 1798 have already been mentioned; it must also be recorded that early in February of that year the 1st Battalion of the Royal Perth Volunteers gave five hundred guineas to this fund instead of buying new uniforms—the corps, we are told, being the first to come forward in such a manner. A few days later the Corporation of Perth subscribed £500 for the same purpose, and during April and May a general collection was made throughout Perthshire for a defence fund which was to remain at the disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant. By the 8th of May over £2100 had been paid in—a sum which only included the contributions of twenty-four parishes out of a total of seventy-nine; one deputy-lieutenant's district; the properties of three of the less wealthy heritors of the county; and two personal subscriptions. The total contributed by the county must have been far in excess of the sum named. It is possible that the money may have been partly subscribed for the benefit of the Volunteers raised under the scheme which is described below.

Throughout the first three months of the year 1798 the Government were

[1] Afterwards of Shierglas. At that time tenant in Over Benchill Farm, Strathord.

[2] Factor to the Duke of Atholl at Strathord. Resided at Marlehall. Compiler of the well-known map of Perthshire.

[3] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. pp. 171, 177.

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busy with plans for the defence of Great Britain, and the results of their labours are to be seen in a Statute passed in April,[1] and in a circular letter sent immediately afterwards by Dundas to the lords-lieutenant. These documents show that an attempt was being made to assign to every man his duties in case of invasion. Measures had previously been taken to procure returns of every one between the ages of sixteen and sixty not already engaged in a military capacity. These returns were now to be sent in, as well as lists of all the boats and barges available on the rivers and canals.

Volunteer cavalry and infantry Associations were to be formed for limited service; corps of Volunteer cavalry were to be raised on the same allowances as the Yeomanry, and corps of Volunteer infantry which should be available for service within the various military districts into which the country was divided.

The lords-lieutenant were also to draw up lists of those who would be ready to act as pioneers to a defending force or to destroy the roads and bridges in front of an invader. Each parish was to make a return of its live stock, horses, carts, supplies, forage, and of the quantity of corn that could be ground in its mills in a week; depôts were to be selected to which the cattle would be driven on the approach of an enemy; and finally, places of safety were to be appointed for the women and children, care being taken that the routes by which the latter were conveyed should not be those required for the transport of troops.[2]

In this comprehensive manner did Pitt's Ministry attempt to grapple with the dangers of the situation, and such returns as are extant show that Perthshire responded nobly to the call. From all parts of the county came long lists of men able and willing to serve as labourers or in Armed Associations, and corps of Volunteer cavalry and infantry soon sprang into existence.[3]

[1] 38 Geo. III. cap. 27.

[2] *Caledonian Mercury*, 19th April 1798, and the returns sent in to the Duke of Atholl. Mr. Berry in his *History of the Volunteer Infantry* (p. 61) suggests that the term "Association" was first applied to the forces raised under the 38 Geo. III. cap. 27, by Sheridan, in a speech made in the House of Commons on the 20th of April. But the word is found in the version of Dundas's circular which appears in the number of the *Caledonian Mercury* here quoted.

[3] And yet Dr. J. F. Bright, in his *History of England*, wrote that the war of 1793–1802 differed from that which followed it in that it was "undertaken in the interest of aristocracy and property, in a panic of fear of the growth of the liberty of the people"; whereas in 1803 "the whole nation was driven to defend itself from the aggressions of a gigantic and all-absorbing ambition." Though the motives stated by Dr. Bright may have had something to do with the original declaration of war in 1793, I think the number of Volunteer corps formed, and the money subscribed for various patriotic purposes, all over Great Britain, in the years 1797–1798, may be taken as showing that the nation as a whole had by that time thoroughly realised the necessity for the war. Dr. Bright lays stress on the Volunteer movement of 1803, but entirely ignores the one which preceded the Peace of Amiens. Though, as will be shown later, the majority of the Perthshire Volunteers of 1803 offered their services before they had heard of the different Acts passed in that year tending to compulsory service, yet no doubt these greatly stimulated the movement as a whole, and I think myself

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The pay and allowances were as follows:—For the Yeomanry and Volunteer cavalry, constant pay to one sergeant and one trumpeter in each troop, with the same allowances for themselves and their horses as were granted to the sergeants and trumpeters in the Regular cavalry.

An allowance for clothing and appointments at the rate of £3 per annum for three years to each man. This sum might be drawn in advance, if necessary.

Twelve carbines to each troop. To each man a pistol, a broadsword, a sword-belt, a cartridge-box and strap, a waist-belt, and an allowance not exceeding 14s. 2d. for holsters.[1]

By an Act[2] passed on the 1st of June 1798 it was provided that non-commissioned officers and men of the Yeomanry cavalry, when assembling for exercise, might be billeted, and that each man so assembling should receive 2s. a day for himself and 1s. 4d. a day for his horse.[3] Every yeoman who rode his own horse, and every person providing a horse for a yeoman, was to escape the taxation otherwise due for that horse, and no tolls were to be exacted from yeomen going to, or returning from, the places of exercise. The period of training was not to exceed twenty days.

It was evidently found impossible to increase the Volunteer infantry if the same pay and allowances as formerly were to be given. The force was therefore divided into two classes which served under different terms:—

Volunteer corps raised before the 17th of January 1798 were continued on the same pay and allowances as those given to the Perth Volunteers in 1794, with the exception that one officer (if from half-pay), and one sergeant, in each company, were to be on constant pay, such pay, however, never to exceed that of a captain. The other members of the corps were to be paid for the days of exercise only. Three hours were in future to be reckoned equal to one day, and, as formerly, two days of exercise were to be allowed in a week—"or a number of hours in different days equivalent thereto."

For Volunteer corps raised after the 17th of January 1798:—"Constant pay (not exceeding that of a captain) to one officer of each company, if taken from

that, so far at least as Scotland was concerned, the spirit shown by the men who volunteered in the early months of 1797 was finer than that of any later Volunteers of that age, for as no Scots Militia was as yet established, they can have been influenced by no wish to escape the ballot.

[1] From a letter dated the 31st July 1799 from Henry Dundas to Lord Kinnoull it appears that corps of Yeomanry raised after the 15th of January 1798 received from Government neither carbines, cartridge-boxes, straps, waist-belts, nor allowance for holsters (Kinnoull charter-room). No hint of this distinction is to be found in the paper from which the terms stated in the text are taken (and which is dated "Parliament Street, 24th September 1798"), and it appears probable that the reduction of allowance to the later corps was an afterthought.

[2] 38 Geo. III. cap. 51.

[3] The persons to whom this allowance was to be granted were designated in the Act "Volunteer cavalry men" or "Persons belonging to any Corps or Troops of Volunteer Cavalry"—a specification which did not include officers. The daily pay of the private of the Regular cavalry was 2s. a day, but this sum included 9d. for a horse.—*History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 936.

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the half-pay, or if he has been engaged in any military line which does not entitle him to half-pay, he will be entitled to an allowance equivalent to the half-pay of whatever commission he may hold in the company, as long as he continues in it."

Constant pay to one sergeant in each company.

The rest of the officers, non-commissioned officers and men, to be paid as before, but for one day of exercise only in a week.

Arms and accoutrements (a belt, pouch, and sling), to be provided as formerly, but only £1 to be allowed to each man for clothing.

Volunteer corps consisting of ten companies, and engaging to serve in any part of the military district, to be allowed an adjutant on constant pay.[1]

Officers and men of Yeomanry and Volunteer corps were exempt from the tax on hair-powder,[2] but all pay was subject to a deduction of 2½ per cent. for agency.[3]

The Volunteer cavalry and infantry Associations were only supplied by Government with arms and accoutrements.[4]

Scottish Volunteers enrolled subsequent to the 17th of January 1798 were not exempt from the Militia ballot until May 1799,[5] and until this privilege was accorded them, many were the representations on the subject which the Duke of Atholl made to the Government.

In March the Volunteers raised under the old terms were invited to extend their services to the military district to which Perthshire had been allotted;[6] a ready assent was given by the 2nd Perth Battalion and by the three companies raised in the county—the Culross and Dunblane men even offering their services for any part of Great Britain, in case of invasion—but the 1st Perth Battalion preferred to remain within the area originally fixed.

[1] Adjutants were afterwards allowed to corps consisting of as few as four companies. These terms, as already mentioned, are from an official circular (in the Atholl charter-room) dated "Parliament Street, 24th September 1798." They are also to be found in *The British Volunteer, or a General History of the Formation and Establishment of the Volunteer and Associated Corps* (1799), with the exception that no mention is made therein of the Yeomanry, nor of the £1 clothing allowance, and that apparently no constant pay above that of a subaltern was to be given to officers serving in the later Volunteer Corps. The terms given by Mr. Berry are, I think, taken from this work, but from his rendering of them (*History of the Volunteer Infantry*, p. 70), one is led to infer that two officers in a company might be allowed constant pay, instead of only one. He does not seem to have realised the distinctions made between Volunteer corps raised before and after the date mentioned; refers to the second rate of pay as that given to the Volunteer Associations; and says that the officers of the Cavalry Associations were to receive "Yeomanry Cavalry allowance and assistance" (p. 65).

[2] Atholl charter-room.

[3] When the Act 39 Geo. III. cap. 35 was passed. By cap. 14 of the same Act (passed in January 1799) members of Volunteer infantry and cavalry corps and associations had been exempted from the ballot for the ordinary and supplementary Militia of England and Wales. Mr. Berry overlooks this injustice to the Volunteers of 1798.

[4] *i.e.* the Eastern District of Scotland, at that time commanded by Major-General Campbell of Monzie. This district included Perthshire, Forfarshire, Fife, the Lothians, Roxburghshire, and Berwickshire.

[5] 35 Geo. III. cap. 49 and 112.

[6] Official circular of 24th September 1798.

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It does not appear that the extension of service deterred any Volunteers from enrolling themselves, but there was a good deal of ill-feeling about the distinctions drawn between the two classes of Volunteer infantry—particularly with regard to the clothing allowance. The new terms, however, although known in outline during the early summer of 1798, do not appear to have been published in their entirety until some months later, and in the meantime the Volunteer force increased fast.

By January 1798 the Strathord Volunteers had increased to eighty and had commenced drilling twice a week. This corps was therefore the first one sanctioned in the course of the year. Another offer which probably preceded the publication of the Act of the 1st of June was one made by thirty-one tenants in the Carse of Gowrie, who agreed to serve as a troop of Yeomanry Cavalry without pay and mounted at their own expense, arms being provided by Government. Their services were to be limited under ordinary circumstances to the county, but in case of invasion they undertook to extend them to Fife and Angus, or in the event of an actual landing, to any part of Scotland. It is interesting to note the extension (apparently voluntary) of the area of service suggested the previous year.

On the 28th of April a Longforgan company was offered by George Paterson of Castle Huntly, and this was quickly followed by the formation of companies at Errol, Kinfauns, and Inchture. At the end of May, David Kinloch of Gourdie had 180 Volunteers enrolled in the parishes of Caputh and Clunie,[1] and by the 20th of June so many offers had come in that the Lord-Lieutenant was able to recommend the establishment of three troops of Yeomanry Cavalry and a Volunteer infantry brigade. These proposals were no sooner accepted than one company was offered by Francis Grant of Kilgraston, and four by Major-General Robertson of Lawers. It was proposed that the latter should be raised on the estates of Lawers, Strageath, Ardvorlich, and Comrie; that they should form part of the Volunteer brigade, and be styled the Strathearn Highlanders. Comrie and Lochearnhead were to be the rendezvous, and it was suggested that the Highlanders in the regiment should wear kilts, and the Lowlanders pantaloons. The Duke had previously expressed a wish that the uniform of the Perthshire Volunteers should be the same as that of other existing Volunteer corps, and General Robertson, in the letter containing the offer of the Strathearn battalion, mentions that several of the men had already got blue jackets. From this it appears probable that a dress somewhat similar to that worn by the Edinburgh and Perth Volunteers in 1794 had been adopted as a general rule for the force, and that the owners of these jackets had served in the Balquhidder and Loch Earn-side corps of the previous year.

The first of the three troops of Yeomanry Cavalry now authorised was raised in the Carse of Gowrie, and was probably the outcome of the offer made by the thirty-one tenants from that district. By the 16th of July this troop, fifty-two

[1] No separate corps appears to have been formed from these men, nor can I find Gourdie's name among the officers of the regiments afterwards authorised.

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strong, had assembled under the command of the Hon. Charles Kinnaird.[1] The other two troops were raised in Strathearn about the same time by John Drummond of Gairdrum and Lawrence Oliphant of Gask respectively,[2] John Drummond being appointed major-commandant. On the 19th of July, however, the Lord-Lieutenant wrote to the Earl of Kinnoull, suggesting that he should raise a fourth troop and that the whole should be united under his command as a county corps. Lord Kinnoull at once accepted the proposal, but as Captain Kinnaird's men at first preferred to keep their separate identity, the original establishment of the "Perthshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry" was three troops.

On the 21st of July Peter Murray Thriepland of Fingask, with nineteen of his tenants, "and others," made offer of his services, but nothing appears to have come of this, though possibly the men may have enrolled in one of the infantry companies already formed in the Carse.

This month also came an offer from James, Lord Perth, to raise a regiment of four companies—two from Callander and two from Muthill—which should be dressed in green and styled the "Loyal Foresters." This corps became the fourth regiment of the infantry brigade, which was completed soon afterwards by the formation of a fifth or "Atholl" Battalion. On the 30th of July an offer came from Crieff and Monzievaird, through Sir William Murray of Ochtertyre, to raise a company which should act independently of the Strathearn Highlanders. A fortnight later, however, Sir William wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant that the proposal had fallen to the ground, owing to the wish of the Crieff people to raise a company by themselves, but their intention does not appear to have been carried into effect.

For six weeks prior to the harvest the four Carse of Gowrie companies were allowed to drill three days a week, in order that they might the sooner become efficient, and that their work might be uninterrupted in the busy season. These four companies were embodied in June, and on the 31st of July were inspected by the Lord-Lieutenant and Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Abercromby, at that time second-in-command on the staff in Scotland.[3]

Owing to the harvest little could be done with regard to the organisation and training of Lord Kinnoull's corps of Yeomanry before October, but on the 5th of that month the first public drill of the regiment took place at Perth. Sergeants were lent by the Commanding Officer of the Rutlandshire Fencible Cavalry (then quartered at Perth), and it was arranged that there should be a regimental drill at Perth once a week, besides weekly drills at the headquarters of the three troops, *i.e.* Dupplin, Perth, and Gask. Attendance at the regi-

[1] Eldest surviving son of George, seventh Lord Kinnaird. Succeeded his father as eighth Lord Kinnaird, 1805.

[2] I cannot trace any connection between these two troops and the corps of irregular cavalry proposed in May 1797. Papers in the Kinnoull charter-room explicitly state that Major Drummond's and Captain Oliphant's troops were raised in June and July 1798. The earlier corps probably had only a brief existence, owing to the lack of encouragement from Government.

[3] A younger brother of Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland.

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mental drill was to be obligatory, and on these occasions each man was to take his place in the ranks of his own troop, but the men might attend the troop drills most convenient to them. The engagement was for three years, and the £9 for clothing and appointments was drawn in advance. The full-dress uniform consisted of a blue jacket with velvet facings, and trimmed with silver lace, strings, and tassels (the officers wearing epaulets); a vest, presumably white; a black stock; leather breeches; and a helmet adorned with a feather, a silk bow, and tassel. A flounce (*i.e.* shabraque) covered the saddle, and holsters,[1] overalls, and a velvet "drilling jacket" were worn for undress. The trumpeters were dressed in scarlet.[2]

On the 29th of October the "Perthshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry" was inspected by the Lord-Lieutenant, and by the 6th of November Lord Kinnoull was able to report that he had raised his third troop, though it was not until the 21st that this troop was officially sanctioned. On the same date authority was given to raise the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Regiments of the infantry brigade, as well as the Kilgraston Company—a permission which came very late in the day.

By the end of November the Volunteer force in Perthshire had reached the strength shown in the table on the following page, which has been compiled from a return sent in to Henry Dundas by the Duke of Atholl.[3] The officers given in this table are all shown in the return, but the dates of their commissions have been added from official sources. As only the officers commanding corps are mentioned in the table, a list is subjoined showing the original officers of the Yeomanry and the company officers of the Volunteer battalions. It will be observed that, as at the present day, each company represented a definite locality.

PERTHSHIRE GENTLEMEN AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Commission dated*
Lieut.-Col. . .	Robert, 9th Earl of Kinnoull (D.)[4]	24 Sept. 1798.
Major . . .	John Drummond of Gairdrum (P.)	25 July „
Captain . . .	Laurence Oliphant of Gask[5] (G.)	„ „ „

[1] The officers and non-commissioned officers' flounces appear to have been made of white bear-skin, and the men's of black bear-skin or goat-skin edged with black leather.

[2] The notes with regard to the uniform of the Yeomanry are from papers in the Kinnoull charter-room. The uniform worn by the Carse of Gowrie Yeomanry in 1798 is said to have been slightly different. At Fingask there is a short red jacket with white piping, silver shoulder-cords, and three rows of buttons, which presumably belonged to a trumpeter. The buttons are round and show a crown and the letters "P. Y. C." There is also at Fingask a leather helmet of the kind worn at that date by Yeomanry. On the left side there is a place for a hackle, and on the right a metal badge showing a thistle and the motto, "Pro aris et focis." This may have been the helmet worn by the Perthshire Yeomanry, though there is nothing to show that any of the Threiplands ever served in the regiment.

[3] The return is only dated "1798," but I believe it to have been sent in shortly after the receipt of the official letter of the 21st November above referred to.

[4] The letters after the officers' names denote the troops to which they severally belonged —"Dupplin," "Perth," and "Gask."

[5] Late captain, Perthshire Fencible Cavalry. Appears in the published official list of 1807 as Laurence "Blair" Oliphant.

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TABLE SHOWING THE PERTHSHIRE YEOMANRY AND VOLUNTEERS, NOVEMBER 1798

Name of Corps.	Date of Offer to Government.	Commanding Officer.	Commission Dated	Establishment.						Effectives.				Extent of Service in Case of Invasion.
				Yeo. Cav.			Vol. Infy.			Yeo. Cav.		Vol. Infy.		
				No. of Troops.	Troop Estab.	Total.	No. of Coys.	Coy. Estab.	Total.	No. of Troops.	Strength.	No. of Coys.	Strength.	
1st Batt. Royal Perth Volunteers	18 Nov. 1794 20 Jan. 1795 6 Aug. 1796	Lt.-Col.-Comdt. James Sharp of Kincarachy	11 Jan. 1797				2 1 1	60[1] 60 60	240			4	240	Town and Neighbourhood of Perth. Military District.
2nd Batt. Royal Perth Volunteers	14 April 1797	Lt.-Col.-Comdt. Alex. Fechney of Ardargie (Provost)	3 May ,,				4	50	200			4	200	
Coupar Angus Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt. George Kinloch of Kinloch	22 ,, ,,				1	120	120			1	110	,,
Dunblane and Doune[2] Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Comdt. James Stirling of Keir	1 June ,,				2	50	100			2	100	,,
Culross[3] Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt. Robert Bruce Dundas of Blair	29 Aug. 1798				1	60	60			1	60	,,
Strathord Volunteers	16 April 1798	Capt. Charles Stewart	26 July ,,				1	80	80			1	76	,,
Carse of Gowrie Yeo. Cav.	20 June ,,	Capt. the Hon. Charles Kinnaird	29 July ,,	1	50	50				1	44			,,
Perthshire Yeo. Cavalry.	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col.-Cdt., Robert, Earl of Kinnoull	24 Sept. ,,	3	50[4]	150				3	103			,,
Longforgan Volunteers[5]	,, ,, ,,	Capt. George Paterson of Castle Huntly	25 July ,,				1	80	80			1	76	,,
Errol Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt. Robert Drummond of Megginch	,, ,, ,,				1	80	80			1	76	,,
Kinfauns Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt. Thomas Hunter of Glencarse	,, ,, ,,				1	80	80			1	76	,,
Inchture Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt. George, Lord Kinnaird	29 Aug. ,,				1	80	80			1	76	,,
Perthshire Vol. Brigade. 1st or Strathmore and Stormont Battalion	,, ,, ,,	Lt.-Col.-Comdt. Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie	25 July ,,				4	60	240			4	210	,,
2nd or Caledonian Regiment	,, ,, ,,	Capt. Thomas Palliser[6]	26 ,, ,,				2	60	120			2	120	,,
3rd Regt. or Strathearn Highlanders	July ,,	Lt.-Col.-Comdt. Major-Gen. A. Robertson of Lawers	14 Aug. ,,				4	60	240			4	240	,,
4th Regt. or Loyal Foresters	Aug. ,,	Lt.-Col.-Comdt. James, Lord Perth	20 ,, ,,				4	60	240			4	240	,,
5th or Atholl Batt.	,, ,, ,,	Capt. James Robertson of Lude Capt. James Stewart Capt. Henry Butter of Faskally Capt. Alex. Stewart, yr. of Balnakeilly	,, ,, ,,				4	60	240			4	240	,,
Kilgraston Volunteers	,, ,, ,,	Capt.-Comdt. Francis Grant of Kilgraston[7]	1 Aug. ,,				1	120	120			1	110	,,
			Total.	4	...	200	36	...	2320	4	147	36	2250	

Agent, Mr. Humphrey Donaldson, Invalid Office, Whitehall.

[1] The figures given under the headings of Troop or Company Establishment, or Strength, refer in most cases to "rank and file," *i.e.* corporals and privates; in some cases to privates only. The dotted line divides the Volunteer infantry corps receiving the two different rates of pay and allowances described on pp. 196–7. [2] Referred to as "Dunblane" only in the official lists and the Lord-Lieutenant's return. [3] Later attached to the Clackmannan Volunteers.

[4] In January 1799 reduced to forty rank and file. Each troop included one Regular and three Yeomanry sergeants, a quartermaster (sergeant), a trumpeter, and three corporals (counted as rank and file). The Regular sergeant of Lord Kinnoull's troop acted as quartermaster and adjutant, an officer, however, being appointed nominal adjutant in order that he might lend his authority to the sergeant-major. Kinnoull charter-room.

[5] In the official lists published in 1800 and 1801 the Longforgan, Errol, and Kinfauns Companies appear as a "Carse of Gowrie" corps, no officer, however, being shown as commanding the whole. The Inchture Company must have ceased to exist by then, for it is not mentioned.

[6] Factor to the Duke of Atholl at Dunkeld. The Duke was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the Caledonian Regiment on the 2nd of May 1800.

[7] Had served as a lieutenant-colonel in Jamaica.

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PERTHSHIRE GENTLEMEN AND YEOMANRY CAVALRY.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Comm. dated*
Lieutenant . .	James Patterson of Carpow (P.)	25 July 1798.
„ . .	Alexander Moncrieff of Barnhill (G.)	„ „ „
„ . .	Ebenezer Oliphant of Newton and Condie (D.)	24 Sept. „
Cornet . . .	Alexander Murray of Ayton (P.)	25 July „
„ . . .	Rev. John Inglis of Ecclesiamagirdle (D.)[1] .	24 Sept. „
„ . . .	Peter Small (G.)[2]	6 Dec. „
Chaplain . .	James Beatson	24 Sept. „
Surgeon . . .	George Moncrieff	„ „ „

CARSE OF GOWRIE TROOP OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

Captain . . .	Hon. Charles Kinnaird	29 August 1798.
Lieutenant . .	John Lee Allen of Errol	„ „ „
Cornet . . .	Charles Hunter of Seaside	„ „ „

PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEER BRIGADE

1ST (OR STRATHMORE AND STORMONT) BATTALION.

Locality.	*Company Officer.*	*Comm. dated*
Blairgowrie .	Lt.-Col. Cdt. Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie[3] .	25 July 1798.
Rattray . . .	Major John Rattray of Craighall[4]	„ „ „
Alyth	Captain Geo. Cockburn Knight of Jordanstone[5] .	„ „ „
Meigle . . .	Captain James Rattray[6] (of Arthurstone?) . . .	...

[1] Minister at Tibbermuir. He had been one of the signatories to the proposal made in May 1797 for raising a troop of Yeomanry cavalry, and was appointed to the regiment *vice* Thomas Young of Huntingtower, who resigned in his favour. Cornet Inglis resigned on the 14th of October 1799, on his preferment to the Old Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh. When intimating his resignation he expressed the hope that if in future he should happen to be in Perthshire at a time when the corps was drilling, he might be allowed to fall into the ranks. Lord Kinnoull appears to have sanctioned his retaining the honorary rank of cornet. Kinnoull charter-room.

[2] Resident in Perth. He appears as "Patrick" Small on the paper of May 1797. The names Peter and Patrick appear at that date to have been regarded as synonymous. Other signatories to the paper of May 1797 (besides those mentioned on page 193), were Lieutenants Patterson and Moncrieff.

[3] Son of William Macpherson (a first cousin of Ewen Macpherson of Cluny), who was killed at the battle of Falkirk. Allan Macpherson was only three or four years old when he lost his father, and along with a younger brother, John (afterwards a colonel in the East India Company's Service), he was brought up in Badenoch by an uncle, the father of James Macpherson, the translator of Ossian. When quite a lad he joined Fraser's Highlanders (apparently as a volunteer, or as a private, for his name does not appear in the *Army Lists*), and served at the capture of Quebec. At the peace of 1763 he was given a cadetship in the East India Company's Service, and served in India until about 1787, when he returned home and bought Newton of Blairgowrie from Thomas Graham of Balgowan. He became a lieutenant-colonel in the Company's Service in 1789. (Notes supplied by Mrs. Macpherson of Blairgowrie House.) The papers in the Atholl charter-room show that Lieut.-Colonel Allan Macpherson was a zealous commanding officer. [6] Died, 1799.

[4] Late captain, 49th Foot. He was one of several Perthshire men who served in that regiment while General Græme of Gorthie was colonel. Charles Moray of Abercairny was another (see list of officers of the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry, p. 175).

[5] Out by April 1800. Date of commission unknown, but presumably the same as the others.

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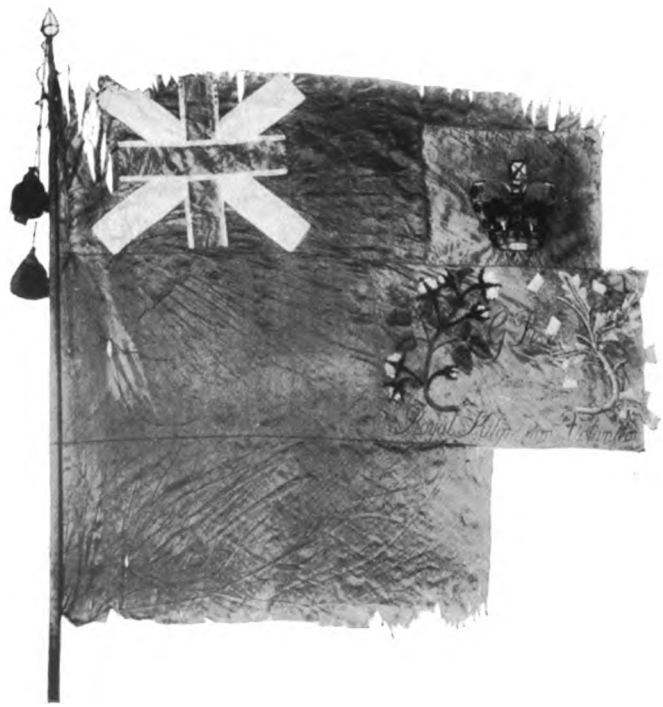
HEAD-DRESS OF THE DUNKELD COMPANY OF THE 2ND OR CALEDONIAN REGIMENT OF THE PERTHSHIRE VOLUNTEER BRIGADE, 1798–1802

Preserved at Blair Castle. Of glazed leather crested with fur; feather hackle. The front view shows an oval plaque bearing a musical trophy, within a circle inscribed with the legend "Royal Dunkeld Volunteers"; the whole surrounded by a military trophy of colours and arms. The back view shows the figure of a dove, wings close, within a circle, on the upper part of which is the word "Caledonia," and on the lower a wreath of laurel.



REGIMENTAL COLOUR (BLUE) OF THE ROYAL KILGRASTON VOLUNTEERS, 1798

Preserved at Kilgraston. Embroidered. Shows within a spray of roses on the one side and thistles on the other, "G.R.," surmounted by a crown; below, on a small scroll, is the motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit," and under the whole, "Royal Kilgraston Volunteers." In the dexter canton is the first Union in the form of a St. George's Cross fimbriated, imposed upon a saltire of equal breadth.

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2ND (OR CALEDONIAN) REGIMENT.

Locality.	*Company Officer.*	*Comm. dated*
Strathord[1] . .	Captain Charles Stewart	26 July 1798.
Dunkeld . .	Captain Thomas Palliser	„ „ „
Glenalmond .	1st Lieut. Donald Murray[2]	„ „ „

3RD REGIMENT (OR STRATHEARN HIGHLANDERS).[3]

Lawers . . .	Lt.-Col.-Cdt. Archibald Robertson of Lawers[4] . .	14 Aug. 1798.
Ardvorlich . .	Major William Stewart of Ardvorlich	„ „ „
Comrie . . .	Captain James Drummond of Comrie	„ „ „
Strageath . .	Captain James Drummond of Strageath	„ „ „

4TH REGIMENT (OR LOYAL FORESTERS).

Muthill . . .	Lt.-Col.-Cdt. James, Lord Perth[5]	20 Aug. 1798.
	Major John Hepburn Belshes of Invermay[6] . . .	„ „ „
Callander	Captain John Buchanan of Auchleshie and Cambusmore	„ „ „
	Captain Robert Fairful of Struie	„ „ „

5TH (OR ATHOLL) BATTALION.

Above the Pass of Killiecrankie	Captain James Robertson of Lude	6 Dec. 1798.
	Captain James Stewart[7]	„ „ „
Moulin	Captain Henry Butter of Faskally	„ „ „
Logierait . . .	Captain Alexander Stewart, yr. of Balnakeilly[8] .	„ „ „

A paper dated 1798 states that Captain Henry Butter was to be appointed major-commandant of the Moulin and Logierait companies; that Captain Alexander Stewart was to succeed him in the command of the Moulin Company, and that Henry Balneavis of Edradour was to become captain of the Logierait Company, but no mention of these changes is to be found in the published lists.

The commanders of the various Volunteer corps laboured under great difficulties owing to the length of time which elapsed before arms and drill sergeants could be procured, and to the delay in gazetting the officers. Pay was only allowed from the day on which the officers' names appeared in the *Gazette*, and

[1] Though raised prior to the brigade and therefore at first not included in it, the Strathord Company acted in battalion with the 2nd Regiment during the summer of 1798, and in the following October was incorporated with it. The Duke of Atholl was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the regiment on the 2nd of May 1800.

[2] Tenant in Kennachraggan, Strathbraan.

[3] Each company of this regiment had a piper.

[4] Appointed major-general 18th June 1798.

[5] Late captain, 2nd Battalion 42nd Foot, afterwards the 73rd.

[6] Late lieutenant-colonel, Elgin Fencibles.

[7] Captain, half-pay, late Loyal Cheshire Regt. Formerly lieutenant, 77th Atholl Highlanders. Then resident at Alean, on his father's estate of Fincastle.

[8] Late captain, Loyal Staffordshire Regt. Formerly lieut., 77th Atholl Highlanders.

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as the men were in most cases drilling for months before that date, there was a good deal of discontent. The officers' commissions, however, when finally issued, were in most cases antedated, but the paucity of the allowance for uniform under the 1798 scheme was another grievance, and though the officers of most of the corps put their pay into a general fund for clothing, even this was not sufficient to meet the cost of it, and the deficiency became a serious burden on the officers—more especially, of course, on the commandants.

Meanwhile we are reminded of the fact that Britain's most formidable enemy had for the time abandoned the project of attacking her on her own shores by reading that on the 1st of October the 1st Perth Battalion subscribed a hundred guineas for the widows and children of men who had been killed in the battle of the Nile. But the situation was still full of danger. Ireland was seething with rebellion; no less than four minor attempts to invade that country were made during the autumn of 1798, and the drilling and organisation of the new Volunteer corps therefore proceeded with unabated vigour. On the 14th of December the Perthshire "Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry" under the command of Lord Kinnoull had a field-day at Perth, on which occasion, we read, "their appearance and the manner in which they went through their different evolutions were such as to command the high approbation of several respectable military characters present." The Lieutenant-Colonel afterwards entertained the whole corps at dinner, and on the 21st the officers dined with the Provost and magistrates of Perth[1] and received the freedom of the city.

The Volunteer movement was still spreading in Strathearn, for on the 18th of January 1799 General Robertson of Lawers offered two more companies from Lochearnhead and Balquhidder respectively. "Duncan Stewart, Esq.," and John Fergusson, formerly the 1st lieutenant in the Strageath Company, were nominated the captains of these new companies, but this augmentation, although at once approved by the Lord-Lieutenant, was not authorised by Government until June 1800. On the 26th of February 1799 the Strathearn Battalion mustered 421 men, and it was proposed that 160 more should be enrolled. In April the Volunteers and Yeomanry in the county exceeded 2500.

On the 14th of March the 2nd Perth Volunteers under Lieutenant-Colonel Fechney were inspected by Lieutenant-Colonel Macfarlane of the 72nd Foot, and on the 27th of July the 1st Perth Battalion was reviewed by the same officer. From the 24th of June the officers and men of the latter battalion agreed to serve without pay, further than the usual allowance to the adjutant, drill-sergeant, drummer, and fifers. At that date no arms had as yet been issued to the Strathearn Highlanders, and although General Robertson had for the past ten months sent in returns and pay lists for four companies, not a penny had been received. It speaks well for the spirit of officers and men that, in spite

[1] This hospitality was returned on the 15th of January 1799, when the Yeomanry officers gave a dinner to the magistrates and Volunteer officers of Perth, and to the field-officers of the Rutlandshire Fencible Cavalry. Kinnoull charter-room.

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of such discouragement, the numbers of the battalion should have increased so much during that period.

As yet, moreover, no regimental staff had been provided for the country battalions, and the Duke of Atholl, applying on the 9th of July 1799 for an adjutant and sergeant-major on constant pay for each, writes that he fears—not unnaturally—that the infantry brigade will dissolve unless his request is granted. His application for a permanent staff was approved, but the usual delay took place with regard to the appointment and pay of these officers.

In August 1799 the Perthshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Regiment of Light Dragoons (as it was by that time styled) was out for a month at its drills, finishing up with eight days at Stirling, where it had a sham fight with the Stirling and Clackmannan Volunteers. On the 2nd of September the regiment was inspected by Colonel Ilay Ferrier, and on the 19th of September there was a great gathering at Dupplin Castle for the presentation of standards by Lady Kinnoull.[1] About the same time Dupplin was fixed upon as the general rendezvous of the corps in case of an alarm, and rendezvous were also arranged for each troop—Dupplin for Lord Kinnoull's Troop, the South Inch at Perth for Major Drummond's, and "the Broom" near Auchterarder for the Gask Troop.[2]

It would appear that a subscription was made annually for the defence of the county, for in September 1799 Alexander Murray of Ayton wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant that he feared his district would not subscribe that year, as there was a general feeling that the Volunteers had not been fairly dealt with.

In the course of the autumn of 1799 the Carse of Gowrie Troop, under Captain Kinnaird, united itself to Lord Kinnoull's corps, and on the 5th of December it drilled for the first time with the other troops.[3]

Early in 1800 the Dunkeld Company was assisting the Revenue officer to seize some smuggled whisky, and shortly afterwards all the Volunteers were warned to be ready to assist the civil magistrates in the event of grain riots. On the 27th of March both the Perth corps turned out on an alarm of a disturbance of this kind, and four days later the 2nd Perth Battalion was taking the duty of the town in the absence of the Regular troops.

In April the Strathmore Battalion was still in want of drums, fifes, and swords for the non-commissioned officers, and in May the pay of the Strathearn Highlanders was eleven months in arrears. When at last in June the Commanding Officer of this long-suffering corps received authority for the two companies proposed more than a year before, permission was accorded him to make any arrangement he pleased as to the strength and number of his companies, subject to the approval of the Lord-Lieutenant. The establishment of each company was therefore fixed at seventy privates, exclusive of non-commissioned officers.

[1] There were four standards in all, the fourth evidently being provided for the Carse of Gowrie Troop, which was on the point of uniting itself to the others. Two of the standards were of mazareen blue silk and two of blue cloth. All four were edged with silver fringe, and on some, at any rate, were painted the county arms, which appear to have been composed in the previous winter. Kinnoull charter-room. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

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This summer we again hear of inspections made by Lieutenant-Colonel Macfarlane. On the 7th of July the Strathearn Highlanders were inspected by him at Dunira, and were highly commended, a regimental dinner following afterwards. Five days later the Strathmore and Stormont Battalion was reviewed and inspected in a field before Blairgowrie House.

In July 1800 Lord Perth died, and was succeeded in the command of his battalion by John Buchanan of Cambusmore, with the title of major-commandant. Callander now became the headquarters of the Loyal Foresters.

The regiment of Yeomanry appears to have been in quarters at Perth for seven days in the course of the year 1800—one day being taken in July, two in August, and four in October.[1]

By the spring of 1801 a crisis had occurred in the finances of the Volunteers. New clothing was urgently required, and whence was the money for it to come? A letter written by Captain George Paterson in May eloquently describes the expenses to which he and the other captains of companies in the Carse had been put. Wishing to make their corps popular, they had provided good uniforms, with the result that although the men had put themselves under a stoppage of £1, 6s. 9d. each to help to pay for them, the clothing of the Longforgan Company had cost Captain Paterson £86. Besides this, he and the other captains had borne the cost of alterations in the uniforms consequent on changes in the *personnel* of the corps; having failed to procure drums and fifes from Government they had had to buy these themselves; they had also been obliged to pay for lessons for the drummers and fifers, and for the board of these men in Dundee while learning their instruments. Further, they had felt bound to give the drummers and fifers extra pay of 4d. each for every day of drill, as, having to go round to warn the other men, they had an hour's extra work. The captains had also been obliged to supplement the Government allowance of ammunition, and finally Captain Paterson had paid £90 to a drill-sergeant to train his men. A heavy tale of expenditure this, but a certain extent of relief was to come. Some two months previously the reins of power in Great Britain had changed hands, and though the nation had soon cause to rue the new Prime Minister's policy of "peace at any price," yet it must be recorded of Addington and his colleagues that one of their first acts was to place all the Volunteer corps in Great Britain on the footing of those raised before the 17th of January 1798. The privates were even allowed 9d. more for clothing than had been originally given (*i.e.* £1, 10s.), and an immediate issue of the new allowances was authorised. These new regulations came into force on the 25th of June 1801 and gave great satisfaction.

On the 20th of June we read that the 2nd Perth Battalion had subscribed twenty guineas for the relief of the wives and families of Scotsmen who had been killed or wounded in Egypt, and five days afterwards we hear of two subscriptions of fifty guineas each being given by the 1st Battalion for the same

[1] Kinnoull charter-room.

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purpose, and for the widows and children of those who had fallen in the battle of the Baltic.

In July Lieutenant-Colonel Fechney resigned the command of the 2nd Perth Battalion, on account of age. He was succeeded by Major Thomas Hay Marshall, (then provost), and Captain Thomas Black was promoted major. During this month, on account of the ostentatious preparations made at Boulogne for another invasion of England, there was once more great military activity in this country. The Volunteers were warned to hold themselves in readiness, and the officers and men of the Yeomanry, whose period of engagement had by that time expired, were asked to continue their services. During August and September the 1st and 2nd Perth Battalions and the Dunkeld Company consented to extend their services to any part of Great Britain in case of invasion, and on the 2nd of October, at manœuvres in Perth which were witnessed by a large number of spectators, the Perthshire Yeomanry, to a man, volunteered to serve in any part of the United Kingdom, should necessity arise.[1] Meanwhile, however, the news of the fall of Alexandria had made Bonaparte anxious for peace, and on the 1st of October the preliminaries were actually signed; but the Volunteers were asked not to relax their efforts until the definitive treaty should be concluded, and in the latter half of October the Yeomanry went into quarters at Cupar Fife for a week, as attention had been drawn to Luness and St. Andrews Bays as being likely points of attack should an invasion be attempted. While at Cupar the regiment was brigaded for four days with the Fife Yeomanry.

In November the Perthshire Yeomanry was once more in quarters at Perth, and officers and men presented a sabre and a brace of pistols to Lord Kinnoull "as a testimony of their grateful esteem and as a pledge to continue their services under his command on all occasions."[2]

In November, a grain riot having broken out at Errol, some arrests were made and the prisoners were escorted to Perth by the local Volunteers and Yeomanry. The latter behaved very well, but the Volunteers appear to have been terrorised by the rioters, for on the following day twenty-one of the company resigned, saying that they were afraid to remain any longer in the corps. The Errol Company was in consequence disbanded in December 1801.

In the following March the Treaty of Amiens was signed, and on the 19th of April a circular letter to the lords-lieutenant expressed the King's acknowledgments for the services rendered by the Yeomanry and Volunteers, and directed that the latter force should be disbanded. The Strathmore and Stormont Battalion had previously offered to serve as long after the peace as desired, but, so far as is known, it was reduced at the same time as the other corps, which appears to have been early in May.[3]

[1] Kinnoull charter-room.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Mr. Berry (p. 79) makes the somewhat involved statement that at the Peace of Amiens "the Perthshire Volunteers became absorbed in the 90th, the third occasion of its being raised, in 1794 (and now 2nd Cameronians, Scottish Rifles)," and adds that the regiment

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On the day on which the Dunkeld Volunteers were disbanded the Commanding Officer of the company, Captain Palliser, was presented with a silver cup by the non-commissioned officers and men, and after giving in their arms the Volunteers sat down to a "cold collation." Later in the day the officers were placed in a carriage and drawn in triumph through the town, and the evening concluded with a ball. We also read that the Strathearn Highlanders intended to present swords of honour or pieces of plate to their Lieutenant-Colonel, General Robertson of Lawers, and their Major, William Stewart of Ardvorlich.[1]

Though the Volunteer force thus came to an end, leave was given for a proportion of the Yeomanry and Volunteer Cavalry to be kept up, at the pleasure of individual corps. Lord Kinnoull made a preliminary intimation that the officers and men of the Perthshire Yeomanry were willing to continue their services, and between June and November 1802 the corps spent six days in quarters. More legislature, however, was required to sanction its existence, for the various Volunteer Statutes to which reference has been made had expired with the Peace of Amiens. In June 1802, therefore, Parliament, apparently not feeling too confident of the pacific intentions of the First Consul, passed another Act by which the Crown was empowered to accept the services of Volunteer or Yeomanry corps already in existence or thereafter to be formed, without limitation as to numbers or continuance. This Act[2] granted to members of both forces the privileges formerly conferred with regard to courts-martial, pensions, and exemption from the Militia, the horse and powder taxes, and tolls. If called out to repel invasion or to quell riots, officers and men were to receive the pay of Regular cavalry and infantry respectively, and the non-commissioned officers and men might be billeted. The clothing allowance of the Yeomanry was reduced to £2 per man, but £60 per troop was to be placed at the disposal of the commanding officers of Yeomanry corps. The establishment of each troop was in future to be forty rank and file. On the 12th of November 1802 Lord Kinnoull read the terms of the new Act to the Perthshire Regiment, and it was then finally decided to make an offer of continued service.[3]

Meanwhile in October Captain Kinnaird and the officers and men of the Carse of Gowrie Troop had withdrawn from the corps, proposing that the troop should return to its original independent establishment. The secession appears to have been owing to difficulties caused by the question of seniority. The Carse Troop had been raised before the others, and the officers had been gazetted

afterwards bore the name of the Volunteers whom it absorbed. A few Volunteers may have joined the 90th at this time, but there is nothing to show that the force as a whole enlisted —indeed, if it had, it would have swamped the regiment. The 90th was raised under the title of the Perthshire Volunteers in February 1794, nine months before any Volunteer corps was established in the county. This confusion of the Perth Volunteers and the 90th (due, of course, to the title of the latter) is not confined to Mr. Berry's book.

[1] A silver salver was presented to Major Stewart, and is still to be seen at Ardvorlich. A silver cup with a Latin inscription which was presented to Lieutenant-Colonel Allan Macpherson is preserved at Blairgowrie House.

[2] 42 Geo. III. cap. 66.

[3] Kinnoull charter-room.

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at an earlier date, but as the troop was the last to join the regiment, and as Captain Oliphant (the only other captain) had served previously with the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry, Captain Kinnaird's troop was regarded as the junior one.[1] It appears doubtful if the troop can have had a much longer existence. By the following summer James Hay of Seggieden had raised another troop in the Carse of Gowrie for Lord Kinnoull's corps, and Captain Kinnaird was himself organising a regiment of Volunteer infantry. In the official list published in October 1804 a troop of Yeomanry is shown under the name of the "Kinnard Cav." commanded by ". . . Bruce" as captain (the date of his commission is not mentioned); this may have been intended as a successor to Captain Kinnaird's troop, but papers in the Atholl charter-room show that the "Kinnard Cav." was never embodied.

By March 1803 it had become evident that Napoleon did not intend to abide by the Treaty of Amiens and that war was inevitable. The Militia was accordingly embodied and the Government began to prepare for the reorganisation of the Volunteers. On the 31st of March a circular letter was sent to the lords-lieutenant, stating the terms on which it was proposed that the force should serve, but these were subsequently modified, and no defence policy appears to have been definitely decided upon until later, for very few Volunteer corps, if any, were authorised before the 20th of June. On the 18th of May war was declared, and on the 11th of June the first of a series of three defensive measures was passed. This Act[2] provided that a return should be made of all able-bodied males between the ages of fifteen and sixty, specifying those who were already serving in the Yeomanry or Volunteers, and throwing a certain liability for service upon all who did not enrol in either of these forces. Measures were also to be taken for obtaining the use of carriages, draft horses, and boats, in case of invasion; returns of the available flour and bread were required from all millers and bakers; and a system of communications was to be established throughout the country, under the direction of the Admiralty.[3] Volunteer infantry corps were to be raised under the Act of the previous year, and the following terms were announced:—

Officers and men to serve within the military district, and, if called out in case of invasion, to be paid and disciplined like the Regular forces.

One officer in each company to have constant pay of his Volunteer commission (provided he were not of a higher rank than that of captain) on the same

[1] Kinnoull charter-room.

[2] 43 Geo. III. cap. 55.

[3] Atholl charter-room. Mr. Berry tells us that at that time there was throughout Great Britain an elaborate system of signalling by beacons, and among the Atholl papers I have found allusions to a system of signals by fire and flag, but from the same papers it would seem that in 1803 telegraphic communication was established between Edinburgh and Aberdeen *vid* the counties of Fife and Perth. This may have been the system of telegraphy on the semaphore principle which had been discovered by the Rev. Lord George Murray, brother of the fourth Duke of Atholl. His invention was adopted by the Admiralty in 1796. *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 156.

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conditions as those already quoted for Volunteers raised after January 1798 and at the same rates (*i.e.* those of the Regular Army).

To a battalion of ten companies, or corps from 250 to 500 strong, an adjutant and sergeant-major on constant pay. To a corps of 150 to 250 men, constant pay for a sergeant-major only. Rate per diem:—for an adjutant 6s.; for a sergeant-major 1s. 6d., and 2s. 6d. a week extra.

When not on actual service, constant pay to be also allowed for one sergeant and one drummer per company, at the same rate as the disembodied Militia.

The other officers,[1] non-commissioned officers and men (effectives only) to be allowed pay at the rates of the Regular Army[2] for two drills a week from the 25th of February to the 24th of October, and for one drill a week from the 25th of October to the 24th of February, being eighty-five days in all. If called out on actual service, each non-commissioned officer and man to receive an allowance of two guineas for necessaries.

Sergeants receiving constant pay and all drummers receiving pay of any sort to be subject to military law.

The same allowance for clothing as in 1801—to be repeated every three years. The sergeant-major and one drummer per company to be clothed annually.

An additional allowance for contingent expenses, at the rate of £25 for a company of fifty privates, and £5 extra for every ten privates above that number.

A tax for one horse to be remitted to all field officers and adjutants. The Volunteer infantry to be clothed in red, the artillery in blue, and rifle corps in green with black belts.

Regulations were also issued which laid down a more uniform establishment for the several Volunteer companies and battalions—all pointing to a better organisation of the force than in former years.

In this new hour of danger, Perthshire men came forward even more readily than before. As early as April Mungo Murray of Lintrose had offered three companies from Coupar Angus, and by the 15th of July 1803 the Duke of Atholl had sent in a preliminary recommendation of Volunteer corps amounting to 2542 rank and file. These comprised a county brigade of four battalions, a battalion in Perth, two companies from Coupar Angus, and one from Culross. Addington's Ministry, however, on the score of expense, intended at first to limit the Volunteer infantry in Scotland to 23,000, of which only 1800 were to be allotted to Perthshire—a restriction against which the Duke strenuously protested. On the 29th of July he wrote to the Secretary of State describing in graphic terms the zeal and patriotism which were being displayed everywhere

[1] The terms here stated are from the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 4th July 1803. According to the circular of the 31st of March (the authority quoted by Mr. Berry for the terms of service of the Volunteers first raised in 1803), the officers (except those mentioned here) were to receive no pay; but the pay lists (from August 1803 until June 1806) of one of the companies raised on these terms show that all the officers received full pay for the days of exercise.

[2] *i.e.* sergt., 1s. 6¼d.; corpl., 1s. 2¼d.; drummer, 1s. 1¼d.; private, 1s. *Hist. Brit. Army*, vol. iv. p. 935. The Volunteer sergeants and corporals received 1s. 6d. and 1s. 2d.; drummers on permanent pay, only 1s.

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within the county, pointing out the danger of damping that spirit, and stating that over 4000 men, who did not regard themselves as thereby exempt from the Militia ballot, had expressed their willingness to serve as Volunteers—under ordinary circumstances within the military district, and anywhere in Great Britain in case of invasion. These 4000 men included the companies already proposed by the towns of Coupar Angus and Culross, and offers of battalions from Strathearn, Atholl, Perth, the Carse of Gowrie, Lord Breadalbane, Lord Melville, and Lieutenant-Colonel Muir Mackenzie of Delvine.[1] John Buchanan of Cambusmore had also offered 250 to 300 Volunteers, chiefly off his own property; upwards of fifty of the "tradesmen employed in Gask's works" had intimated their readiness to serve as a corps of artificers anywhere upon the coast; and a meeting of the heritors, clergy, and others in the Weem district, summoned by Sir Robert Menzies, had voted loyal support to the Government and their personal aid to the Lord-Lieutenant in the execution of such measures as should be deemed advisable for the safety of the county.

A meeting of the lieutenancy of Perthshire which was held on the 4th of August warmly upheld the Duke in his protests against limiting the Volunteers —the more so in view of another measure which had by that time become law.

On the 6th of July an Act had been passed to create a Reserve force by raising men by ballot to be formed into second battalions for certain Regular regiments,[2] and on the 27th a third Act was passed which amended the Defence Act of June and provided that all able-bodied men between the ages of seventeen and fifty-five should be liable to be armed and drilled for twenty days in the year. In case of invasion or insurrection they might be attached to any regiment of the Line, Militia, or Fencibles, and might be marched to any part of Great Britain.[3] Volunteers, however, present and future, would be allowed to serve with their own units, and if six times the quota required from any county for the Militia[4] were forthcoming as Volunteers or Yeomanry, the compulsory "Levy *en masse*" would not be carried into effect in that county.

Under this new Statute the Government were obliged to allow an increase of the Volunteer force in Perthshire, and by the 18th of August so many men had come forward in the country generally that the conscriptive portion of the Act was suspended. There was, however, universal disappointment in Perthshire when it was made known that only the number previously authorised for the county (*i.e.* 1800 rank and file) would be granted the pay and allowances announced in June, and that all Volunteer corps over and above these would be paid on a very different scale. They were required to serve anywhere in Great Britain in case of invasion and were only to be drilled for

[1] Four of these battalions comprised the brigade offered on the 15th of July.

[2] 43 Geo. III. cap. 82. Four hundred and thirty-seven men were raised from Perthshire under this Act, and were sent under Major David Stewart (afterwards Major-General Stewart of Garth) to Fort George, where they joined the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd Regiment. Atholl charter-room.

[3] 43 Geo. III. cap. 96. Clode, vol. i. p. 313.

[4] *i.e.* the quota originally fixed by the Act of 1802—not the augmented quota of June 1803 mentioned on p. 134 of the article entitled *The Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902.*

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twenty days in the year, each day being reckoned at two hours. The officers were to receive neither pay nor allowances, and the non-commissioned officers, drummers, and privates, were only to be paid 1s. for each day of exercise. If embodied on account of invasion all ranks were to receive the pay of Regular infantry, but if on account of riot or disturbance, field officers were only to be paid as company officers.[1] The sum of £1 once in every three years was all that was to be given for clothing, but if ordered out upon actual service the usual allowance of two guineas for necessaries was promised, and an additional guinea "on being permitted to return home after the defeat and expulsion of the enemy, or the suppression of any rebellion or insurrection."[2] Exemption was promised from the Militia and other ballots.

On the subject of these new terms the Duke of Atholl, supported by Lord Melville, waged a long and stubborn fight with the Government, urging the injustice and impolicy of having two sets of Volunteers raised all but simultaneously on such widely different conditions, and the impossibility of making the Volunteers efficient if only drilled for twenty days in the year. He pleaded that Scotland had seen "without a murmur" the whole of the Regular forces, with the exception of one cavalry regiment, withdrawn for the protection of England, and he implored that the later Volunteers should be paid and drilled for eighty-five days in the year, even if it should be found impossible to increase their clothing allowance. His protests on this head were unavailing, but he succeeded in obtaining leave to augment the numbers paid on the June terms to 1984 privates, with officers and non-commissioned officers to correspond. Under the new Act the total of Volunteer infantry to be raised in Perthshire was 3918 rank and file—a figure rather less than six times the Militia quota required from the county,[3] and which by no means included all those who had proffered their services before they had heard of the "Levy *en masse*."[4] September had run its course before the Duke had accepted the inevitable, and a meeting of the lieutenancy of Perthshire was then summoned, at which it was agreed to allow 30s. to each non-commissioned officer and man of the "August"

[1] Berry, p. 90. [2] Official circular dated 3rd August 1803, quoted by Mr. Berry, p. 87.

[3] Under the Act of 1802 the Militia quota for Perthshire was 653 privates, but the returns in the Atholl charter-room show that the 3918 Volunteers to be produced by the county were "rank and file," *i.e.* corporals and privates. (See note to article on the Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902, p. 134.) As a matter of fact, the establishment of rank and file for the corps finally embodied only amounted to 3880 (see lists, pp. 215–22).

[4] Mr. Clode (vol. i. p. 313) states that in 1803 no less than "420,000 offers of voluntary service were received out of 500,000 persons liable to serve," and both he and Mr. Berry ascribe this (no doubt with good reason in many cases) to a wish to escape the "Levy," but I am glad to be able to record that over 4000 Perthshire men had come forward before the Act had been heard of in the county. Neither did they proffer their services in order to escape the Army of Reserve, for Lord Hobart, secretary of state for war, writing to the Duke of Atholl on the 20th of June, stated that Volunteers raised after the 16th instant would not be exempt from the ballot for the "Additional force for the defence of the kingdom," the scheme for raising which had been recently submitted to Parliament. This was the official title of the Army of Reserve, the Bill for which was finally passed on the 6th of July.

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Volunteers (as they were termed) in aid of the Government grant for clothing. A fund was therefore opened in the county for this purpose.[1]

Meanwhile there had been no cessation in the offer of Volunteer corps. On the 4th of August Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson of Blairgowrie had proposed to raise a battalion, seven companies strong, in Blairgowrie and North Strathmore; about the same date Alexander Robertson of Struan and Colonel William Robertson of Lude were busily enrolling men; and on the 6th John Young[2] offered an artillery company from Perth. On the 9th, John Hagart proposed to form a body of "Glen Delvine Volunteers," and two days later Sir George Steuart of Grandtully wrote that two companies had been enrolled on his own and neighbouring properties, under the command of Captain Campbell of Kinloch and Captain Mungo MacPherson, late 42nd. On the same day we hear of Alexander Murray of Ayton offering a corps from Abernethy and Dron, and on the 13th of nearly 400 men from Dunning and the neighbourhood being willing to serve. On the 25th of August Provost John Caw wrote that he proposed to raise two independent companies of riflemen for the defence of Perth and the neighbourhood, each of which should consist of at least fifty respectable householders and citizens, and be attached to the battalion already accepted from Perth. Two days afterwards the Provost communicated an offer from the Friendly Society of Carters in Perth to provide eighty carts and horses for the use of the military authorities, and to serve with them in any part of Great Britain in case of invasion, or the appearance of an enemy on the coast.

In the south-west of the county Sir John MacGregor Murray, Captain Stirling of Keir, and Captain Fairful of Struie had been discussing the possibility of raising a corps, and on the 29th of August, at a meeting of the Dunblane lieutenancy, it was decided that a battalion should be raised in Dunblane, Doune, and Callander, and that this should include the offer previously made by Cambusmore. By the 6th of September Sir Robert Menzies had enrolled 174 men from his own and the Killiechassie estates, and finally, on the 10th of September, the tenants and inhabitants on the Glenlyon property of Mr. Menzies of Culdares made offer of their services, proposing that Mr. Thomas Martin, guardian to the young Laird, should be appointed to command them.

It must in fairness be said that all these offers were made in the hope of obtaining the terms announced in June, and that it seems doubtful whether

[1] On the 3rd of November James Rutherford (of Glendevon ?) wrote that the residents at Kirkmichael had agreed to give one year's additional cess for the benefit of this fund. So much was subscribed altogether in the county that in the following year a further grant was apparently made to each Volunteer. This generosity was the more to be praised inasmuch as, under the Levy *en masse* Act, parishes were assessed to pay for the drill sergeants.

Mr. Berry, who does not appear to have realised the distinctions made between Volunteer corps raised in June and August respectively, says that "the Volunteers of 1803 were doubtless more liberally dealt with than their predecessors, for there were the subscriptions as a fund in aid" (*History of the Volunteer Infantry*, p. 347). In Perthshire certainly it was only the "August" men who benefited by the county fund.

[2] Resident at Bellwood.

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many corps would have been finally embodied had it not been for the assistance given by the county. With this help, however, it was found possible to raise most of the corps suggested, and the reason that all were not established probably lay in the fact that the total number of men offered was far in excess of what the Government would allow, and that, under the organisation introduced in 1803, large units were preferred to small ones. Some of the officers and men of the proposed independent companies may have been absorbed into battalions; the Grandtully men, for example, joined the Strathmore, Stormont, and Dunkeld Regiment.

On the 10th of November it was announced that an adjutant on constant pay of 6s. a day would be allowed to corps of not less than 500 rank and file, if infantry, or 300, if cavalry, raised under the terms of the 3rd of August, provided such corps performed eighty-five drills in the year. Any adjutant so appointed must have served for at least four years as a commissioned officer in the Regulars, embodied Militia, Fencibles, or East India Company's Service, and no extra pay was to be given to the rest of the corps for the sixty-five more days of exercise required. If any corps should decline to perform the full number of drills, the adjutant would receive pay for every day he had drilled as many as sixty of the men. A corps of 200 rank and file, if infantry, or 120, if cavalry, would be allowed a sergeant-major on permanent pay under the same conditions, provided the non-commissioned officer in question had served for three years in His Majesty's forces or those of the East India Company. A corps of 1000 infantry or 600 cavalry was to be entitled to both an adjutant and a sergeant-major.[1] These terms of course made it preferable to have a few large battalions rather than many small ones, and Lord Melville consequently withdrew the offer of his corps, saying that he thought it would be of more use if thrown into another in order to ensure the appointment of an adjutant.

The last offer to be received was one made by Colonel Robertson of Lude to train 200 men to the use of pikes at his own expense and to form a mounted artillery company for which Government would be asked to provide nothing save field pieces and ammunition, except when on actual service. The first offer was accepted and the pikes were issued, but the Government refused to provide guns. Colonel Robertson accordingly sent over to Dublin for two field pieces of his own,[2] and in January 1804 the artillery company was finally approved although it was to be regarded as supernumerary. The artillerists under ordinary circumstances were to receive neither pay nor clothing allowance from Government, but were to be paid if called out on actual service or permanent duty, and in case of invasion they undertook to serve anywhere within Great Britain.

It is now time to show what corps were finally established in 1803, and what

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 19th November 1803. It will be seen, however, that both adjutants and sergeants-major were allowed to Perthshire regiments of considerably less than the strength specified in the text.

[2] He had presumably bought them for his regiment of Fencibles and had left them behind in Ireland when the regiment returned home for disbandment. See article entitled *The Perthshire Regiment of Fencibles*, pp. 176-7.

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field and company officers were first appointed.[1] Owing to the new regulation mentioned in the article on the Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902 (page 134, *note*), no field-officers in the new Volunteer force were allowed to have companies.

A. VOLUNTEER CORPS SERVING UNDER THE TERMS ANNOUNCED IN JUNE 1803

1ST ROYAL PERTHSHIRE BRIGADE.

1ST (OR STRATHEARN) BATTALION.[2]

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, Bart.[3]	Capt., Strathearn Highdrs.	20 June 1803.
Lt.-Colonel .	James Johnstone of Kincardine[4]	Corn., Perth. Yeo. Cavy.	„ „ „
Captain . .	Alexander McLaurin of Broich[5] .	Capt., Perth. Fenc. Cavy.	„ „ „
„ . .	Gavin Drummond of Drumaquhance	Lieut., hf. pay, and Capt., 1st. Bread. Fencibles .	„ „ „
„ . .	Alexander Campbell, *paymaster* .	Lieut., hf. pay, and Capt., 1st Bread. Fencibles[6].	„ „ „
„ . .	John Murray[7]	Lt., hf. pay, late 76th Foot.	„ „ „
„ . .	Thomas Keir of Fintilloch . . .	Captain, Loyal Foresters	„ „ „
„ . .	John Drysdale[8]	Capt.-Lieut., Strathearn Highlanders	„ „ „
„ . .	John Tainsh[9]	1st Lt., Strathearn Highdrs.	„ „ „

[1] The following tables are compiled from the monthly returns and other official papers sent in to the Lord-Lieutenant, supplemented by dates from the published official list for 1804.

[2] The Commanding Officers of this brigade drew lots for the precedence of their respective battalions.

[3] An enthusiastic Volunteer. He had been one of the original promoters of the 1st Regiment of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers and had been enrolled as the first member of the corps when established in 1794. In 1797 he became a captain in the 2nd Edinburgh Regiment, and in 1800 a captain in the Strathearn Highlanders—commissions which he apparently held simultaneously. Both these corps were disbanded in 1802, and Sir Patrick (he had succeeded his father in 1800) then re-entered the 1st Edinburgh Volunteers as a private. He afterwards transferred to the Midlothian Yeomanry.

[4] Before joining the Yeomanry James Johnstone had served for twelve years in India—"most of the time in the field." He was presumably in the service of the East India Company, as his name is not in the *Army Lists*.

[5] Captain McLaurin resigned his commission in November 1803, but he appears in the monthly returns of the regiment during the spring of 1804, and in the official list published in October 1804.

[6] After the disbandment of the 1st Breadalbane Fencibles in 1799, Alexander Campbell had acted for a time as adjutant of the Loyal Foresters.

[7] Resident at Crieff.

[8] Factor to Major-General Robertson of Lawers.

[9] Clerk of the Lieutenancy, of the Peace, and to the Roads Trustees for the Crieff district. Factor to Sir Patrick Murray. "John Tanish" is mentioned in the official list as the Surgeon of the Strathearn Battalion. He may have been the son of Captain Tainsh, whose name is shown with the same mis-spelling.

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1ST (OR STRATHEARN) BATTALION.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Captain . .	John Davidson	...	20 June 1803.
„ . .	Patrick Comrie [1]	1st Lt., Strathearn Highdrs.	„ „ „
„ . .	George Gardner [2]	...	„ „ „

Establishment.

Ten companies	Officers (including adjutant)	34
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major) .	52
	Rank and file [3]	640
	Total	726

The companies were named as follows: — "Crieff" (3 companies); "Drummond" (2); "Abercairny and Kinkell" (1); "Ochtertyre" (1); "Lawers" (1); "Lenoch, Strowan, and Dalganross" (1); "Comrie" (1).

The battalion commenced to drill on the 8th of August 1803.

Uniform [4]:—Red coat or jacket with blue facings; white breeches or pantaloons. No lace for the officers.

2ND (OR PERTH) BATTALION.

Lt.-Colonel .	Thomas Hay Marshall, manufacturer	Lt. Col., 2nd Royal Perth Vols.	20 June 1803.
Major . . .	John Ross, merchant	Capt., 2nd R. Perth Vols.	„ „ „
Captain . .	Duncan Spottiswoode, merchant	1st Lt., „ „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	David Walker, banker [5]	„ „ 1st „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	Josiah Walker [6]	„ „ 2nd „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	David Beatson, merchant . . .	„ „ 1st „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	William Ross	„ „ „ „ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	William Stewart, writer	2nd Lt., 2nd „ „ „	„ „ „

Establishment.

Six companies	Officers (including adjutant)	22
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major) .	31
	Rank and file	372 [7]
	Total	425

Uniform :—Same as above, but with gold lace for the officers.

[1] Doctor at Comrie. Resigned before the 5th of October 1803, and William Menzies was appointed in his stead. Captain Menzies's commission is dated the 27th September in the official list for 1804, but it was subsequently antedated to the 20th of June.

[2] "Factor to Miss Preston Campbell (*sic*) of Fairnton" (afterwards Lady Baird).

[3] *i.e.* corporals and privates.

[4] The description of the various uniforms of the Volunteers of 1803 (except where otherwise stated) is from an engraved plate by James Willson, entitled *A View of the Volunteer Army of Great Britain in the Year* 1806.

[5] Perth Bank. [6] Collector of customs. [7] Subsequently increased to 384.

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3RD (OR ATHOLL) BATTALION.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Archibald Butter of Faskally . .	Major, hf. pay 27th Foot[1]	20 June 1803
Major . . .	Alexander Stewart, yr. of Balnakeilly[2]	Captain, Atholl Battalion	„ „ „
Captain . .	Hope Steuart of Ballechin . . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	James Alston of Achnard[3] . . .	Major, 63rd Foot . . .	„ „ „
„ . .	John Stewart of Shierglas . . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Charles Steuart of Dalguise . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Andrew M^c^Farlane of Donovourd	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Chalmers Izett of Kinnaird[4] . .	...	„ „ „

Headquarters, Pitlochry.

Establishment.

Six companies	Officers (including adjutant)	24
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major) .	31
	Rank and file	390
	Total	445

Uniform :—Red coat or jacket with blue facings, and gold lace for the officers; the kilt and plaid.[5]

This battalion was drilled to light infantry manœuvres.

4TH (OR STRATHMORE, STORMONT, AND DUNKELD) BATTALION.

Colonel . .	Alexander Muir Mackenzie of Delvine	Lt.-Col., Perth. Fenc. Cavy.	17 Nov. 1803.[6]
Lt.-Colonel .	John Murray, yr. of Lintrose . .	Major, Perth. Fenc. Cavy.	20 June „
Major . . .	Patrick Murray of Simprim . .	Capt., „ „ „	„ „ „
Captain . .	James Stewart[7]	Capt., Atholl Batt., and hf. pay late Chesh. Regt.	„ „ „

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Butter had served as major and brevet lieutenant-colonel in the 18th Light Dragoons.

[2] In 1807 two silver cups were presented to Major Stewart (probably on his retirement) by the officers of the battalion "in testimony of their esteem and regard for him as an officer and gentleman." The cups are now at Balnakeilly.

[3] Married Charlotte, fourth daughter of James Stewart, eighth of Urrard, and assumed the surname of Stewart when he bought Urrard from his wife's eldest sister, who succeeded to the property in 1818, on the death of her eldest and only surviving brother, John, ninth laird (Urrard charter-chest).

[4] Hatter to the Prince of Wales.

[5] According to Willson the Atholl Battalion wore white breeches or pantaloons like the other Volunteers, but the papers in the Atholl charter-room show this statement to be incorrect.

[6] Apparently he was originally appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant, and this was the date of his promotion. Created baronet 1805.

[7] By that time tenant of Kinvaid Farm, Strathord.

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4TH (OR STRATHMORE, STORMONT, AND DUNKELD) BATTALION.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Captain . .	John Gordon[1]	Lt., hf. pay late 81st Foot	20 June 1803.
„ . .	Charles Hay[2]	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Thomas Palliser	Capt., Caledonian Regt. .	„ „ „
„ . .	James Keay of Snaigow . . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	John Minto[3].	Ens., 9th R. Perth. Mil. .	„ „ „
„ . .	Francis Carteret Scott[4]. . . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Robert Cargill	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Andrew Archer[5]	...	„ „ „
„ . .	James Stobie[6]	1st Lt., Caledonian Regt.	„ „ „

Establishment.

Ten companies	Officers (including adjutant)	37
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major) .	51
	Rank and file	640
	Total	728

Uniform:—Red coat with blue facings and white pantaloons. No officers' lace.

B. VOLUNTEER CORPS SERVING UNDER THE TERMS ANNOUNCED IN AUGUST

KINNOULL ROCK ARTILLERY (attached to the Perth Battalion).

Captain . . John Young . . . . . Capt., 1st R. Perth Vols. 15 Oct. 1803.

Establishment.

One company	Officers	3
	Sergeants, bombardiers, and drummers	11
	Corporals and gunners	63
	Total	77

Uniform:—Blue coat with red facings, and blue breeches. Gold lace for the officers.

The field-pieces (four six-pounders) were cast in the Perth foundry, and were presented by the Lord-Lieutenant.

The members of this corps put the pay and allowances which they received from Government and from the county, into a common fund. Each man's clothing cost £5.

[1] Resident at Corstoun. [2] Resident at Coupar Angus.
[3] Surgeon, Dunkeld. [4] Banker, Dunkeld. [5] Resident at Coupar Angus.
[6] Factor to the Duke of Atholl at Strathord.

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2ND ROYAL PERTHSHIRE BRIGADE.

1ST BATTALION (OR BREADALBANE HIGHLANDERS).

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Colonel . .	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane .	Col. Bread. Fenc. (3 Batts.)	15 Oct. 1803.
Major . .	Francis McNab of McNab . . .	...	,, ,, ,,
Captain . .	Duncan Dewar[1]	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Alexander Campbell[2]	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Alexander Campbell	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Allan McNab	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	William Fullarton Kennedy . .	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Archibald McNab (yr. of McNab?)	...	,, ,, ,,

Headquarters, Kenmore (?).

Establishment.

Six companies	Officers (including adjutant)	23
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major) .	31
	Rank and file	396
	Total	450[3]

Uniform :—Red coat or jacket with blue facings, and gold lace for the officers; white breeches or pantaloons.[4]

2ND (OR BELMONT AND NORTH STRATHMORE) BATTALION.

Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Allan Macpherson of Blairgowrie	Lt.-Col.-Cdt., Strathmore and Stormont Batt. .	15 Oct. 1803.
Major . . .	James Rattray of Arthurstone .	Capt., Strathmore Batt. (?)	,, ,, ,,
Captain . .	George Kinloch of Kinloch . .	Capt., Coupar Angus Coy.	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Thomas Hogg	...	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	Alexander Whitson of Parkhill .	Capt., Strathmore Batt. .	,, ,, ,,
,, . .	John Smyth, advocate, yr. (?) of Balhary	...	,, ,, ,,

Headquarters, Blairgowrie.

[1] Appointed lieutenant in the 3rd Battalion of the Reserve, February 1804, but is shown as serving in the Breadalbane Highlanders in the official list published October 1804.

[2] Shown as "Archibald" Campbell in the official list for 1804.

[3] Lord Breadalbane had offered a battalion 1000 strong.

[4] So Willson's *Plate*, but it is much more probable that the kilt was worn by this battalion, as in the case of the Breadalbane Fencibles (see p. 149). The high feather bonnet, with white hackle and *fess chequy* border, worn by the Laird of McNab in his portrait by Raeburn, was probably the head-dress of the officers. It is undoubtedly a military bonnet, and there is no record of McNab having served in any corps other than the Breadalbane Volunteers and the regiment of Local Militia in which they subsequently became absorbed. The Breadalbane Volunteers are mentioned in the inspecting officer's returns as wearing black belts. I am informed by Lord Breadalbane that the buttons and belt-plates were of brass (the former bearing the letters "B.V."), and that the swords were mounted in the same metal.

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2ND (OR BELMONT AND NORTH STRATHMORE) BATTALION.—*Continued.*

Establishment.

Four companies[1]	Officers (no adjutant)	16
	Sergeant, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major)	21[2]
	Rank and file	252
	Total	289

Uniform :—Same as above.

The companies were respectively raised at Blairgowrie, Rattray, Alyth, and Belmont.

3RD (OR MONTEITH) BATTALION.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Sir John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick, Bart.	...	15 Oct. 1803
Major	Robert Graham (yr. of Garvock?)	Capt., Royal Edin. Highland Vols.[3]	" " "
Captain	Robert Fairful of Struie	Capt., Loyal Foresters	" " "
"	John MacVicar	...	" " "
"	John Rob	1st Lt., Dunblane and Doune Companies	" " "
"	William Stirling	2nd Lt., " "	" " "
"	John Walker	...	" " "
"	David MacIntyre	...	" " "

Headquarters, Doune.

Establishment.

Six companies	Officers (including adjutant)	22
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (including sergeant-major)	31
	Rank and file	384
	Total	437

Two companies each were raised at Doune, Dunblane, and Callander.

Uniform :—Same as above, but without officers' lace.

This battalion was drilled to light infantry manœuvres.

4TH (OR PRINCE OF WALES'S CARSE OF GOWRIE) BATTALION.

Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Hon. Charles Kinnaird	Capt., Carse Yeo. Cavy.	15 Oct. 1803.[4]
Major	John Lee Allen of Errol	Lt., " " "	" " "

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson had offered seven companies.

[2] In the returns to October 1806 inclusive, only one drummer is shown for each company (making 17 non-commissioned officers in all), but in 1805 and 1806 the returns show two drummers a company.

[3] The regiment formerly commanded by Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray.

[4] Date given in the official list for 1804. In the list for 1807 it appears as 10th November 1803.

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4TH (OR PRINCE OF WALES'S CARSE OF GOWRIE) BATTALION.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Captain . .	Peter Murray Thriepland of Fingask	...	15 Oct. 1803.
„ . .	Alexander Hunter[1]	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Charles Hunter (of Seaside?) . .	Corn. Carse Yeo. Cavy. (?)	„ „ „
„ . .	Alexander Bell[2]	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Peter Kinnear[3]	...	„ „ „
„ . .	James Webster	...	„ „ „

Establishment.

Eight companies[4]	Officers (including adjutant)	26
	Sergeants, drummers, and fifers (no sergeant-major) . . .	40
	Rank and file	480
	Total	546

Uniform :—Same as above.[5]

This battalion received £25 for contingencies.

CULROSS COMPANY.

Captain . .	Robert Bruce Dundas of Blair	Captain, Culross Coy.	15 Oct. 1803.

Establishment.

Officers	3
Sergeants, drummers, and fifers . .	5
Rank and file	63
Total	71

This company served without pay or clothing allowance, except for sergeants, corporals, and drummers. It was attached to the Clackmannan Volunteer Regiment, as in the case of the former Culross Company. It is not mentioned on Willson's "Plate," so no details as to the uniform are forthcoming.

[1] Probably Alexander Hunter of Kirkton, who had been 1st lieutenant of the Longforgan Volunteer Company.

[2] The name is given thus in a return sent in by Lord Kinnaird in 1806. In the official list for 1804 it is T—— Bell.

[3] Probably the third son of Patrick Kinnear, tenant in Inchmartin, who afterwards purchased Lochton. If so, he had served as corporal in the Carse of Gowrie troop of Yeomanry Cavalry. Kinnoull charter-room.

[4] Contrary to the regulation already referred to, the Lieutenant-Colonel and Major in this battalion each had a company. Six companies were originally proposed and accepted, but two additional ones were raised towards the end of 1803, in order that an adjutant might be allowed.

[5] According to Willson, the officers had gold lace, but at Fingask there is a coat (presumably Captain Threipland's), which, although it has yellow pipings, shows no signs of any lace. The facings are blue and the coat-tails are turned back with buff, on which is displayed a silver bugle. The buttons, which are arranged in twos, show a Prince of Wales's feather above two sprays of thistles and the words "Carse of Gowrie."

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LOYAL CLAN DONACHIE[1] VOLUNTEERS.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Major Cdt. .	Col. William Robertson of Lude	Col., Perth. Fenc. Infy. .	17 Nov. 1803.
	LUDE, OR 1ST COMPANY.		
Captain . .	John Robertson[2]	Lt.-Col., Perth. Fenc. Infy.	17 Nov. 1803.
	GLENEROCHY, OR 2ND COMPANY.		
Captain . .	Robert Robertson of Auchleeks .	...	17 Nov. 1803.
	MOUNTED ARTILLERY, OR 3RD COMPANY.		
Captain . .	Robert Reid (of Blairfettie?) . .	...	3 Jan. 1804.

Headquarters, Lude.

Establishment.

Three companies	Officers	13
	Sergeants, drummers, and pipers	31[3]
	Rank and file	263[4]
	Total	307

Uniform :—For the Lude and Glenerochy Companies, red jackets with white facings, and the kilt—presumably of Robertson tartan. Silver lace for the officers. For the Artillery Company, blue coats with facings of the same colour, and blue breeches. Gold lace for the officers.

The infantry companies were armed with pikes.

This corps served without pay or clothing allowance, but was enrolled on the understanding that pay would be given if called out on actual service or permanent duty.

It will be observed that the companies of sharpshooters offered by Provost Caw do not appear on this list. They were accepted on the 22nd of November 1803, and we hear that the men had engaged to serve on the same terms as the Culross Company, *i.e.* without any pay or clothing allowance, except for the non-commissioned officers and drummers. In February 1804 the men had begun to exercise and the clothing had been ordered, but the attendance at the drills was so irregular that the idea of forming the corps had to be abandoned, and it was consequently never embodied. The officers had been gazetted, however, and the corps duly figures in the official list of the Reserve Forces published

[1] This is the spelling adopted by members of the corps, and I therefore reproduce it, although it is not the correct one.

[2] Brother of Lude.

[3] The number of non-commissioned officers fluctuated considerably. This is the highest figure in the extant returns; the lowest is 16.

[4] These figures include all three companies, but the Artillery Company was supernumerary. The authorised establishment of rank and file for the other two companies was 200.

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in October 1804, also in Willson's "View of the Volunteer Army of Great Britain in the year 1806."

It now remains to be seen what the Yeomanry Cavalry had been doing. In June 1803 fresh regulations had also been issued for this force. The old allowance of £3 to each man for clothing and appointments was reverted to, and might be drawn for three years in advance, if required. £120 per troop per annum was to be put at the disposal of the commanding officer, in lieu of pay of sergeants and trumpeters "and every other charge defrayed by Government." An adjutant on constant pay at the rate of 6s. per diem was to be allowed to corps of three troops and upwards, and, as before, the force if called out in case of riot or disturbance was to be paid as Regular cavalry. Such troops as had received the reduced clothing allowance of £2 per man might apply for the difference between that and the new rate.[1] Less liberal terms were announced in August, but the Perthshire Yeomanry being already in existence in June 1803, received allowances at the rates above described.

In August 1803 Lord Dupplin, who had joined as a trooper in 1801,[2] was appointed to the command in place of his father, Lord Kinnoull, who was by that time in failing health, and shortly afterwards the establishment was augmented to four troops by the addition of a Carse of Gowrie troop, commanded by Captain James Hay of Seggieden.[3] In accordance with the new regulation mentioned on page 215, each troop was commanded by a captain, the new captains being James Hay, the Hon. Francis Hay (commanding the Dupplin Troop), and James Bell (in command of the Perth Troop). An adjutant was appointed, but only three sergeants per troop are shown in the returns. In 1803 the regiment (now once more known as the "Perthshire Gentlemen and Yeomanry Cavalry") trained at Perth for ten days, part of the training being performed in August, and the other part in October.

In November 1803 the Government believed an invasion to be imminent, and before the second period of the Yeomanry training was over we find the General commanding in Dundee inquiring whether any troops or detachments of troops would make voluntary offers of service in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire, in place of two troops of Regular cavalry which had recently been withdrawn. They would be "occasionally relieved" and in case of a landing would be used as patrols and despatch riders. In December we accordingly hear of voluntary offers to serve by rotation, and in January 1804 the Yeomanry Cavalry went on duty at Perth, where it remained until the following July. While on

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 4th July 1803.

[2] He and his brother, the Hon. Francis Hay, took their places in the ranks of the Dupplin Troop for the first time on the 2nd of October 1801, when the regiment volunteered to serve anywhere in the United Kingdom. Lord Dupplin's commission as lieutenant-colonel was not signed until August 1804 and it was only antedated to the 1st of December 1803, but the returns of the regiment show that he was in command by August 1803. In the official list published on the 1st of October 1804 the date of the commission is given as the 1st August 1803.

[3] According to the published official list of October 1804, his commission was dated the 27th September 1803.

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permanent duty officers and men received the pay and allowances of Regular cavalry, and were subject to military discipline.

In November 1803 the 1st, 3rd, and 4th Battalions of the 1st Brigade were inspected, and towards the end of the month the brigade was ordered to go on permanent duty by rotation, the number of days for which each corps was assembled to be deducted from the eighty-five drills required in the year. The Perth Battalion accordingly was on duty at Perth from the 28th of December until the 18th of January 1804, when it was relieved by the Strathmore and Dunkeld Regiment, which in its turn was followed on the 7th of February by the Atholl Battalion. The various regiments were inspected while on duty, and very good reports were received of them, as well as of the Kinnoull Rock Artillery. The Provost wrote a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Butter, complimenting him on the behaviour of the Atholl Battalion at Perth. Sir Patrick Murray's corps had meanwhile been on duty at Stirling since the 18th of January, and at the end of three weeks was relieved by the Clackmannan and Culross Volunteers. All infantry corps while on duty were on the same footing with regard to pay, allowances, and discipline, as the infantry of the Regular Army.[1]

Lieutenant-Colonel Kinnaird had offered his battalion for permanent duty as early as December 1803,[2] but none of the 2nd Brigade appear to have assembled for this purpose until June 1804. Probably the issue of arms had been delayed.

The condition laid down in November that Volunteer corps of a certain strength, if raised after the 3rd of August, would only be entitled to adjutants and sergeant-majors if they performed eighty-five drills in the year (though not paid for more than twenty) appears soon to have proved unworkable, for in January 1804 it was announced that these appointments would be regulated in future entirely by the strength of the corps.[3] In February orders were issued that a definite number of carts and waggons throughout the country should be allotted to the Volunteers, not only for the commissariat but for the transport of the inland corps to the sea-coast.[4] In March non-commissioned officers and

[1] It was also announced on the 19th of March 1804 that a sum in proportion to the length of time for which a corps assembled for permanent duty, and not exceeding £1, 1s., would be advanced to each non-commissioned officer and man for the purchase of necessaries (Atholl charter-room). The instructions issued on this date seem to indicate that the Scots Volunteers were called out on permanent duty before the English ones—no doubt owing to the defenceless state of this country.

[2] This was one of the earliest offers made by Volunteer corps raised on the August allowances. Lieutenant-Colonel Kinnaird was also anxious to enrol 100 labourers and quarriers as pioneers, with their own tools, to be mustered three or four times in the year and to be attached to his battalion. It is not known if this proposal was sanctioned.

[3] Berry, pp. 89, 90. In June 1805 an allowance of 2s. a day for a horse was made to the adjutants of the 1st Brigade and of the Breadalbane and Carse Battalions.

[4] The Government instructions provided that boards should be kept in readiness to form seats for the waggons, and Colonel Muir Mackenzie devised a cushion made of thick hay ropes by means of which, with the addition of a back rail, he thought light two-wheeled hay carts could be made available for the transport of troops. He sent eight of his men from Perth to Dundee and back in this manner with complete success, and his device was approved by the Committee for the Defence of the Firth of Forth. Atholl charter-room.

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men on the August allowances were granted pay at the rates of the Militia during training, for every day of inspection "provided that such inspection shall not happen oftener than once in two months," and in April they were informed that ten days' additional pay would be granted to those who were willing to perform as many additional days of exercise in the course of the next two months without leaving their homes.[1]

In May 1804 Pitt returned to power, and one of the first Acts passed by the new Administration was that known as the 44 George III. cap. 54, by which the various Volunteer and Yeomanry Statutes were amended and consolidated. Enlisting from the Volunteers into the Line and Militia was to be encouraged, but Volunteer and Yeomanry "effectives"[2] were to be exempt not only from the Militia ballot, but from the ballot for any other force which might be raised in future for the defence of the country. The privileges and exemptions granted in 1802 were confirmed; if voluntarily assembled for military duty "upon any appearance of Invasion or for the Purpose of improving themselves in Military Exercise," members of both forces were to be entitled to a bounty of £1, 1s.; if called out by a lord-lieutenant, "or upon the making any general signal of alarm," the bounty was to be £2, 2s.; and if called beyond their respective counties in case of invasion or insurrection, a bounty of £1, 1s. was to be given to each man, to enable him to return home. The rates of pay were to be as before, and it was further provided that in any of the above-mentioned contingencies or during voluntary assembly for duty, the wives and families of Yeomen and Volunteers, if unable to maintain themselves, were to be supported at the public expense, in the same manner as the wives and families of militiamen. Both Yeomanry and Volunteers, if called out for invasion or insurrection, were to be subject to military discipline, but Yeomanry corps were to be exempt from this during their training. All adjutants, sergeants-major, and sergeants, on constant pay, and all trumpeters, "buglemen" and drummers, were to be at all times subject to military law,[3] though, as already stated, they might only be tried by courts-martial composed of Yeomanry or Volunteer officers. The duties of the Yeomanry were more closely defined than hitherto, and the annual training was not to exceed fourteen days. The Act also provided for the establishment of armouries at the headquarters of each Volunteer corps; for the appointment of persons to keep the arms in good condition; and for the inspection of the same by the deputy-lieutenants.[4]

On the 22nd of May 1804, under the Royal Sign Manual, the Duke of Atholl, as lord-lieutenant of Perthshire, was empowered to sign commissions for officers

[1] Berry, p. 94. In the case of the "August" Volunteers the period of permanent duty was extra to the drills.

[2] *i.e.* those who had performed at least four drills, if cavalry, or eight if infantry, in the course of the four months preceding each return to be made under the Act. These returns were to be made by the commanding officers to the lords-lieutenant three times a year.

[3] This had been laid down in the previous year by the Act 43 Geo. III. cap. 121.

[4] The Yeomanry continued to serve under this Act until 1901.

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serving in any of the Volunteer cavalry or infantry corps raised within the county.[1]

In July 1804 yet another Act was passed—"For establishing . . . a permanent Additional Force for the defence of the Realm; . . . to provide for augmenting His Majesty's Regular Forces, and for the gradual reduction of the Militia of Scotland."[2] Under this Statute Scotland was to produce 10,666 men (of which number Perthshire had to contribute 871), who were to be raised, not by ballot, but by recruiting. Parishes were to be fined £20 for every man of their respective quotas deficient, and recruiting agents were to be appointed all over the country from among the people. But in view of the prevailing scarcity of labour the bounties and inducements offered were too small, and in spite of the heavy penalties which were threatened (and apparently enforced), the Act was a complete failure.

In August instructions were issued as to the various places to which the Yeomanry and Volunteers were to march "on a well-founded report of invasion," and in October returns were desired of all the carts, carriages, and horses that had been offered for the transport of troops, and of all the conveyances that had been fitted up for the same purpose.

In September Colonel Robertson of Lude resigned the command of the Clan Donachie Volunteers on receiving a staff appointment, and his brother John was appointed major-commandant in his stead.

During the autumn of 1804 the Strathearn, Perth, and Strathmore Battalions did a second course of permanent duty at Perth, and on the 6th of November they were inspected along with the Midlothian and the Kinnoull Artillery—a spectacle which was described by an eye-witness as "really grand." The inspection was followed by a largely-attended public dinner.[3] Later in the month the Atholl Battalion, commanded by Major Hope Steuart in the absence through illness of Colonel Butter, went on permanent duty at Dundee for three weeks,[4] the Carse Battalion being there at the same time.

The Yeomanry meanwhile had been on duty by rotation all the year—the usual period of duty for each man being apparently about eleven days. In August the regiment had been at Montrose; in October it was back again at Perth; and in November and December it was at Dundee.[5] In the previous

[1] Kinnoull charter-room.

[2] 44 Geo. III. cap. 66.

[3] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. pp. 210–11. According to a paper in the Kinnoull charter-room the Perth Battalion was not on permanent duty at this time.

[4] It was probably during this period that a sham fight took place between the Atholl Battalion and some of the Forfarshire Volunteers, with regard to which sundry traditions have been preserved in Atholl. The Highlanders joined with great gusto in the "battle of Dundee," and it is said that, finding their supply of blank ammunition running short, they loaded their muskets with stones and the buttons off their tunics! One stalwart Athollman engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the major of the hostile force, overpowered him in a ditch, and fancying himself insulted by something his opponent said (for he understood no English), gave the unfortunate officer a sound drubbing with his own sword!

[5] Kinnoull charter-room. The Yeomanry gave a ball at Dundee on the 14th of December.

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summer the helmets worn since 1798 had been exchanged for hussar caps with cockades and hackle feathers. The caps were also ornamented with stars—of plated metal for the men, of silver for the officers. The great-coats adopted in 1798 were replaced by cavalry cloaks.[1]

In January 1805 we hear of the Breadalbane Volunteers doing the ten days' additional drill sanctioned the previous April,[2] and in May a party of Captain Palliser's company of the Strathmore Battalion helped to seize an illicit still.

In July Perthshire was called upon to provide 146 more men in terms of the Additional Force Act, to fill up vacancies caused by enlistment into the Regular Army,[3] but, as already recorded, no men were forthcoming.

On the 22nd of August Major Hope Steuart of Ballechin was appointed to the command of the Atholl Battalion, *vice* Lieutenant-Colonel Butter deceased, and on the 1st of September Captain Robert Robertson of Auchleeks was appointed major-commandant of the Clan Donachie Volunteers, *vice* Major John Robertson, resigned.

It seems curious that, in spite of the fact that another enemy—Spain—had by this time entered the lists, and that Napoleon's schemes now more than ever menaced Great Britain, neither Yeomanry nor Volunteers in Perthshire appear to have been called out on permanent duty in 1805. The Yeomanry merely assembled for the usual training at Perth, and the only apparent echo of the great crisis which had come and gone is to be found in a decision of the non-commissioned officers and men of Captain Palliser's company to give a day's pay for the benefit of the widows and children of the men who had fallen at Trafalgar.

On the 1st of November Major James Rattray of Arthurstone was appointed to the command of the Belmont Battalion *vice* Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson, who resigned on account of ill-health caused by his many years of military service in bad climates.

In January 1806 Pitt died, broken-hearted at the news of Austerlitz, and Grenville and Fox combined to form a ministry.

It had now become evident that the expense of the Volunteers had been more than could be met at a time of such great national emergency, and that, as the voluntary subscriptions were nearly exhausted, the force, if continued on the same footing, would cost the Government a great deal more than hitherto. Moreover, owing to the privileges granted to the Volunteers, they had proved a serious stumbling-block to the recruiting for the Regulars and Militia.[4] The

[1] Kinnoull charter-room.

[2] There is extant an order (dated 20th December 1804) from the General commanding in Scotland for the Breadalbane Volunteers to do duty at Stirling for thirty days from the 4th of January 1805, but on the 7th of January, in answer to an application from the Lord-Lieutenant, authority was given for the ten days' drill, which I think implies that they had not gone to Stirling.

[3] *Scots Magazine*, July 1805.

[4] In January 1804 the Volunteers and Yeomanry in Great Britain numbered 380,195, and though they had been gradually decreasing, in July 1806 they amounted to 349,226. Clode, vol. i. p. 323.

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new Government therefore repealed the Additional Force Acts of 1803 and 1804, and decreed that the Levy *en masse* of 1803 should be partially carried into effect.[1] The whole male population between the ages of sixteen and forty was to be trained to the use of arms by rotation, 200,000 being drilled each year for twenty-six days. The men were to be drawn by ballot, and in case of invasion might either be drafted into the Line to replace casualties, or might be organised into separate corps. Volunteers, as formerly, would be exempt from the Levy, but men who joined the Volunteer force after the 24th of July 1806 would do so at their own expense, the Government only providing arms. All Volunteer corps were to be put on the pay and allowances of August 1803, the £1 per man for clothing being renewable every three years. There were to be no more than twenty-six days of exercise in the year, and the drill sergeants on permanent pay were only to receive 6d. per diem, instead of 1s. 6d. Permanent duty was to be dispensed with, and the force was to be inspected by deputy-lieutenants, instead of inspecting field officers. The allowance made to the Yeomanry for contingent expenses was also reduced from £120 per troop to £2 for each man.[2]

These terms, as might have been expected, were not favourably received by the Volunteers, but in days when so much was required of the Regular Army and the Militia, it can well be understood that the Government did not wish to render the Volunteer force too attractive, and although the policy of making a distinction between present and future Volunteers may have been questionable, it seems only fair that all corps already in existence should have been put upon a similar footing.

The officers of the Perth Battalion and Kinnoull Rock Artillery, however, promptly resigned—the former giving as their principal reason the frequent changes in the *personnel* of the corps, on account of which the regulation regarding new recruits would be keenly felt—and at a meeting of the county held on the 30th of September a vote of thanks to the Volunteers and a resolution condemning the new regulations were proposed by Colonel Graham of Balgowan and seconded by Mr. Campbell Colquhoun, sheriff-depute. A counter amendment to the latter motion was indeed brought forward by Lord Kinnaird and Lord Breadalbane, but the original resolution was carried by forty-six votes to nine.

Most of the Scots Volunteers, however, agreed to continue their services, and though we hear that in October the Strathmore Regiment was dwindling, returns sent in about that date show that the Yeomanry and the Atholl, Breadalbane, and Belmont Battalions were very little below strength.

In March 1807 there was another change of Government, and the Duke of

[1] Mr. Clode says that the Levy *en masse* was repealed, but an examination of the Statute Book makes it clear that it was the Act of 1803 by which an "Army of Reserve" was created, and the ineffectual Additional Force Act of 1804, which were annulled. Mr. Clode appears to have overlooked the last-named Act altogether, and Mr. Berry, although he quotes a reference to it, does not explain what it was.

[2] Berry, p. 107, *et seq.*

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Portland became prime minister. The new Administration at once began to consider the Volunteer question, and pending the adoption of a new scheme decided to suspend the operation of the Training Act of the previous year. The practice of permanent duty appears to have been revived, for in November the Strathmore Battalion assembled at Perth (though for not more than ten days), just after the Yeomanry Cavalry had finished its training at the same place.[1] In the summer of 1808 also, the Atholl, Strathmore, Breadalbane, and Belmont Battalions were on permanent duty for from twelve to fourteen days—the latter at Dundee.

By April 1808 the plans of the new Government had been matured, and Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War, had introduced a measure[2] providing for the gradual replacement of the Volunteers by a "Local Militia" which was to be raised by a ballot of all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty, the usual exceptions being made.[3] The force was to be six times as numerous as the Regular Militia,[4] and the various corps composing it were only to serve within their respective counties, or the adjoining ones, except in case of invasion or of insurrection arising out of invasion, under which circumstances they might be sent to any part of Great Britain. In counties where the effective Volunteers amounted to six times the Militia quota, or where the requisite number of men voluntarily came forward, no ballot was to be enforced, but where the Volunteers were deficient, Local Militia were to be raised by ballot to complete the quota, unless the vacancies were filled up voluntarily within six months. The service was to be for four years, and no substitutes were to be allowed for balloted persons, although the latter might escape service by paying heavy fines proportionate to their circumstances. Even Volunteers and Yeomanry were not to be exempt from the Local Militia ballot, but if drawn, and desirous of remaining in their old corps, they could do so by paying half the normal fines. Men serving in the Local Militia were to be exempt from the ballot for the Regular Militia during their period of service and for one year after, but if they omitted to train with their own force, they were at once to be enrolled in the other. Parishes were to be fined £15 for every man deficient on and after the 14th of February 1809. Existing Volunteer corps were invited to transfer themselves into Local Militia, and a bounty of two guineas and an allowance for necessaries was promised to each man who should enrol voluntarily before the 12th of May 1809.

The Local Militia was to be embodied for training for not more than twenty-eight days in the year, and the men were also liable to be trained for two hours on any evening in May or June, at places not more than two miles from their

[1] From a printed letter addressed on the 31st of August 1807 by Captain Hay of Seggieden to the members of the Perthshire Yeomanry it appears that during the four months previous to August the 1st, they had not performed the four drills necessary to procure them exemption from the Militia ballot, and that they were therefore liable to serve in the Militia or to procure substitutes, if drawn.

[2] This Act (48 Geo. III. cap. 111) was finally passed on the 30th of June 1808.

[3] See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, p. 125.

[4] *i.e.* the Militia already established.

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homes.[1] They were to be paid at the same rates as the Regular Militia, were to receive an allowance for necessaries, and when on actual service a further sum of one guinea was "to be laid out to their advantage." They were also to be entitled to the benefit of Chelsea Hospital. Local Militiamen might enlist in the Army or Regular Militia at any time except during their annual training. If at the close of the war the Volunteer corps should cease, the full number of Local Militia would be raised, and Lord Castlereagh hoped thus to create a permanent force for home defence, distributed more equally between the various counties than the Volunteers had been, and which, established on the principle of universal liability to service, would in time be the means of training the entire manhood of the nation to the use of arms.[2]

This Act, which was destined to be far more successful than any of its predecessors, was well received by the nation, and the Perthshire Volunteers at once offered to transfer themselves into Local Militia. It is evident, however, that the several corps hoped at first to retain their identity, but this was impossible, as under the new scheme larger units were to be formed. The Belmont and Carse of Gowrie Battalions therefore united to form an "Eastern" Regiment of Local Militia; the Strathmore and Dunkeld Battalion became a "Central" Regiment; while the Atholl [3] and Breadalbane, and the Monteith and Strathearn Battalions were transformed respectively into "Highland" and "Western" Regiments. The Culross Company volunteered for the Clackmannan Local Militia,[4] and the Clan Donachie men also offered to transfer their services to the new force, but as General Robertson of Lude refused to allow them to unite with any other corps, they had to remain as they were.[5] The Lord-Lieutenant, however, had reported unfavourably upon the regiment, and in January 1809 orders were issued for its disbandment. General Robertson, furious, demanded its re-establishment as an authorised corps, and though this was refused the men appear to have continued their services, for in June 1811 we read of some of them claiming exemption as Volunteers from the Militia ballot, and of a case pending in the Court of Session in support of their contention.

The Perthshire Yeomanry was also reduced in January 1809. The regiment not unnaturally had declined to transfer itself into Local Militia, and it was plain that if continued as Yeomanry it would serve under a disadvantage, for members of the corps would not be exempt from serving in the new force. This probably dealt the final death-blow to the regiment, but it is clear from

[1] Atholl charter-room. This additional training seems never to have taken place.

[2] Clode, p. 328 *et seq.*, and pp. 408–12. Berry, p. 111 *et seq.*

[3] In August 1808 Robert Stewart of Fincastle, late lieutenant-colonel Royal Perthshire Militia (68th), was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Atholl Volunteers, *vice* Lieutenant-Colonel Hope Steuart, resigned.

[4] This offer was evidently declined, for in May 1809 the company discontinued its services.

[5] There seems no reason why they should have proved less complaisant than the men of the Atholl and Breadalbane Battalions. In March 1806, out of a total of 276, 81 were Robertsons, 62 were Stewarts, and the remainder belonged to other clans represented in Atholl or Rannoch.

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papers in the Atholl and Kinnoull charter-rooms that during the two previous years the attendance at drills had been very irregular, and that the numbers had been steadily decreasing. In June 1808 Lord Kinnoull had dismissed from the corps all those who had not performed the drills necessary to enable them to be returned as "effective," and although in July the establishment of rank and file had been reduced to the then effective strength (*i.e.* 120) by the end of the year the regiment was some forty or fifty short. The last training took place at Perth in the summer of 1808.[1]

By the end of that year 2977 non-commissioned officers and men had transferred from the Volunteers into the Local Militia, but as 3918 rank and file were required, there was at one time a talk of enforcing the ballot. By November 1809, however, the necessary number of men had enrolled voluntarily in the Central, Highland, and Western Regiments, and as the Eastern Regiment was then only forty-nine short, it appears probable that the full quota was raised without compulsion.

The writer has been unable to procure any information with regard to the uniform of the Perthshire Local Militia, beyond the fact that the Highland Regiment wore the kilt and buff belts,[2] and that the head-dress of the Eastern Regiment was a high black beaver hat (of the kind known as the "Waterloo chaco"), with a red-and-white hackle and black cockade at the left side. In front was a white metal plate showing the letters "G.R."[3]

So far as can be ascertained,[4] the field and company officers first appointed to the Perthshire Local Militia were as follows:—

1ST, OR HIGHLAND, REGIMENT.

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Col. Cdt. . .	John, 4th Earl of Breadalbane[5] .	Colonel, Bread. Highs. .	...
Lt.-Colonel .	Robert Stewart of Fincastle .	„ Atholl Batt. . .	...
Major . . .	Joseph Stewart Menzies of Foss.	Capt., „ „ . .	...

[1] Mr. Cowan, in his *Ancient Capital of Scotland* (vol. ii. p. 340), says that the county Yeomanry was embodied in 1810, but from the papers in the Atholl and Kinnoull charter-rooms there is no doubt that it was reduced before the 16th of January 1809.

[2] One of these belts, with a brass plate bearing the inscription "Clan na Gaidheal an Guailibh Cheile" encircling the Royal cypher with a thistle and the words, "Royal Highland P.L.M." is preserved at Blair Castle. I have also seen a leopard-skin sporran, with a red leather panel ornamented with thistles, on the centre of which is a metal plate bearing the letters "R.H.P.L.M."—evidently the sporran worn by the same regiment.

[3] Head-dress preserved at Seggieden. It also appears from a letter written by Lieutenant-Colonel James Hay in March 1810, that the coats of the Eastern Regiment had red "necks" (*i.e.* collars). Kinnoull charter-room.

[4] As I can find no official list of the officers of the Local Militia prior to 1810, the lists of the Highland, Western, and Central Regiments have been compiled from papers in the Atholl charter-room, supplemented, where possible, by dates from the official list for 1810—hence the gaps in the dates. That for the Eastern Regiment is from the official list for 1810 only, and is consequently later than the others.

[5] Lord Breadalbane did not command the regiment long, for on the 24th of October 1809 Robert Stewart was promoted colonel. On the same day Neil Menzies, younger of Weem,

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1ST, OR HIGHLAND, REGIMENT.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Major . . .	Francis McNab of McNab . . .	Major, Bread. Highs. .	...
Captain . .	John Stewart of Shierglas . . .	Capt., Atholl Batt. . . .	...
„ . .	John Livington Campbell, yr. of Achalader	„ Perth. Mil. (68th)	...
„ . .	Alexander Robertson	1st Lt., Atholl Batt. . .	25 Sept. 1808.
„ . .	Alexander Campbell	Capt., Bread. Highs. . .	...
„ . .	William Fullarton Kennedy . .	„ „ „ . .	25 Sept. 1808.
„ . .	Archibald McNab (yr. of McNab?)	„ „ „ . .	„ „ „
„ . .	Henry Fergusson	1st Lt., Atholl Batt. . .	„ „ „
„ . .	William Stewart	...	...
„ . .	Allan Stewart	...	...
„ . .	James Malloch[1]	...	...
„ . .	Dougal McDougall, *supernumerary*	Capt., Atholl Batt. . .	...
„ . .	Colin Menzies	...	...
„ . .	John Menzies	...	...

2ND, OR WESTERN, REGIMENT.

Lt.-Col. Cdt.	Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, Bart.	Lt.-Col.-Cdt., Strathearn Batt.	25 Sept. 1808.
Lt.-Colonel .	James Moray of Abercairny . .	Lt.-Col., Strathearn Batt.[2]	„ „ „
Major . . .	John, 8th Lord Rollo	Capt., Perth. Yeo. Cavy.	11 Mch. 1809.
„ . . .	Henry Home Drummond of Blair Drummond	...	23 April „
Captain . .	Anthony Murray (of Dollerie?) .	...	25 Sept. 1808.
„ . .	Joseph Murray, yr. of Ayton . .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Andrew Murray of Murrayshall .	Lieut., Perth. Yeo. Cavy. (?)	„ „ „
„ . .	John Hepburn	„ Strathearn Batt. .	„ „ „
„ . .	Alexander Campbell	Capt., „ „ .	...
„ . .	John Murray	„ „ „ .	...
„ . .	John Tainsh	„ „ „ .	25 Sept. 1808.
„ . .	John Rob	„ Monteith „ .	„ „ „
„ . .	George Gardner	„ Strathearn „ .	„ „ „

late captain Perthshire Militia (68th), was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and John Stewart was promoted major *vice* Stewart Menzies. On the 23rd of May 1810 John L. Campbell become junior major, but he was succeeded by Alexander Campbell on the 8th of June. Mr. D. P. Menzies in *The Red and White Book of Menzies*, p. 440, mentioning the commission held by Neil Menzies (afterwards Sir Neil) in the Local Militia, confuses this force with the "Regular" Militia (which he describes as "the Black Watch Militia," although the Perthshire Militia had no connection with the Black Watch until 1881. See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902*). It is unnecessary to point out to readers of this paper and of the paper on the Perthshire Militia that the two forces were entirely distinct from one another.

[1] Probably "John" Malloch who appears in the official list of 1807 as captain in the Breadalbane Volunteers.

[2] Appointed in January 1808, *vice* James Johnstone, deceased. Formerly captain-lieutenant Perthshire Fencible Cavalry.

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2ND, OR WESTERN, REGIMENT.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Captain . .	James Peddie	Lieut., Strathearn Batt. .	25 Sept. 1808.
„ . .	Archibald Knox	„ „ „ .	„ „ „
„ . .	James Gillespie	„ Monteith „ .	11 Mch. 1809.

3RD, OR CENTRAL, REGIMENT.

Colonel . .	Sir Alexander Muir Mackenzie of Delvine, Bart.	Col., . Strathmore Batt.	25 Sept. 1808.
Lt.-Colonel .	John Murray, yr. of Lintrose . .	Lt.-Col., „ „	„ „ „
Major. . .	Patrick Murray of Simprim . .	Major, „ „	„ „ „
„ . . .	James, Lord Ruthven	...	20 Dec. „
Captain . .	James Stewart	Captain, Strathmore Batt.	25 Sept. „
„ . .	John Gordon	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	Charles Hay	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	Thomas Palliser	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	James Keay of Snaigow . . .	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	John Minto	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	Andrew Archer	„ „ „	„ „ „
„ . .	Charles Stewart	„ Caledonian Regt.	„ „ „
„ . .	Charles Clark of Princeland . .	„ Strathmore Batt.	„ „ „
„ . .	Thomas Whitson[1]	...	1 Mch. 1809.
„ . .	James Murray Paton[2]	...	13 „ „
„ . .	James Fisher[3]	Lieut., Strathmore Batt.	13 July 1810.

4TH, OR EASTERN, REGIMENT.

Lt.-Col.-Cdt.	James Hay of Seggieden . . .	Lt.-Col., East. Local Mil.[4]	15 June 1809.
Lt.-Colonel .	Alexander Whitson of Parkhill .	Major, „ „ „	25 Sept. 1808.[5]
Major. . .	Lawrence Craigie of Glendoick .	Lieut., 2nd Dragoons .	„ „ „
„ . . .	Charles Hunter (of Seaside?) . .	Captain, East. Local Mil.	„ „ „
Captain . .	Thomas Hogg	„ Belmont Batt. .	„ „ „
„ . .	Peter Kinnear	„ Carse of Gowrie Batt. . . .	„ „ „
„ . .	James Miller	„ Belmont Batt. .	„ „ „
„ . .	John Rattray	„ „ „ .	„ „ „
„ . .	David Anderson	Lieut., „ „ .	31 Mch. 1809.
„ . .	Francis Keill	2nd Lt., Carse of Gowrie Batt.	6 June „

[1] Resident at Perth.

[2] Son of James Paton, sheriff clerk. Was afterwards himself sheriff clerk.

[3] Resident at Perth.

[4] Lord Kinnaird had been originally recommended as commanding officer, but resigned in February 1809 from ill-health, before he had been gazetted. Lord Kinnoull succeeded him, but resigned in the following June on his appointment to the Perthshire Militia. James Hay was then promoted commandant. He had served in the Perthshire Fencible Cavalry 1794–1800, and since the disbandment of that regiment he had been both captain and major in the Perthshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

[5] Antedated.

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4TH, OR EASTERN, REGIMENT.—*Continued.*

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Captain . .	William Archer	...	6 June 1809.
„ . .	Robert Moncreif	...	„ „ „
„ . .	Robert Dall	...	7 May 1810.
„ . .	Thomas Mylne (of Mylnefield?) .	...	„ „ „
„ . .	William Buist[1]	1st Lt., Carse of Gowrie Batt.	21 „ „
„ . .	John Thoms	Lieut., Belmont Batt. .	29 „ „

Besides the officers above-mentioned, each regiment included fourteen lieutenants, ten ensigns, an adjutant, a quartermaster,[2] and a surgeon; one sergeant-major, forty-eight sergeants, the like number of corporals, a drum-major, and twenty-six drummers. The establishment of privates for the Highland Regiment was 976; for the Western, 989; for the Central, 983; and for the Eastern, 970. Besides the adjutants, quartermasters, sergeants-major and drum-majors, about eighteen sergeants, eighteen corporals and ten drummers in each regiment appear at first to have been on constant pay, but in December 1809 the corporals were struck off the permanent staff, and the sergeants on it were reduced to six, and the drummers to five, in each regiment.[3] The period of training was also cut down to twenty days. The Perthshire Local Militia does not appear to have done any permanent duty in 1809, but in 1810 and 1811 the Highland, Eastern, and Central Regiments performed their training at Perth, and the Western Regiment at Crieff, four days' pay and subsistence money being allowed in all for the march to and from the rendezvous.

In 1812 the Local Militia Acts were consolidated,[4] the most noteworthy result of this legislation being that, with consent of the commanding officer, a certain proportion of the men might continue their service beyond four years —this being a departure from the original principle of universal training. The new force had become so popular that the Government had already felt in a position to reduce the bounty for volunteers to £1, 1s., and they now announced that in future no bounty would be given unless the majority of the heritors in a parish chose to assess themselves for that purpose. The force was reduced in strength; each Perthshire regiment was henceforth only to include ten companies, and the total number of privates raised by the county was to be 2612. Local Militiamen were to be exempt from the Regular Militia for two years after the expiration of their service, and the allowances for their wives and families were to be the same as those of the Regular Militia.[5]

[1] Probably the William "Binst" who appears as 1st lieutenant in the Carse of Gowrie Battalion in the official list for 1807.

[2] The Highland Regiment, when first established, had a second adjutant and quartermaster, both supernumeraries; also depôts at Pitlochry and Kenmore. From 1813 onwards, however, the depôts of all four regiments were at Perth.

[3] From 1811 onwards an increased number of sergeants and drummers was allowed, provided a corresponding reduction were made in their pay.

[4] By the Act 52 Geo. III. cap. 38.

[5] *Scots Magazine*, June 1812.

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All the Perthshire regiments trained at Perth in 1812, the men who had served before only assembling for fourteen days—exclusive of the time spent on the way. The recruits were drilled for an extra week beforehand. In February 1813 detachments of the Central and Eastern Regiments were called out on account of a mutiny among the regiments of Regular Militia quartered at Perth,[1] but they were not on duty for long. In the summer of that year the training was performed as usual at Perth.

In 1813 an Act was passed[2] allowing Local Militiamen to enlist in the Regular Militia of their own or adjacent counties, and later in the same year, on account of the large number of prisoners of war then detained in Great Britain, by another Act[3] the Crown was empowered to accept any voluntary offers which might be made by the various corps of Local Militia to serve outside their respective counties, such service not to exceed forty days in a year. In the following winter we accordingly read of the Perthshire regiments offering to do garrison duty in Perth, or outside Perthshire, at the shortest notice. Their offer was accepted, and in the spring of 1814 the four regiments were sent in succession to assist in guarding some six or seven thousand French prisoners at Perth. As in the Regular Militia, an allowance was given to the officers in aid of mess expenses, and the non-commissioned officers and men, in addition to their pay and allowances, received a bounty of two guineas, which was to be laid out in the purchase of such specified necessaries as they did not possess.

In the following year, on account of Napoleon's abdication and the consequent cessation of hostilities, the Local Militia was not called out for training, nor do its services appear to have been requisitioned during the Hundred Days, although on the renewal of war permission was again given to members of the force to volunteer for service outside their respective counties.[4] The last occasion on which we hear of the Local Militia in the county is in April 1815, when the Eastern Regiment (or a portion of it) was assembled at Perth, on account of a disturbance there.

The Local Militia, as already pointed out, had originally been instituted as a permanent force, but with the close of the war the reasons for its continuance became less pressing, and those for economy were all-powerful. In April 1816, therefore, the staff was discharged (the adjutants being allowed half-pay); the arms and colours were given up; and the ballot and enrolment of men were suspended annually from that year onwards until 1836, after which no further order was issued.[5] The force, however, is still legally in existence.[6]

Although the Local Militia had ceased with the war, peace was shortly to bring about a revival of the Yeomanry. On the 10th of April 1817, at a meeting held in Perth, it was resolved, in view of the disaffection and riots in many parts of the kingdom, to form a troop of Yeomanry Cavalry "to assist in the defence of the country against foreign and domestic enemies." This proposal received

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 246 *et seq.*
[2] 53 Geo. III. cap. 81.
[3] 54 Geo. III. cap. 19.
[4] 55 Geo. III. cap. 76.
[5] Clode, vol. i. p. 333.
[6] *Manual of Military Law* (1899), p. 223.

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official sanction on the 13th of May; an establishment of two sergeants, two corporals, one trumpeter, and fifty privates, was authorised, and the following officers were appointed :—

Rank.	*Name.*	*Formerly*	*Comm. dated*
Capt.-Comdt.	Alexander Hepburn Belshes[1] of Invermay	Major, 15th Dragoons .	14 May 1817.
Lieutenant .	David Moncreiffe,[2] yr. of Moncreiffe	„ R. Perth. Mil. (68th)	„ „ „
Cornet . .	James Sharp of Kincarrathie[3] .	„ E. Ind. Coy.'s Serv.	„ „ „

The troop served under the Act of 1804 and therefore on the same terms as the previous Perthshire Yeomanry. Officers and men trained annually at Perth for fourteen days, assembling usually for one week in the summer, and for another in October or November. The arms were pistols and sabres.

In July 1817 the corps included forty-one privates, many of whom were members of county families or men who had held commissions in the Volunteers or Local Militia. A year later the establishment was increased to sixty, and at the training in July 1819 the numbers were reported as complete. In the following year, owing to the disturbed state of the country, there was a general augmentation of the Yeomanry force, and in May 1820 Captain Belshes' troop was increased to a hundred privates. Two proposals, however, for raising additional troops (one of which was to have been contributed by the Carse of Gowrie and commanded by Colonel Paterson of Castle Huntly) fell through, apparently from lack of officers.

In April 1820 the Perthshire Yeomanry appears to have been sent to Coupar Angus[4] on account of a disturbance there, and a letter was afterwards received from Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, congratulating officers and men upon their march. In July and October the usual training was performed at Perth, and in November a detachment of the corps, under Lieutenant Sharp, was called out in aid of the civil power at Brechin.[5]

In January 1821 James Drummond of Strathallan[6] undertook to raise another troop, forty-five men strong, and the existing one having been augmented and then divided into two troops of sixty each, Captain Belshes was appointed major-commandant of the whole (commission dated 5th February 1821). The captains

[1] From 1824 onwards he and his brother John Belshes, who afterwards served in the corps (see *infra*, p. 237), appear with the double surname "Murray Belshes."

[2] Succeeded his father as sixth baronet, 1818. Promoted captain in the Yeomanry on the 13th of December 1820.

[3] Son of the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 1st Perth Volunteers ("Kincarachy" being an older spelling of "Kincarrathie"). He was promoted lieutenant in the Yeomanry on the 1st July 1820; captain, 1821.

[4] Lord Sidmouth's letter, which is the only evidence on the subject I can find, says "Coupar" only, but from the spelling I think the allusion must be to Coupar Angus.

[5] Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers.

[6] Restored as Viscount Strathallan, 1824.

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were Sir David Moncreiffe,[1] James Sharp, and James Drummond. The corps was now to include a surgeon and sergeant-major, and the total establishment was increased to 194. In July 1821 the effectives of all ranks numbered 180. In March 1822 Captain Sharp resigned, and Major John Belshes,[2] who had served as lieutenant in the corps, was promoted to the command of his troop. In the following December Major William Moray Stirling of Ardoch[3] was appointed captain *vice* James Drummond, resigned, and in June 1825 Lieutenant George Clerk Craigie of Dunbarnie,[4] who had served in the corps both as trooper and officer, succeeded Captain John Belshes in the command of the second troop. In 1827 Lieutenant John Grant of Kilgraston was promoted captain of this troop.

We hear of the Yeomanry being inspected during their training at Perth in 1824 by Colonel Joseph Stratton of the 6th Dragoons, and in 1825 by the Lord-Lieutenant. In the course of the latter year came an offer from twenty-nine men in or near Coupar Angus, headed by Peter Wedderburn of Islabank and James Wright of Lawton, to form a troop to be attached to the Perthshire corps. Government, however, by that time did not wish to further increase the Yeomanry, and the offer was declined.

In December 1827, it having been decided to dispense with the services of the Yeomanry in districts where there was no reason to apprehend any disturbance of the peace, orders were issued that all the regiments in Scotland should be disbanded except those of Midlothian, Stirling, Lanark, and Renfrew. The Duke of Atholl did his utmost to prevent the reduction of the Perthshire corps, but to no purpose, and on the 4th of January 1828 officers and men of the Perthshire Yeomanry Cavalry delivered up their arms. In the evening Major Belshes gave a dinner "in the county room" to the corps, at which the Lord-Lieutenant and other prominent Perthshire men were present, and with much regret and evident mutual good feeling, the members of the Perthshire Yeomanry parted company.[5]

For more than thirty years after the disbandment of the last corps of Perthshire Yeomanry the Volunteer force remained in abeyance, but at length in May 1859 the strained relations with France caused by Napoleon III.'s aggressive policy in Italy led to its re-establishment. A circular letter from the Secretary of State for War to the lords-lieutenant recommended the formation of Volunteer companies under the Act of 1804, but intimated that (unless called out to repel an invader, in which case the pay of the Regular Army would be allowed) the

[1] There is at Moncreiffe a gold snuff-box presented to Sir David by the non-commissioned officers and men of his troop "in token of their esteem, respect, and gratitude for the uniform zeal with which he has promoted the interests of the troop."

[2] Late captain and brevet-major, half-pay, 59th Foot. Younger brother of Major Alexander Belshes, and succeeded him in the estate of Invermay.

[3] Late captain and brevet-major, 13th Dragoons. Formerly captain, Royal Perthshire Militia (68th).

[4] Only son of David Craigie, who bought Dunbarnie from his cousin Lawrence, father of Major Thomas Craigie of the Perthshire Militia.

[5] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 12th January 1828. The corps is shown in Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register* until the year 1832, inclusive.

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Government was not prepared to incur any expense on account of the Force. The spirit of the country, however, was not to be kept back by this parsimony; Volunteer corps sprang into existence with marvellous rapidity; money was subscribed to defray the necessary expenses; and within a year 119,000 men had enrolled. A change of Government brought with it some slight modification of the terms, and the Volunteers were shortly relieved of the necessity of purchasing their arms and ammunition, but it was not until 1863 that the present system was introduced, by which Government gives a grant for each member of a corps who attains to a certain degree of proficiency.

Since then innumerable regulations have been issued, all tending to increase the efficiency of the force and the pecuniary help given by Government, but as full details with regard to these can be found in other volumes no attempt will be made to deal with them here, and this paper will confine itself to a brief mention of the corps raised in Perthshire since 1859.

Corps.			Officers.		
No.[1]	Locality.	Strength.	Rank.	Name.	Comm. Dated.
1st	Perth	1 coy.	Captain	George Moncrieff, writer, Perth[2]	13 Dec. 1859.
2nd	Perth[3]	1 coy.	Captain	John Dickson, W.S.[4]	,, ,, ,,
3rd	Breadalbane	4 coys.[5]	Major Cdt.	John, 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T.	29 Feb. 1860.
...	...	...	Captain	George Gunning Campbell	,, ,, ,,
...	...	...	,,	John Stewart Menzies of Chesthill	,, ,, ,,
...	...	...	,,	Charles Cholmeley Hall	,, ,, ,,
...	...	...	,,	Edward Gordon Place of Loch Dochart	,, ,, ,,
5th	Blairgowrie	1 coy.	,,	John Livington Campbell of Achalader[6]	16 Mch. ,,
6th	Dunblane	1 coy.	,,	John Graham of Glenny[7]	24 Sept. ,,
7th	Coupar Angus	1 coy.	,,	Mungo Murray of Lintrose	5 May ,,
8th	Crieff	1 coy.	,,	Sir Wm. Keith Murray of Ochtertyre, Bart.[8]	,, ,, ,,
9th	Alyth	1 coy.	,,	James Wedderburn Ogilvy[9]	26 ,, ,,
10th	Strathtay	1 coy.	,,	J. Stewart-Robertson of Edradynate	19 ,, ,,
11th	Doune	1 coy.	,,	John Campbell of Inverardoch	26 ,, ,,
12th	Callander	1 coy.	,,	John Holt Skinner of Gart	,, ,, ,,
13th	St. Martins	1 coy.	,,	William M. Macdonald of St. Martins	22 Aug. ,,
14th	Birnam	1 coy.	,,	William A. Cargill[10]	10 Nov. ,,
15th	Auchterarder	1 coy.	,,	Francis Grove, R.N.[11]	4 Dec. ,,
16th	Stanley	1 coy.	,,	Samuel Howard[12]	22 Jan. 1861.

[1] Each separate corps received a number. The dates given may be taken as approximately dating the formation of the respective corps, but all were doubtless in existence for a short while before.

[2] Son of Robert Hope Moncrieff, solicitor in Perth, brother of Captain Moncrieff of Culfargie.

[3] The second Perth company (which consisted chiefly of artisans) was raised separately to the other and was at first named the "2nd Perthshire." The two companies, however, were in 1860 formed into one corps, under the title of the "1st Perthshire," with Captain Moncrieff as commandant.

[4] Son of Walter Dickson, W.S., of Monybuie in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

[5] Apparently at first only two companies were raised, which were numbered the 3rd and 4th.

[6] Late 1st lieutenant, 5th Foot.

[7] Sheriff substitute for the Western Division of Perthshire.

[8] Late lieutenant-colonel, Royal Perthshire Militia (68th). Formerly captain, 42nd Foot.

[9] Late captain, 25th Foot (King's Own Borderers). Third son of Peter Wedderburn Ogilvy of Ruthven.

[10] Proprietor of Spoutwells, Dunkeld. Resided at Dundonachie in Strathbraan. Formerly a banker.

[11] Of Shenstone Park in Staffordshire.

[12] Proprietor of Stanley Mills.

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The foregoing table shows what companies were first embodied in the county, and by whom they were originally commanded.

The formation of separate companies such as the above was at first encouraged, but the Government soon recognised that larger units would be preferable, and battalions were therefore established wherever possible. In Perthshire two "administrative" battalions were formed—that is to say, battalions, the various companies of which continued to make their own financial arrangements and kept their separate entities, but met together so many times in the year for battalion drills, had a uniform system of training and organisation, and the advantages of an adjutant and field officers. In 1860 the companies at Perth, Dunblane, Coupar Angus, Crieff, Alyth, Doune, Callander, Birnam, and Auchterarder were formed into the "1st, or Perth, Administrative Battalion," with Sir William Keith Murray as lieutenant-colonel and James Wedderburn Ogilvy as major,[1] while in the following year the Breadalbane Companies became a "2nd Administrative Battalion" under Lord Breadalbane,[2] the Glenorchy Company of the Argyllshire Volunteers and the Strathtay Company being united to this battalion for drill and administrative purposes. An adjutant was appointed to each regiment, but the majority in the 2nd Battalion remained vacant. The companies at Blairgowrie, St. Martins, and Stanley appear at first to have remained independent, but by 1862 they had joined the Perth Battalion. In that year the Callander Company came to an end, and in the following year the Stanley Company also ceased, but in 1863 another company (numbered the 18th, and Highland in character) was raised in Perth under Captain Archibald Reid.[3] This was joined to the 1st Administrative Battalion.

Lord Breadalbane died in 1862, and for some years after his death no field officers were appointed to his battalion, the numbers of which decreased considerably during this period. In 1865 the Glenorchy men severed their connection with the battalion.

Meanwhile in 1861 Sir William Keith Murray had died and had been succeeded in the command of the 1st Battalion by George, sixth Duke of Atholl.[4] In 1864, on the death of the Duke, by a curious arrangement Major Wedderburn Ogilvy and Captain Macdonald were both promoted lieutenant-colonel of the battalion on the same day, and this dual command appears to have held good until 1869, when there was a general reorganisation of the force. Lieutenant-Colonel Wedderburn Ogilvy then remained in sole command of the 1st Battalion, and James Ramsay, younger of Bamff, and Robert Walker were appointed majors. The battalion included the three companies from Perth (1st and 18th), the companies already established in Dunblane, Crieff, Doune, and Auchterarder, and another company (the 19th) which had been raised in Crieff in 1868.[5]

[1] Commissions dated respectively 20 November 1860 and 11 June 1861.

[2] Lord Breadalbane's commission as lieutenant-colonel was dated the 12th November 1861.

[3] Writer, Perth, and town and sheriff clerk. Volunteer commission dated 8 May 1863.

[4] Late lieutenant, 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys). Appointed lieut.-col. of 1st Admin. Batt., 22 Nov. 1861.

[5] John Harley first commanded this company (comm. as capt. dated 11 Dec. 1868). He was succeeded in 1870 by D. R. Williamson of Lawers (late capt., Royal Perthshire Rifles (Militia).)

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Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald was at the same time given command of the 2nd Battalion, Captain Sir Robert Menzies of Menzies [1] and David Buttar [2] were appointed majors, and this battalion was then constituted as follows. Out of the four old Breadalbane Companies a 3rd ("Aberfeldy" or "Breadalbane") and a Killin company (numbered the 4th) were formed. To these were joined the Blairgowrie, Coupar Angus, Alyth, Strathtay, St. Martins and Birnam Companies, and a new company from Pitlochry under Captain Donald Fisher.[3] This distribution of the various companies will be recognised as that which obtains at present. In 1869 also, the headquarters of the two battalions were fixed respectively at Perth and Birnam, where they have remained ever since.

The Act of 1871, referred to elsewhere,[4] by which the powers of the lords-lieutenant with regard to the Militia were transferred to the Crown, also released the same officers from their time-honoured responsibilities in connection with the Volunteers. The force passed under the immediate control of the Secretary of State for War, and since that date all commissions have been granted direct by the Sovereign.

In 1873, on the retirement of Lieutenant-Colonel Wedderburn Ogilvy, Major Williamson of Lawers was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Battalion. By June of the following year the Strathtay Company had ceased to exist, but in February 1875 a cadet corps was formed at Trinity College, Glenalmond,[5] which was affiliated to the Perth Battalion; and in July 1875 a new company (the 21st) was raised for the battalion at Comrie.[6] In 1879 Major Campbell Colquhoun of Clathick [7] was promoted commanding officer of this battalion, Lieutenant-Colonel Williamson of Lawers being appointed honorary colonel.

Early in 1880 the administrative system was abolished and the battalions were consolidated. The companies were no longer to be known by numbers but by letters of the alphabet, as in the Regular Army; they were to cease to be separate units and were to become instead integral parts of complete battalions controlled throughout by their respective regimental staffs. The corps were renamed the "1st Perthshire Rifle Volunteers" and the "2nd Perthshire Highland Rifle Volunteers," the latter title having been assumed for some years previously by the northern Administrative Battalion. This battalion, when reconstituted, remained at its former strength of eight companies, but the other was reduced to seven by the merging of the two Crieff Companies into one. The establishment of the 1st Perthshire Volunteers was fixed at 700, all ranks. The other battalion was still under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, with Sir Robert Menzies as major.

[1] Late captain, Royal Perthshire Rifles (Militia).

[2] Late lieutenant, Coupar Angus Company. Resident at Corston, near Coupar Angus. Son of Thomas Buttar, wine merchant, Coupar Angus.

[3] Innkeeper, Pitlochry. Comm. dated 27 May 1869. His company was numbered the 20th.

[4] See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902*, p. 140.

[5] First commanded by Honorary Sub.-Lieut. William E. Frost (comm. dated 10 April 1875).

[6] Commanded by Captain John P. S. Mitchell (his commission dating from the 15th May 1872). The company was disbanded in March 1876.

[7] Late captain, 15th Foot.

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In 1882, under the new territorial system, the 1st and 2nd Perthshire Volunteers were affiliated to the county regiment, the Black Watch or Royal Highlanders, under the respective titles of the 1st and 2nd Volunteer Battalions of that regiment, a corresponding change being made in the name of the Glenalmond corps. In 1887 they were renamed the "4th (Perthshire)" and "5th (Perthshire Highland)" Volunteer Battalions of the Royal Highlanders—the titles by which they are known to-day.

In 1884 Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie [1] was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Battalion, which in the following year was augmented by the formation of a company at Bridge of Allan, under Captain E. Pullar.[2] Major Sir Robert Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe [3] was promoted to the command of this battalion (*vice* Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling), in 1893. Early in 1900, in consequence of the South African War, three more companies were added to the 4th Battalion from Perth. The strength rose from 446, all ranks, in 1893, to 1056 in 1901.

In 1885 Major Sir Robert Menzies was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd Volunteer Battalion, *vice* Colonel Macdonald retired, and in 1897 he was succeeded by Major the Marquess of Breadalbane. In 1900 additional companies were also raised at Blairgowrie and Birnam for this battalion, and between 1898 and 1901 the numbers increased from 711, all ranks, to 949.[4] In 1899 the headquarters of the St. Martins Company were transferred to New Scone.

The uniforms of the Perthshire Volunteers have varied considerably since 1859. The several companies were at first allowed to choose what dress they pleased, but when the Administrative Battalions were formed, it was recommended that all the companies of any one battalion should, if possible, be clothed in the same colour. The 1st and 2nd Perth Companies when first raised were clothed in dark grey, and their uniform as a whole was very much the same as that of the Dunblane Company, which in 1860, we are told, consisted of a grey tunic with scarlet facings, grey trousers with black stripe, and a low cap with a peak in front.[5] On the other hand, the company raised at Perth in 1863 wore Atholl tartan trews, with doublet and Glengarry bonnet,[6] while the Crieff Company of 1868 (which included a good many men from Comrie and Loch Earn-side) was dressed in the kilt. The Highland companies wore the kilt from the first, the Breadalbane and Strathtay men wearing Breadalbane tartan,[7] and the Pitlochry Company, Atholl. The Birnam and St. Martins Companies also had kilts of Royal Stewart and Macdonald tartan respectively, and although the

[1] Late lieutenant, 92nd Highlanders.
[2] Commission dated 18th April 1885.
[3] Late lieutenant, Scots Fusilier Guards.
[4] The five additional companies raised during the war have now been disbanded.
[5] This outfit cost £2, 7s. 6d. Each man of the Dunblane Company paid a minimum fee of 2s. 6d. on enrolment—some as much as £1—towards the expenses of the corps, and the balance was provided by public subscription. £300 was raised in the district for the company. The peaked cap was in 1868 succeeded by a Highland shako, and in 1878 by a busby.
[6] Captain G. D. Pullar, *Historical Sketch of the 4th Vol. Batt. The Black Watch.*
[7] The Strathtay Company wore dark green doublets with red facings, black belts, tartan hose, white spats, white goatskin sporran without tassels, and Glengarry bonnets.

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Alyth, Blairgowrie, and Coupar Angus Companies when first formed were dressed in dark grey with a red stripe down the trousers, in 1869 they adopted trews of Atholl tartan. In the Army Lists of the 'seventies, "grey with scarlet facings" is mentioned as the uniform of both Administrative Battalions—a description which may have applied to the whole dress of the southern battalion, but which could have referred only to the tunics of the men of the Highland and Eastern Companies. These clung to their respective tartans, and in 1881 the Alyth, Blairgowrie, and Coupar Angus Companies adopted Atholl tartan kilts. Since 1883 the uniform of both battalions has been a scarlet doublet, with kilt or trews of Black Watch tartan, and Glengarry bonnet. The Glenalmond cadets at first wore grey doublets with scarlet facings, knickerbockers, gaiters, and peaked caps, but in 1878 they adopted Highland dress, consisting of a light grey doublet with black facings, Glengarry bonnet, sporran of the Black Watch pattern, brogues with silver buckles, and half-plaid and kilt of Atholl tartan.[1] In 1880 the brogues were changed for the white spats of the Black Watch, but on the affiliation of the Perthshire Volunteers to the county regiment the Glenalmond Corps received special permission to retain the Murray tartan, which is accordingly worn to this day.[2]

The first important military display in which the Perthshire Volunteers took part was the Review at Edinburgh in 1860, and the Breadalbane Companies, with Lord Breadalbane at their head, looking the "picture of a Highland chieftain," won the especial approbation of Queen Victoria. The 1st and 2nd Perthshire and the Glenalmond Cadet Corps were also present in force at the Review held by the Queen at Edinburgh in 1881.

The Glenalmond Cadet Corps made its first appearance at the Public Schools' Shooting Competition in 1877. In the following year it carried off the "Spencer Cup," a performance which it repeated in the early 'eighties two years running. The corps has also twice won the "Veterans' Trophy," and has once been second for the "Ashburton Shield." The 4th and 5th Volunteer Battalions have not often taken part in competitions open to the whole Force, but in 1885 Private James Ferguson of H Company (Pitlochry) of the 5th (then 2nd) Battalion gained the "St. George's Vase," and in 1886 Sergeant McCowan of A Company (Perth) of the 1st (now 4th) Battalion, carried off the "Daily Telegraph" Cup.

On the occasion of the Diamond Jubilee in 1897 detachments were called for to take part in the ceremonies in London; the 5th Volunteer Battalion sent one officer (who was awarded the Jubilee medal) and twenty non-commissioned officers and men.

But the Perthshire Volunteers were soon to have an opportunity of distin-

[1] The Duke of Atholl bears the title of Viscount Glenalmond—a survival of the former connection of his family with that district.

[2] In the monthly *Army Lists* of 1883–1884 the uniform of the Glenalmond Corps appears as "scarlet with blue facings." The records of the corps show that in 1883 an order was issued that scarlet tunics and trews of Black Watch tartan should be adopted, but special permission was received to retain the former dress.

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guishing themselves on a wider field of action. Until 1899 no service had been required of any Volunteer outside Great Britain, and consequently no member of the force, as such, had ever taken part in any except peace operations, but after the reverses at the commencement of the South African War, Volunteers were called for to help to fill up the sadly-thinned ranks of the Regular battalions then on active service. The summons was well answered; thousands came forward to offer their services, and the Perthshire men were not behind the rest. The county showed its appreciation of their spirit by insuring each man for £100. On the 16th of February 1900 the first Active Service Company formed from the six Volunteer battalions of the Black Watch embarked on S.S. *Gascon* at Southampton—the 4th Battalion sending eighteen non-commissioned officers and men (reinforced later by four men) and the 5th Battalion twenty-three non-commissioned officers and men.

On the 23rd of March 1901 the 2nd Volunteer Active Service Company sailed from Southampton on S.S. *Malta* under command of Captain R. M. Christie, 4th Battalion, who had under him seventeen non-commissioned officers and men from his own battalion, while the 5th Battalion sent Lieutenant F. H. Buchanan White and thirty-one non-commissioned officers and men.

In February 1902 yet another call was made, which was answered by six non-commissioned officers and men from the 4th Battalion, while Lieutenant T. Ferguson and ten rank and file represented the 5th Battalion. This party embarked on S.S. *Berwick* on the 4th of March 1902. All three companies were attached to the 2nd Battalion, The Black Watch, an account of whose services in South Africa will be found in another part of this work.[1] In the course of the war three men of the 5th Volunteer Battalion died of disease, and one was wounded. There were no casualties among the men sent by the 4th Battalion.

Although this article only deals with Perthshire corps, it is but fair to mention that the Fife and Forfar Garrison Artillery (Volunteers) have for some years past had a detached company stationed at Perth, and that the Fife Light Horse (now known as the Fife and Forfar Imperial Yeomanry) have had a troop specially recruited in the Perth district since 1883.[2] Some twenty-two Perthshire men served with the latter corps in South Africa between 1900 and 1902.

Events subsequent to the close of the South African War in 1902 do not properly come within the scope of this article, but it may be added that since that date Perthshire has seen another Yeomanry regiment established within its borders—the 1st Regiment of the Scottish Horse, to which an allusion will be found elsewhere.[3] This regiment, however, although raised exclusively in Perthshire, is only part of a corps the recruiting ground of which stretches from Tiree to Peterhead; and just as we have seen the area of service of the Volunteers enlarged during the South African War to an extent of which their

[1] See section entitled *The Black Watch in South Africa*, in *A Military History of Perthshire*, 1899–1902, p. 1 *et seq.*

[2] This troop ceased to exist in 1905.

[3] See article entitled *The Raising and Organisation of the Scottish Horse*, *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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predecessors of a century ago could never have dreamt, so is it no less significant to note the growth of the Perthshire Yeomanry from the handful of men who in 1797 offered to serve within the eight districts in the neighbourhood of Perth, to the Scottish Horse of the present day—a regiment which not only includes the whole of the southern Highlands and, with its sister corps, Lovat's Scouts, forms part of a still larger organisation embracing all Scotland north of the Tay, but which is the direct descendant of a regiment which performed distinguished service in South Africa, and which, including as it did Scotsmen from Home and from all the principal British colonies, may be said to have represented, to an extent previously unknown, that great union of Mother Country and states self-governing or dependent, which constitutes the British Empire.[1]

This paper may end with a list of the officers who have commanded the two battalions of Perthshire Volunteers since 1860.

4TH VOLUNTEER BATTALION THE BLACK WATCH (formerly 1st Administrative Battalion).

Name.	*Apptd. Lt.-Col.*	*Apptd. Hon. Col.*
Sir William Keith Murray of Ochtertyre, Bart. . .	20 Nov. 1860	...
George, 6th Duke of Atholl, K.T.	22 Nov. 1861	...
James Wedderburn Ogilvy . . . . . } William M. Macdonald of St. Martins . . . . }	7 Mch. 1864	...
David Robertson Williamson of Lawers, V.D. . .	23 July 1873	19 July 1879.
William Campbell Colquhoun of Clathick	16 Aug. 1879	...
John MacNab	10 Jan. 1883	...
William Campbell Colquhoun of Clathick (gazetted back)	9 May 1883[2]	...
Patrick Stirling of Kippendavie and Kippenross .	22 Mch. 1884	...
Sir Robert D. Moncreiffe of Moncreiffe, Bart., Hon. Col., V.D.	15 April 1893	...

5TH VOLUNTEER BATTALION THE BLACK WATCH (formerly 2nd Administrative Battalion).

John, 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T.	12 Nov. 1861	...
William M. Macdonald of St. Martins	... 1869	28 Feb. 1885
Sir Robert Menzies of Menzies, Bart.	28 Feb. 1885	19 Jan. 1898
Gavin, 3rd Marquess of Breadalbane, K.G., Col., A.D.C.	17 Feb. 1897	...

[1] For further particulars as to the *personnel* of the original Scottish Horse, see article above referred to on the raising of the regiment.

[2] Date given by Captain Pullar. Later *Army Lists* only show the original date of Colonel Colquhoun's commission.

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III.—BATTLES FOUGHT IN PERTHSHIRE

SOME EARLY PERTHSHIRE BATTLES

WITH A NOTE ON

THE SIEGES OF PERTH

BY SIR ALEXANDER MUIR MACKENZIE OF DELVINE, BART.

FROM the earliest times down to those almost within our own memories, this county has been the scene of important battles.

Perthshire is divided by the chain of mountains which traverses the county from south-west to north-east—the "Dorsum Britanniæ," "The Mounth," "The Grampians," call it what you will—into two main portions—the broad, peaceful straths on the south, and the rugged fastnesses on the north.

Amid scenes of now woodland and pastoral beauty, battles have been fought at various stages of Scottish history, some authenticated and some legendary, all bearing witness how our forefathers could draw the sword to conserve their independence, and how ready they were to shed their blood in any cause they deemed to be right.

THE ROMAN INVASION

THE BATTLE OF MONS GROUPIUS,[1] A.D. 84

The earliest battle in Perthshire of which any record has been preserved is that connected with the campaigns of Agricola, as related by Tacitus from Agricola's own account. In his seventh campaign, A.D. 84, Agricola advanced into Perthshire and attempted once and for all to break the power of the Caledonians and their allies. No less than four sites within the confines of this county are claimed as the undoubted one on which the memorable battle of "Mons Groupius" was fought. These varied claims need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that, as Tacitus gives us no geographical details, the actual site must remain a matter for conjecture. Gordon fixes it near Comrie; Chalmers places it at Ardoch; Skene, marching the Romans from Meikleour, makes them encounter the Caledonians near Blairgowrie; while Sir James Ramsay maintains that Agricola was encamped at Inchtuthill and gave battle

[1] The spelling adopted by Sir James Ramsay of Bamff, in his *Foundations of England*, vol. i. In many modern editions of the Latin text it is spelt "Graupius." Various other forms of the word will be found in my *Delvine and the Romans*; also a discussion at more length than is possible here, of the different sites suggested for the battlefield. [A. M. M.]

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near this spot.[1] From him we learn that Agricola drew up his legionaries in front of his entrenched camp on Inchtuthill, while his auxiliaries stood on the plain below, flanked by a strong body of cavalry. The Roman army probably numbered 12,000 or 13,000 foot and 3000 horse. Opposing these troops were the Caledonians and their allies, possibly about 30,000 in number, drawn up in triple line on the braes of Redgole, and on the neighbouring slope of Gourdie. In brief, the plan of the action of Calgacos, the Caledonian leader, was, through his superiority in numbers, to outflank the Roman lines, and thus throw them into confusion. This was noticed by Agricola, who "countered" by a brilliant cavalry charge delivered on either flank, and thereby secured a victory.

But—to quote a recent author [2]—"it seems very evident that, for the time being, the Roman General had no desire to come again into contact with the warlike Caledonians, or to attempt to follow them into their fastnesses amid the inhospitable hills."

THE INVASION OF DANES AND NORSEMEN

The Battle of Luncarty

Dr. Gordon in his "Itinerarium Septentrionale" [3] describes the "several invasions of the Danes upon the kingdom of Scotland." One of these invasions took place in the reign of Kenneth III.[4] (who reigned, according to Gordon, from 976 to 994), and terminated in the great battle of Luncarty, won by the Scots at a time when the Danes were busily engaged in besieging Perth, having previously wrought great havoc in Angus. To quote Gordon's account:—"The Scots" (who, led by their King, had marched from Stirling to meet the invaders) "no sooner came in sight of the Danes, than they were eager upon Revenge, and pressed forward to Battle; . . . but the Danes [being] posted upon a Hill, the Access to them was thereby render'd extreamly difficult and dangerous; however, the Bow-men, and Darters, soon forced them to quit the high Ground, whereupon a sharp Battle was fought at the Foot of the Hill. When they had long engag'd, with great slaughter on both Sides, and the Victory still remained in Doubt, the Danish Generals publish'd, through the whole Army, That none should be allow'd to return into the Camp, except those who were Conquerors: At this the Fight was renew'd, and they rushed upon the Scots with so great Fury, that they bore down their whole Army, and put them instantly to flight.

[1] It may be noted that Hector Boece favoured Inchtuthill as the site of this battle.

[2] Dugald Mitchell, *A Popular History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland*, p. 13.

[3] Gordon quotes Buchanan, whose account he says is "penn'd with an Elegancy and Accuracy, superior to all the rest," as his authority.

[4] Hill Burton in his *History of Scotland* (1873 ed. vol. i. p. 338) also places the invasion in this reign, but Robertson in *Scotland Under her Early Kings* (vol. i. p. 98) thinks it occurred at an earlier date, and says that Boece was the first writer who assigned it to the later period. Robertson gives Kenneth III.'s dates as 997–1005, and the dates 971–995 as those of Kenneth II.—[Ed.]

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That Day had certainly prov'd fatal to the Scots had not Heaven . . . sent them a speedy and seasonable Assistance; for, when the Case was desperate . . . a Man of ordinary Rank, sirnam'd Hay, with his two Sons, vigorous of Body and Mind, and of great Affection to their Native Country, were tilling a contiguous Field through which many of the Scots directed their Flight: The Father snatching the Yoak from the Necks of the Oxen, and each of the Sons seizing what came next to hand, no sooner beheld the thick Companies of the fugitive Scots, but they endeavoured to stop them, first by Reproaches, then by Threatenings; but when both were insufficient, favour'd by the Narrowness of the Place, they called out, that they would also be Danes against them, and immediately proceeded to beat back those who came in their way; terrified herewith, the more timorous stop, and the others, who had been forced to fly, merely by the Confusion of their own Men, took this Opportunity of rallying, and all cried out with one Voice, That Help was at Hand: The whole Body of them turn about, charge their Pursuers, and drive the Danes back upon their own Men. The Scots who had been appointed to guard the Baggage, with a disorderly Rout of common People, hereupon gathering together, and bearing the Form of a fresh Army, struck such a Terror into the Danish Host, that they immediately betook themselves to flight, leaving Multitudes of their Countrymen dead upon the Spot, and the Scots the Honour of a compleat Victory.

"This Victory was gained near the village of Loncarty."[1]

This legend of the reputed founder of the noble family of Hay is disputed by many, but that there was a series of conflicts up and down the valley of the Tay between the Scots and the Danes there seems no reason to doubt, and may there not have been acts of individual prowess among the rank and file such as that recorded of the Hays—a story so long received and believed?

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

It will be noted that the two next battles are not only nigh to each other in locality, but belong to the same era—one being prior, and the other subsequent to, the great battle of Bannockburn—fought, as every Scotsman knows, in 1314. Not being within the prescribed limits of this article, no account can be given of that glorious victory for Scottish independence, but I will only remark that, along with the battles of Methven and Dupplin, it was the outcome of the English Edwards' policy of "meddling and muddling" with Scottish succession—a policy which in the end had no great results.

(1) The Battle of Methven (*19th June* 1306)

In June 1306 Sir Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was commanding the English garrison at Perth, when King Robert the Bruce, who had been crowned only three months before, appeared with an army before the town, and—

[1] *Itinerarium Septentrionale* (1726), p. 150.

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according to Barbour's quaint account—bade Sir Aymer "ish [1] and fecht." The English commander promptly "bade his men, arme them hastely," but Sir Ingram d'Umfraville having urged him to caution, Pembroke undertook to give battle "on the morne," whereupon King Robert withdrew to Methven Wood, and encamped there for the night. The English, however, disregarding their promise, took "the straight way towards Methven" without loss of time, and found the Scots totally unprepared.

"The King that was unarmed then,
Saw them come on enforcedly [2]
And to his men can [3] highly cry.
To armes swyth, [4] and make you yaire [5]
Heere at our hand our foes are;
. . . . . .
The Bruce's folke full hardely,
Shawed their great chevalry.
And he himselfe attour [6] the lave [7]
So hard and heavie dints [8] gave." [9]

Though taken completely by surprise and, according to Barbour, outnumbered by some 1500, the Scots stood their ground well and a fierce hand-to-hand struggle ensued. The King threw himself into the thick of the fight and had three horses killed under him. At one moment he had overthrown de Valence; at another he himself was made prisoner, but John de Haliburton, a Scot in the English service, allowed him to escape. A little later King Robert was again taken, but was rescued by Sir Christopher de Seton. By that time, however, the issue of the day was decided. The Scots were outnumbered and outwitted, and in spite of their desperate resistance were finally driven from the field. Many of Bruce's principal adherents were captured, and with the remnant of his force he was obliged to seek safety in the Highlands. Thus ended his first trial of strength with England.

(2) The Battle of Dupplin (*11th August* 1332)

The next battle fought on Perthshire soil was no less unfortunate for the national cause. In the year 1332, Edward Balliol, secretly supported [10] by Edward III. of England, renewed the claim of his family to the throne of Scotland, and, supported by the English barons who had been dispossessed by King Robert of their Scottish estates, sought to overthrow the young King, David II., son of the great Robert Bruce.

[1] Issue, come forth. [2] In force. [3] Gan, began. [4] Quickly.
[5] Ready. [6] Over, above. [7] Remainder. [8] Blows.
[9] Barbour, *The Actes and Life of the most Victorious Conqueror Robert Bruce, King of Scotland* (Edin. 1620, pp. 29, 31).
[10] Edward III. could not openly support Balliol without cancelling the Treaty of Northampton (concluded in 1328) by which he had recognised the independence of Scotland.

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Balliol's appearance in the Firth of Forth is quaintly told by Wyntown in verse of which one stanza is given below, but as his description is somewhat difficult to follow, it is better to give a brief account in common Saxon of the battle which ensued :—

"Qwhen all thus [had] ordanyed[1] thai[2]
It wes tald thame, that at Kyngorne[3]
Bot twa dayis than gone beforne
Edward the Ballyol had tane land
Wyth the Flot[4] that he browcht off Ingland."[5]

The Scots army, led by the Earl of Mar, the Regent, was encamped on Dupplin Moor on the north side of the river Earn, and Balliol on the south side of the river occupied a site known as the Miller's Acre. The Earl of March with another Scots army was on the English left flank, a few miles distant to the south-west.

The English force, which was much inferior in number to Mar's, crossed the river during the night of the 10th to 11th August 1332 by a ford indicated to Balliol by Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, and took the Scots (who are said to have been feasting) utterly by surprise. The rout was complete, Mar being among the slain, with the Earls of Moray, Carrick and Menteith. It is said that 13,000 men were left dead, and that not a few more were drowned in the river. A stone cross in a field to the west of Dupplin Castle marks the scene of the conflict.

This defeat left Perth at Balliol's mercy, and on the 24th of September 1332 he was crowned at Scone.

THE STRIFE OF THE CLANS

The Battle on the North Inch of Perth (*23rd October* 1396)

The battle on the North Inch of Perth between the Clan Chattan and the Clan Kay must not be forgotten. In the year 1396, during the reign of Robert III., these two powerful clans were induced to send each a number of champions to fight out their long-standing feuds before the King. Fordoun, Boece, Buchanan, and Wyntown all tell the tale, vying with each other in mis-spelling if in nothing else, while Sir Walter Scott weaves his magic web of romance round the dry-as-dust facts of accepted history.

To quote Bellenden's translation of Boece: " . . . At this time mekyl of all the north of Scotland was hevely trublit be two clannis of Irsmen[6] namit Clankayis and Glenquhattanis,[7] invading the cuntre be thair weris[8] with ythand[9] slauchter and reif.[10] At last it was appointit betuix the heidis men of thir two

[1] Appointed, set in order. [2] They. [3] Kinghorn. [4] Fleet.
[5] *De Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland be Androw of Wyntown* (Macpherson's ed., 1795), Book VIII. cap. 26. [6] Celts, Highlanders.
[7] Clan Chattan. [8] Wars. [9] Constant, continuous. [10] Robbery, plunder.

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clannis be avyse[1] of the erlis of Murray and Crawfurd, that XXX of the principall men of the ta clan sal cum with othir XXX of the tothir clan arrayit in thair best avise[2] and sall convene afore the King at Perth for decision of al pleis,[3] and fecht with scharp swerdis[4] to the death but [without] ony harnes.[5] And that clan quhare ye victory succedit, to have perpetuall empire above ye tothir. Baith thir clannis glaid of this condition, come to the north Inche beside Perth with Jugis[6] set in scaffaldis to discuss ye verite. Ane of thir clannis wantit ane man to perfurnis[7] furth ye nowmer[8] and wagit[9] ane carll for money to debait[10] thair actioun, howbeit this man pertenit na thyng to thaym in blud nor kindnes. Thir two clannis stude arrayit with gret hatrent aganis othir. And be sound of trumpet ruschit togidder, takand na respect to thair woundis, sa that thay micht distroy thair ennymes, and faucht in this maner lang with uncertane victory, quhen ane fel, ane othir was put in his rowme.[11] At last ye Clankayis war al slane, except ane, that swam throw the watter of Tay. Of Glenquhattannis was left XI personis on lyve,[12] bot yai[13] war sa hurt, that thay mycht nocht hald thair swerdis in thair handis. This debait[14] was fra ye incarnation ane M.iiiC.LxxxxVi. yeris."[15]

SOME OF THE SIEGES OF PERTH

The Fair City has withstood many sieges, but so little is known about the earlier of these that it is impossible to describe them in detail. The Danes are believed to have besieged Perth prior to the battle of Luncarty, and during the struggle with England the town frequently changed hands, as, being then the capital of Scotland, its possession was regarded as of the last importance. Wallace is said to have twice invested Perth and to have captured it on the first occasion by filling up the fosse with earth and stones, so that his men were able to surmount the ramparts without difficulty. King Robert the Bruce invested Perth in 1311 with all the force he could muster, but finding after six weeks that, owing to the strength of the fortifications, his efforts were in vain, he withdrew to Methven Wood, in order that the English might think that he had abandoned the siege. He had, however, previously noted a place at which the moat appeared to be fordable, and after eight days he suddenly returned, approached the city by night, and taking "a chosen band, conducted them himself . . . partly wading, partly swimming" across the moat. They then scaled the walls by means of ladders and took the enemy (who thought they had no further siege to fear), completely by surprise. The King himself was the second to enter the town."[16]

In 1651 Cromwell marched on Perth, prepared to besiege it, but, having

[1] Advice. [2] Array. [3] Pleas. [4] Swords. [5] Armour.
[6] Judges. [7] Complete. [8] Number. [9] Engaged. [10] Fight.
[11] Place. [12] Alive. [13] They. [14] Fight.
[15] *Boece's Chronicle*, book 16, cap. 9 (*Bellenden's Boece*, Edin., 1536, f. ccxxxvi[b]).
[16] Heron, *History of Scotland* (1794), vol. ii. p. 137.

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been led to believe that a vigorous defence would be made, he instead "proposed honourable terms to the citizens." These were accepted and he gained possession of the city without bloodshed. Cromwell's misapprehension arose from an "ingenious device" of John Davidson, one of the citizens of Perth, who caused carts to be "incessantly driven through the streets," drums to be beat, and a "continued and loud bustle" to be kept up, "indicating warlike preparations." [1]

With a view to keeping Perth in subjection Cromwell subsequently erected a citadel on the South Inch, for which he obtained materials by demolishing many valuable buildings (including the hospital and the Grammar School), and by rendering no less than one hundred and forty families homeless. In 1661 Charles II. restored this citadel to the town in consideration of the faithful services of the inhabitants, but owing to the impoverished condition of his exchequer he required the payment of a nominal sum in exchange.[2]

THE BATTLE OF TIBBERMUIR (*1st September* 1644)

A special interest attaches to the battle of Tibbermuir, as it was the first of the long series of victories by which the Marquess of Montrose retrieved for a time the fortunes of King Charles I. and won for himself such undying fame.

In the summer of 1644 Montrose, who some months previously had been appointed general of the Royalist forces in Scotland, made his way into that country disguised as a groom, and in August reached Blair Castle, where he was joined by 1100 Irishmen under Alastair McColla Chiotach [3] Macdonnell, a few men from Badenoch, and some 800 Athollmen.[4] At the head of this little army, and with only three horses—"lean, sorry jades"—he set out without loss of time towards Strathearn, "in order that his friends and supporters . . . might have an opportunity of joining him before they could be prevented by the enemy, and also that by this sudden movement he might strike terror into the enemy and fall upon them before they could collect their scattered forces." [5] He marched by the head of Loch Tummel to Weem, and thence by the Sma' Glen to Buchanty, being joined on the way by 500 men under Lord Kinpont and

[1] *Statistical Account* (1845), pp. 48, 49. An amusing story is extant of one Andrew Reid, a citizen of Perth, who had advanced Charles II. 40,000 merks to defray the expenses of his coronation at Scone in 1651. After Cromwell had taken Perth, Andrew Reid presented to him the King's bond for payment. Cromwell replied that "he was neither heir nor executor to Charles Stuart." Reid answered: "If your Excellency is neither heir nor executor, you are surely a vitious intromitter" (a legal term for one who assumes the management of property belonging to another, without authority). "Cromwell, turning to the company, said that he never had such a bold thing said to him." *Ibid., note.*

[2] Cowan, *Ancient Capital of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 170. The position of the citadel was distinctly laid down in Buist's map of Perth, drawn up in 1765.

[3] "Left-handed."

[4] These, by their own request, were put under the command of Montrose's kinsman, Patrick Græme of Inchbrakie, as the Earl of Atholl was then a minor.

[5] Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose* (Murdoch and Morland Simpson's ed., 1893), p. 56.

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Sir John Drummond.[1] From them he learned that the Covenanters had assembled in great strength at Perth, and were awaiting him there. Accordingly, after a short halt, he again pressed on, and on the following day, Sunday, the 1st of September, found himself in face of the enemy on the plain of Tibbermuir, about three miles west of Perth. The Covenanters were commanded by Lord Elcho, and were drawn up with their General in immediate command of the right wing, while the left wing was led by Sir James Scott of Rossie, and the centre by Lord Murray of Gask.[2] The cavalry were under Lord Drummond,[3] who was said at heart to favour the King's cause. The total strength of the Covenanting army amounted to some 6000 foot and 700 horse.

Montrose—who on account of his inferior numbers and lack of cavalry feared that he might be outflanked—" extended his line as much as possible, in files only three deep, with orders to discharge all at once, those in the front rank kneeling, the second stooping, and the rear rank . . . standing erect. They were to waste no powder, of which they stood in great need, and not to fire a single shot till face to face with the enemy; then after one discharge, to fall on bravely with drawn swords and muskets clubbed. . . . Montrose himself took command of the right wing, the left he assigned to Lord Kinpont, and the centre to Macdonnell with his Irish." [4]

The battle opened with a skirmish, in which some picked men of the Covenanting army were routed and driven back. Montrose, seeing the enemy thrown into temporary confusion by this check, " seized the decisive moment to charge, and with a loud cheer he hurled his whole line upon them. The enemy discharged their cannon . . . but at such a distance, that they produced more noise than execution. They then advanced, and their horse moved forward to attack. But Montrose's men, though their powder was spent, and few of them were armed with pikes or even swords, received them boldly with such weapons as fell to hand, namely, stones, no less, of which they poured in heavy volleys. . . . The Irish and Highlanders . . . behaved with the utmost courage."

The enemy's right and centre, thus pressed, gave way, and though their left for some time made a stand, it was finally driven back by a charge of the Athollmen " with drawn claymores." " Unable to stand the shock, the enemy at last fairly fled away. Most of the cavalry saved themselves by the speed of their horses, but among the foot there was a very great slaughter, as the conquerors pursued them for six or seven miles. Two thousand Covenanters are said to have been slain, and a larger number captured." [5]

On the same day Montrose took possession of Perth, but quitted it again three days later, on hearing that Argyll was approaching with an army from the south.

[1] Fourth son of John, second Earl of Perth.

[2] Wishart alludes to him as " Earl of Tullibardine." He succeeded his father in that title four days after the battle of Tibbermuir.—[Ed.]

[3] Eldest son of the Earl of Perth. Joined Montrose in 1645. Succeeded his father, 1662.

[4] Wishart, pp. 59-60.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 62.

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THE BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE

(27th July 1689)

BY THE EDITOR

THE situation of affairs a fortnight previous to the battle of Killiecrankie was briefly as follows :—

John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundie,[2] was in Lochaber raising the clans for the campaign by which he hoped to restore King James to his throne, and Major-General Hugh Mackay of Scourie, who some months previously had been appointed by William of Orange to the command of the Government troops in Scotland, was in Edinburgh, making preparations for an expedition against Inverlochy. Mackay had intended to march north by Argyllshire, joining forces on the way with the Earl of Argyll, who was mustering his men, but the news that Dundie had sent emissaries into Atholl with the object of securing the men of that district determined him to push on into Lochaber by the main pass into the Highlands, as it was of the utmost importance that these endeavours should be frustrated. The Athollmen were traditionally loyal to the Stuarts, and that they had not joined Dundie sooner was owing to the energetic measures taken by the Marquess of Atholl and his eldest son, Lord Murray, both of whom had given in their allegiance to King William.[3] On the first hint of danger reaching Edinburgh, Lord Murray set out for Blair Atholl, but learnt on the way[4] that

[1] As there are a good many disputed points in connection with the battle of Killiecrankie, and as in particular I find myself unable to accept some of the conclusions advanced by Professor Sanford Terry in the interesting life of Dundie which he has recently published, this battle has been treated at more length than the others mentioned in this volume. Moreover, living as I do in the district, I have had special facilities for studying questions connected with the site.

[2] I adopt the respective spellings of " Grahame " and " Dundie " which appear in Claverhouse's patent of nobility, and which, so far as I know, were consistently used by him.

[3] This is not the place in which to disprove the various charges which have been brought against the Marquess of Atholl, and, in a lesser degree, against his eldest son, by so many writers; but an unbiassed perusal of the contemporary papers printed in the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families* shows clearly that Lord Murray, acting under the instructions of his father, who had been obliged to go to Bath for his health, had done his utmost to keep the men of Atholl from joining Dundie. That in spite of their traditional Jacobitism and Dundie's efforts he met with a considerable measure of success, is proved by the fact that when Dundie marched out from Blair to meet Mackay the only Athollmen in his force were the few with whom Ballechin had seized the castle a fortnight before (see text below).

[4] Mackay, in his *Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland*, p. 47, says that Murray before leaving Edinburgh told him that Ballechin had seized the castle, and gives

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Patrick Steuart of Ballechin, his father's bailie, had by Dundie's orders seized Blair Castle, and was holding it for King James. On arrival at the castle, Lord Murray was refused entrance, and being informed that Sir Alexander Maclean was in the district with a party of Dundie's men, he retraced his steps to Dunkeld, where he collected some thousand of his father's followers.[1] About the 20th of July he returned to Blair, and finding that Ballechin was still obdurate, he at once commenced to blockade the Jacobite force in the castle, turning a deaf ear to Dundie's repeated and pressing invitations to join him. But he had no artillery, and on the 26th, hearing that the enemy was approaching, he retired to Moulin in accordance with instructions received from General Mackay. Eighty to a hundred Athollmen were left to guard the upper end of the Pass of Killiecrankie, and some two or three hundred more remained with Lord Murray. The rest dispersed to their homes to protect their cattle from Dundie's men, not even their Chief's son being able to induce them to take up arms for King William.

Dundie, fearing to lose Blair, had hurried down from Lochaber before all his force had joined him, and when he entered Atholl on the afternoon of Friday the 26th of July it was only at the head of one troop of horse,[2] and barely 2000 foot[3]—chiefly Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, with 300 Irishmen

a detailed account of a conversation he had with him on the subject; but Lord Murray, both in a MS. Representation which he drew up afterwards for presentation to the Privy Council (and which is preserved in the Atholl charter-room), and in a letter written to the Duke of Hamilton on the 1st of August 1689 (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 224), says that he learnt this news while on the way to Blair, from a letter written to him by Ballechin. The letter was dated at Blair on the 17th of July (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 286), and it is evident from the dates given in Lord Murray's Representation and letter that Ballechin's missive could not have reached Edinburgh before he set out for Perthshire.

[1] Mr. Louis A. Barbé, in his monograph on Dundie, says that Lord Murray raised these men before Ballechin seized the castle; but this of course is a mistake, possibly due to the rather confused narrative given in the *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, p. 255.

[2] "Not exceeding fourty in all, and these very lean and ill-kept."—MacGregor or Drummond of Balhaldies, *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Locheill*, p. 266. Some uncertainty has prevailed as to whether the writer of these *Memoirs* was a son or grandson of Alexander Drummond of Balhaldies, who married the daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron, and was present with his father-in-law at Killiecrankie; but these doubts have finally been dispelled by Miss Murray MacGregor, who states that he was John Drummond or MacGregor, third son of Alexander (*History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. p. 294). From the fact that on p. 258 the writer speaks of the narrowness of the road through the Pass of Killiecrankie, in spite of the improvements made by "the late Duke of Atholl," I am inclined to think that this part of the *Memoirs* may have been written before General Wade made his road through the Pass, which was about 1728 or 1729. As the first Duke of Atholl died in 1724, it seems probable that part of the *Memoirs* was written in the interval between the two dates. As the author has been commonly supposed to have been a laird of Balhaldies, I shall for convenience' sake refer to him as such.

[3] According to intelligence received by Mackay at Perth from Lord Murray, Dundie's force "was but two thousand strong" (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report XII.*, app., pt. viii. p. 41). Balhaldies tells us that the Highlanders "did not ammount fully to two thousand men before they engaged" (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 268); the *Memoir of Dundee*, published in 1714, says 1800 foot and 45 horse; and Creichton, giving the same number for the horsemen, estimates the foot at 1700 (*Memoirs*, 1827 ed., p. 69). On the other hand, in a letter to the Queen,

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under Colonel Allan Cannon. His men, too, had been on short rations and needed rest,[1] but when on the following morning word was brought that Mackay was advancing from Perth [2] with only a small proportion of the cavalry with which he had intended to march north,[3] Dundie saw his chance and was keen to give battle. As, however, he was himself expecting reinforcements, and there was reason to believe that Mackay's army was about twice as numerous as his own,[4] he thought necessary to call a council of war, and it was probably this delay which enabled Mackay, as we shall see, to steal a march on him.[5]

dated December 15th, 1689, reproduced in Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. pp. 368–71, Dundie's infantry are said to have mustered 2500, and the individual numbers given by Balhaldies for the different clans amount to about 2100, making 2400 with the Irishmen.

[1] For this reason the story told by Sir John Dalrymple in his *Memoirs* (vol. i. pt. ii. p. 57), to the effect that Dundie, wishing to test the valour of his men, caused a false alarm to be given on the night before the battle, seems to me most improbable. It should also be remembered that Dundie spent that night at Blair Castle, whereas his men were encamped some three miles to the north (letter from Lord Murray to the Duke of Hamilton, dated August 1st, 1689, already mentioned).

[2] According to the letter above cited from the *Original Papers*, Dundie, before he left Blair, was informed that Mackay had reached " Rinrory " (*i.e.* Raon Ruaraidh, or " Roderick's plain," now known as Urrard ; see *note*, p. 261). But this is entirely at variance with Mackay's own account, which clearly describes how he found Dundie's main body within a quarter of a mile of him as he was reconnoitring towards Blair, soon after the head of his column had debouched from the Pass (see text below, p. 260). This error is also to be found in Locheill's *Memoirs* (p. 265), where it is stated that Mackay had " gott clear " of the Pass a short while before Dundie's men marched from Blair.

The writer of the letter to the Queen, however, is inaccurate in other particulars. He informs us that the siege of Blair was raised by Sir Alexander Maclean ; gives the impression that a certain interval of time elapsed between the raising of the siege and Dundie's arrival ; and tells us that Dundie reached Blair on the 16th of July. Though the fact that on Lord Murray's first arrival at Blair, Ballechin sent an express to Sir Alexander Maclean (MS. Representation), who, as already stated, was then in Atholl, makes it probable that the old Jacobite hoped that Sir Alexander and his party would join him before Lord Murray returned from Dunkeld, I do not think they can have done so, as from Lord Murray's Representation it appears that the garrison did not number more than thirty men, whereas the writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* credits Sir Alexander with 400, and Balhaldies says he had 200 (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 247). But even supposing that Sir Alexander had reinforced the garrison, there is no question that the blockade was not raised until Dundie's approach on the 26th of July. The letter is manifestly the composition of a partisan of Sir Alexander Maclean (laird of Otter, commissary of Argyll, and son of the late Bishop of Argyll). From the fact that the writer gives the distance from Blair to the Pass as two miles, and the distance to Urrard as one and a half, it may be doubted whether he were actually present at Killiecrankie. Blair Castle and Old Blair were nearly four miles from Killiecrankie by the old road, and considerably over three from Urrard ; and on a hot July afternoon the distance would not seem less (compare the account of the march given in a poem by Iain Lom MacDonald, quoted below, p. 256, *note*). Though the measurement mentioned is probably a Scots mile (*i.e.* 1973 statute yards), the writer is about a mile out in his calculations.

[3] See note below, p. 259. [4] See note on p. 258 *re* the strength of Mackay's force.

[5] Balhaldies tells us (Locheill's *Memoirs*, pp. 258 *et seq.*) that at the council of war three opinions were offered. Such officers as had served in the Regular Army did not wish to

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According to local tradition, Dundie in his advance took care to forfeit none of the advantage of the ground. A small part only of his little army—probably a flank-guard of horse [1]—was sent towards Killiecrankie by the main road from Blair; the rest he led up the left bank of the Fender, behind the hill on which stands the house of Lude, and, marching down the Clune burn,[2] led his men out on to the ridge which bounds the valley of the Garry on the north. By this means he was able to cross the Clune above the narrow defile into which it plunges below Clunemore; and he continued his march towards the lower slopes of Craig Eallaich, determined to be in a post of vantage should his enemy have succeeded in making his way through the Pass of Killiecrankie.[3]

risk battle until the men were rested and reinforcements had arrived. Glengarry and most of the Chiefs suggested that they should march at once to block the west end of the Pass of Killiecrankie, and, if in time to do this, that they should hold Mackay in the Pass until the moment when it suited them to fight. Locheill's advice was to give battle at once, and Balhaldies shows him as expressing the opinion that Mackay must already have got through the Pass. Though Locheill would probably be unaware of the two hours' halt made by Mackay at the lower end of the Pass (see text below, p. 260), I am inclined to doubt this statement of Balhaldies', as I cannot help thinking that Dundie hoped to be in time to engage Mackay as he was debouching, and before he had had time to form up his men in the open. Needless to say, Locheill's was the advice which was adopted. Balhaldies' narrative makes it clear that it had been Dundie's wish to engage the enemy at once, and this is confirmed by a statement in Clarke's *Life of James the 2nd*, p. 350.

[1] Or, if the writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* is to be believed, this may have been the force under Sir Alexander Maclean which Dundie despatched when he heard that Mackay had sent on an advanced-guard to seize the west end of the Pass; but I do not think this likely.

[2] Properly Allt Chluain, *i.e.* the burn of the green, or meadow.

[3] The march up Glen Fender is the route described by John Mackay of Rockfield, in his *Life of General Mackay*, p. 47; also by Chambers, in his *History of the Rebellions* (*Constable's Miscellany*, vol. xlii. p. 84), though his account is rather confused. This route was also adopted by Napier, in his *Memoirs of Dundee*, vol. iii. p. 360; and in later times by Mr. Mowbray Morris in his *Claverhouse*, p. 206, and by the Duke of Atholl in the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. i. p. 300. Professor Sanford Terry, however, in his *John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee*, p. 336, holds that Dundie led his men "past Lude" (*i.e.* across the front of the hill), and misunderstands the Duke as supporting this view of the march to Killiecrankie. The tradition as to Dundie's march is confirmed by Balhaldies, who says that Dundie "keept the higher ground," and that "when his advanced guards came in view of the plain, they could discover no enemy," a description which hardly fits in with Professor Terry's route, inasmuch as, marching by it, Dundie would never be out of sight of the strath. It is also corroborated in a Gaelic poem by Iain Lom MacDonald, a contemporary who may have been present at the battle. A close translation of this poem, which was sent to me by the late Alexander Macbain, LL.D., of Inverness, describes the Jacobite army as "after mid-day marching at ease . . . down by the bank of the river," and goes on to narrate that when "a horseman came in through the mouth of the pass," with the news that "Colonel Mackay and his company had arrived," "the King's people," making short stay, went "up the side of the hill":—

"Bu lionmhor fallus air gach mala
Aig direadh a bhealaich an taobh mu thuath."

"Copiously poured the sweat from each brow
As they ascended the pass to the north side."

Mackay's account (see text below, p. 260) disposes of the idea that Dundie's main body

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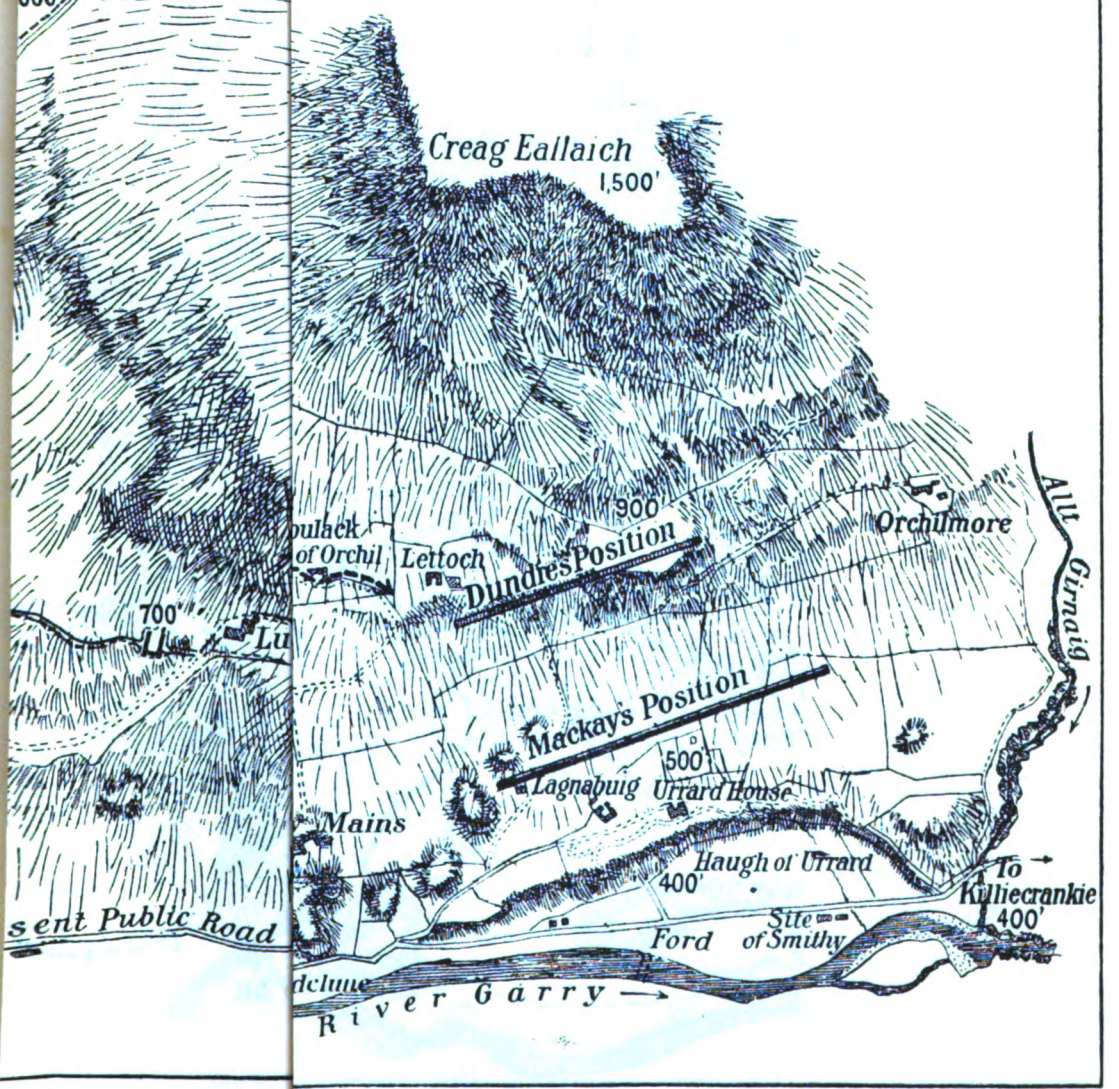
MAP SHOWING THE SITE
OF THE
BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE
AND
DUNDIE'S MARCH
FROM
BLAIR ATHOLL



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Meantime Mackay had reached Perth on the 25th of July[1] and there learnt that Dundie was on his way through Badenoch. The paramount importance of preventing his enemy from establishing himself in Atholl, where he might not only expect to be reinforced by some 1500 "as reputed men for arms as any of the kingdom,"[2] but where his proximity to the Lowlands of Angus and Perthshire "would give him . . . opportunity to fortify himself considerably in horse" made Mackay, contrary to Murray's advice,[3] adopt the imprudent

marched down by the Garry below its junction with the Tilt; and seeing that on the night before the battle Dundie's men had encamped three miles to the north of Blair, it is evident that the river referred to is the Garry above the confluence of the Tilt. Then the description of the ascent can only point to the route by Glen Fender (which lies behind the Hill of Lude, one of the hills forming the northern boundary of Strathgarry). The elevations on this route, as shown in the accompanying map, would account for the evident toil of the Highlanders' climb; and the expressions "up the side of the hill" and "ascended the pass to the north side" are most appropriate to it, whereas they can scarcely be held to describe Professor Terry's route, inasmuch as it led straight along the strath, across the face of the Hill of Lude, and to the south of it. Finally, the word "bealach"—*i.e.* "pass" or "gap"—could not be applied to any part of the strath between Blair and Killiecrankie.

A glance at the map will show that at that date the high road from Blair crossed the Tilt by a bridge built on the site of the one known at the present day as Old Bridge of Tilt (*i.e.* fully half a mile above the present public road along Strathgarry), and that from this bridge the route up the left bank of the Fender would be a simple alternative to the one past Lude. Professor Terry, however, apparently not knowing that the present public road along the strath only dates from last century, talks of Dundie "avoiding the level highway towards Mackay and the Pass" (p. 336).

It should be added that in an article in the *Scottish Historical Review* of October 1905 Mr. A. H. Millar gives a translation of Iain Lom MacDonald's poem, in which the verses I have quoted are rendered somewhat differently. "Ascended the pass to the north side," for example, becomes "as thro' the north side of the pass they climbed," but Mr. Millar's translation does not upset the argument, though he tells us (on what ground is not clear) that "the poem confirms Professor Terry's account of the battle in every particular." Mr. Lang (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 17, *note*) doubts Iain Lom's authorship, but the verses to which he objects are probably a later addition.

[1] Letter from Mackay to Lord Murray, *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 296. Mackay of Rockfield says that he arrived at Perth on the evening of the 24th. Hill Burton, overlooking a letter which the General wrote from Stirling on the 24th (*Memoirs*, app., p. 246 *et seq.*), quotes him as saying that he reached Perth about the 22nd or 23rd of July (*History of Scotland*, 1853 ed., vol. i. p. 125 *note*). The passage in the *Memoirs* is very confused, but Hill Burton's reading is probably right. If so, this also proves the *Memoirs* to be unreliable.

[2] Mackay's *Memoirs of the War carried on in Scotland and Ireland*, p. 48. All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from the text of his *Memoirs*.

[3] Mackay, in his "Short Relation" of the campaign (dated "Strathboggie the 17th August 1789") [*sic*] and printed in the appendix to his *Memoirs*, states that in Perth he was shown a letter from Lord Murray urging "a speedy march" into Atholl as "alltogether necessary to prevent the junction of his [Murray's] men with Dundie," but this is contradicted by a letter to Murray from a messenger whom he had sent to Mackay at Perth—probably the bearer of the letter alluded to above. The writer says: "I delivered your Lop's leter to him, and delt with him that is armie might not march the Atholl road; he tould me that it was a thing impossible that he could pas by Blair Castell until it wer in the Kinges hands or your Lop's." (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. pp. 294–5). This attitude is quite borne out by a letter written by Mackay from Perth on the 26th of July, which shows him refusing to believe that

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resolution of advancing into the Highlands as speedily as he could, without waiting for the completion of his cavalry. On the 26th of July he left Perth with over 4000 foot,[1] consisting of one battalion each of the three Scots-Dutch regiments, *i.e.* Brigadier Barthold Balfour's, Colonel the Hon. George Ramsay's, and his own (under his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel James Mackay); the English regiment commanded by Colonel Ferdinando Hastings;[2] and the two regiments recently raised in Scotland by the Earl of Leven[3] and Viscount Kenmure. His

Dundie is as near as he has been informed, "though I wish he were, let his forces be what they will" (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report VI.*, app., p. 700). And in another letter, written on the 4th of August to Lord Murray, in which, smarting under his recent defeat, the General is evidently (though without reason) dubious of the good faith of his correspondent, he admits that he had trusted so implicitly in the quality of his troops, that, had he been told that Dundie had four thousand men instead of two, he would not have acted otherwise than he did (*Ibid., Report XII.*, app., pt. viii. p. 41).

[1] Mackay of Rockfield, relying on the General's statement that his six battalions of foot made at most 3000 men (*Memoirs*, p. 46), complained that his hero's numbers had been exaggerated (*Life of General Mackay*, p. 41), but I think there is no doubt that this number was much below the mark. The Duke of Hamilton wrote to Lord Melville on the 28th of July that Mackay had marched from Perth with about 4000 foot (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 197), and though he gives the numbers of the horse wrongly, his 4000 infantry is, I think, much nearer the truth than the General's figure. To take the regiments in detail:—on arrival in Scotland in March 1689 the three Scots-Dutch regiments only mustered 1600 men (Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 5), but orders were immediately issued by the Convention to augment each regiment to twelve companies of 100 privates each (*Ibid.*, pp. 6, 119), and it was probably on account of the augmentation that each regiment was split into two battalions. As there was no lack of recruits in the first few months of the Revolution, it appears probable that the regiments were complete by July and that each Scots-Dutch battalion numbered about 660, all ranks. Mackay, however, in one of his letters (*Memoirs*, app., pp. 281–2), writes as if only five companies of his battalion had been at Killiecrankie—say 550, all ranks. Kenmure's Regiment was 766 strong on the 16th of July (*Treas. Sed.*). Hastings' total strength would appear to have been about 950 (*Declared Accounts Audit Office*, 313/2147) less 100 men left in garrison at Inverness (Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 40) = 850. Leven's Regiment, though stated in *The Records of the King's Own Borderers* to have been augmented to 1000 men prior to marching north, appears from the pay issued to have been about 900 strong (*Declared Accounts Audit Office*, 54/44). From these 900 must be deducted 200 left at Inverness, and to the six battalions must be added a company of Grant's Regiment (*The Expert Swordman's Companion*), probably about 70, all told, and 100 men of the clan Menzies who joined Mackay after he left Perth (see text below). These figures amount to over 4300 officers and men, though without making allowance for men non-effective from sickness or other causes. The writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* estimates Mackay's strength at 4500, and Balhaldies puts it at 3500. Both these estimates strike me as wonderfully moderate, seeing that they are made by Jacobite writers, and in this respect they contrast very favourably with the stories circulated in Edinburgh as to Dundie's numbers. The Duke of Hamilton wrote to Lord Melville on the 28th of July that Dundie's force had been much the stronger of the two (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 197); in an extract from the *London Gazette*, dated at Edinburgh July 30th, 1689, and quoted in *The Records of the King's Own Borderers*, p. 2, he is said to have had 6000 men; and in a report from Edinburgh, dated July 31st, which appears in *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (Lond., 1689–90), he is credited with 6000 foot and 100 horse. The writer of the letter in the *Original Papers*, however, makes the mistake of saying that Mackay had eight battalions.

[2] Now the 1st Battalion Somersetshire Light Infantry.

[3] Now the 1st Battalion King's Own Scottish Borderers.

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only horse were two of the new independent troops[1]—the Earl of Annandale's and Lord Belhaven's—each about fifty strong.[2] His artillery consisted of "three little leather field-pieces, which he caus'd carry on horseback with their carriages."[3]

Mackay's first halt was at Dunkeld, where he learnt, at midnight on the 26th, that Murray had had to fall back from Blair, and that Dundie was already in Atholl. But nothing could turn the General from his purpose, and by dawn of the 27th he was again on the march north, having sent on "200 choice fuseliers of the whole army"[4] under Lieutenant-Colonel Lauder, to reinforce the guard which Murray had placed at the western end of the Pass of Killiecrankie.[5] At Ballinluig he was joined by Robert Menzies, younger of Weem, with a hundred of his clan;[6] and at about mid-day, when within a quarter of a mile of Moulin,[7] he met Lord Murray, who reported that so far, with the exception of Ballechin's garrison, none of the Athollmen had joined Dundie, but that if they remained neutral it was as much as could be expected of them. The General halted his main body at the lower end of the Pass and sent on two hundred of Leven's

[1] See article entitled *Independent Troops of Horse*, 1689–91, p. 19.

[2] Mackay's cavalry was to have consisted of four troops of horse and four of dragoons. The two troops he had with him mustered 58, all ranks, on the 16th of July.—*Treas. Sed.*

[3] Probably three of the twenty guns formerly belonging to Margaret, Countess of Wemyss, widow of Lord Burntisland (*Notes and Queries*, 8th ser., vol. ix., p. 365). In 1649 her father-in-law, Gen. James Wemyss, had been appointed general of artillery and master of the ordnance, and had received a fifty-seven years' monopoly (renewed after 1660) for the manufacture and sale of leather guns (*Acts Parl. Scot.*, vol. vi., pt. ii., p. 18; vol. vii., p. 46, app. pp. 17, 18).

[4] "Short Relation." (*Memoirs*, app. p. 263.)

[5] When Lauder reached the upper end of the Pass he found that the guard which Murray had left there had gone, and it was partly on this account that Mackay thought he had been betrayed. Lord Murray, however, in his Representation, states that on the approach of Lauder's party his men retired and came back to him. Mackay, moreover, in his "Short Relation" admits that Murray, before they met, had written in doubt whether his men would stay where he had placed them, "since they were but countreymen and volontiers."

[6] D. P. Menzies, *The Red and White Book of Menzies*, p. 325. These men were shortly afterwards placed on the establishment as one of the Independent Companies of Foot. See article in this volume entitled *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, p. 41.

[7] Lord Murray's Representation, and letter to the Duke of Hamilton of the 1st of August. Mackay both in his *Memoirs* (p. 49), and in his "Short Relation," says that he reached the entry of the Pass (*i.e.* some two miles beyond Moulin) at about ten, and though the difference between these hours may be to a certain extent reduced by the fact that the General's force would occupy a considerable length of road, and that he was not necessarily marching at the head of it, still it is too considerable to be overlooked. Mackay gives the distance between Dunkeld and the Pass as eleven miles, but it is not less than fifteen, and it seems very unlikely that his men could have covered this distance by ten o'clock. Again, the hour given by Lord Murray fits in exactly with the later events of the day, whereas, if the General's force reached the Pass at ten it is impossible to account for the hours which must have elapsed before he took up his ground, which was about two hours and a half before sunset (see text below). Finally it should not be forgotten that Lord Murray's letter to the Duke of Hamilton was written within four days of the battle, and that by the time Mackay wrote his "Short Relation" (which is much the earliest of his accounts) his terrible experiences at Killiecrankie and during his subsequent retreat to Stirling, not to speak of the fresh campaign in which he immediately engaged, may well have dimmed his memory on a point such as this. All this is further proof that his *Memoirs* must be read with caution.

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Regiment to reinforce Lauder.[1] At the end of two hours, hearing that the Pass was clear, Mackay commenced his march along the narrow path,[2] just above the Garry, which threaded the defile of Killiecrankie. Balfour's, Ramsay's, and Kenmure's Regiments were sent on first, and were followed by Belhaven's Troop, and the General's battalion. Then came the baggage; and the rear was brought up by Annandale's Horse and Hastings' Regiment. Encumbered as it was with 1200 baggage horses, the force lay at Dundie's mercy while in the Pass, and Mackay, though he tells us that "he apprehended not the enemy," must have breathed more freely as his army emerged on to the "field of corn along the side of the river," which marked the beginning of the more open country between Killiecrankie and Blair Atholl. The most dangerous part of his march was over, and he might now hope to meet Dundie on more equal terms.

A halt was called to give the baggage and rearguard time to come up,[3] and Lauder was sent on with his fusiliers and Belhaven's Troop "some hundreds of paces" to a hill "towards the way from whence he expected the ennemy might appear," *i.e.* straight up the strath. Word was presently returned that "some partys" were to be seen advancing from the direction of Blair, whereupon the General, directing Brigadier Balfour, his second-in-command, to serve out the ammunition and make the men stand to arms, galloped forward to reconnoitre. On reaching Lauder, he saw at once that the ridge on one part of which he was standing (*i.e.* the rising ground lying to the north-east of the present village of Aldclune), commanded the road by which the enemy was said to be approaching,[4] and orders were sent to Balfour to "march up to him in all haste with the foot." But this order had no sooner been despatched than Mackay discovered another much nearer force "marching down an high hill [to the right], within a quarter of a mile to the place where he stood," and when it shortly became evident that this force constituted Dundie's main body, Mackay realised that his position on the Aldclune ridge was already outflanked, and that, further, there was imminent danger of the enemy seizing the "steep and difficult ascent" on which stood the house of Raon Ruaraidh (now known as Urrard).[5] This

[1] According to Mr. D. P. Menzies, the Menzies men formed half of this detachment of Leven's Regiment. If so, it may have been that they were attached to that regiment during the subsequent battle. Curiously enough, Mackay, though he mentions Robert Menzies and his men as having been at Killiecrankie, does not say where he placed them, though he describes in detail the disposition of his six battalions. But this would be accounted for if they were not fighting as a separate unit. This also may be the reason why the General makes no mention of the draft from Grant's Regiment.

[2] "Where three men with great difficulty could walk abreast."—Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 258.

[3] Mr. Mowbray Morris, possibly following Chambers, says that Mackay on emerging from the Pass began to intrench himself, but I can find nothing in the General's *Memoirs* to support this.

[4] The detachment coming from Blair he describes as "marching slowly along the foot of a hill," "the matter of a short mile" away. It would probably be somewhere about Upper Strathgroy (see map).

[5] The original home of the Stewarts of Urrard was further up the strath—about a mile to the west of Blair Castle—and was known as Urrard Mor. About the year 1625 Alexander

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ridge directly commanded the haugh on which his army and baggage had been halted, and Dundie once in possession of it would have no difficulty in forcing him "in confusion over the river."[1] Abandoning his former plan, therefore, Mackay "galloped back in all haste" to his men, "and having made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground they stood, made them march each before his face up the hill," by which means he averted immediate disaster.[2] Once up the slope of Urrard, he found "a plaine capable to contain more troupes" than his own, and "fair enough to receive the ennemy, but not to attack them," inasmuch as Dundie was already establishing himself on another hill "within a short musket shot," whence he directly commanded the new position taken up by his opponent. Nothing therefore was left but to await the attack, and Mackay proceeded to draw up his men with the slope of Urrard in his rear,[3] the infantry being from left to right in the order in which they had marched through the Pass.[4] Lauder[5] was drawn in to an advantageous position on the left flank "on a little hill wreathed with trees." Next came Balfour's, Ramsay's, and Kenmure's Regiments; Leven's was on the right centre, and further to the right were Mackay's own regiment and Hastings', which had come up later, having been delayed by the duty of guarding the baggage. Relying on the fire-power of his men, and apprehensive of being outflanked —especially on the right, where there was a danger that he might be cut off from the Pass—Mackay reinforced Hastings "with a detachment of fire-locks of each battalion" and weakened his line by breaking every battalion into two, and by forming line three deep without either supports or reserves. A gap was left between each half-battalion, and a considerable interval was allowed

Stewart, third of Urrard Mor, married Christina, only child and heiress of General George Leslie of Raon Ruaraidh (note supplied by Mr. Alston-Stewart of Urrard). Urrard Mor subsequently passed into the hands of the Atholl family, and Raon Ruaraidh was eventually given the name of the former Stewart property. Though known as Raon Ruaraidh in 1689, it will be more convenient to refer to it as Urrard.

[1] "Fearing that they should take possession of an eminence just above the ground where our forces halted on . . . whereby they could undoubtedly force us with their fire in confusion over the river."

[2] "Prevented that inconveniency," *i.e.* of being driven across the river.

[3] "Taking the former" (*i.e.* "the height which he [we] had marched up from the river") "at our back." The positions of the two armies are roughly indicated on the map, but it is probable that the slope of the ground and Mackay's fear of being outflanked on the right made him throw his right more forward. It may have been on this account that Dundie ordered the Macleans on his extreme right to advance first (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 267), as in that case they would be further from Mackay's line than the Highlanders on the left. As a matter of fact, however, Dundie's left finally anticipated his right (Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 56).

[4] Both Mr. Mowbray Morris and Mr. Louis Barbé in their respective monographs say that Mackay formed up his men in order of battle on the haugh, before he had seen Dundie's main body. The "Short Relation," if read by itself, might perhaps be held to warrant this view, but it is disposed of by the much fuller account in the text of the *Memoirs*, and as there is nothing actually contradictory in the two versions given by the General, I do not doubt that the one in the *Memoirs* is correct.

[5] Stewart of Garth and Hill Burton both confuse the detachment of fusiliers under Lauder with the Scots Fusiliers, then known as O'Farrell's Regiment, and later as the 21st.

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in the centre. Behind this, Mackay, fearing Dundie's cavalry, "which was composed all of gentlemen," [1] and evidently not too confident of his own, placed the two troops of horse, with the intention of keeping them in the background "till all the fire were over on both sides." A further element of weakness in the General's line was the fact that between the left and right wing there was marshy ground, "which on a sudden could not without hazard of bogging be gallopped." It is evident that this defect in the ground made it difficult for the two wings to co-operate, and largely contributed to the disaster which followed. The command of the left wing was given to Brigadier Balfour; Mackay himself commanded on the right.[2]

In the meantime Dundie, though too late to fall on his enemy while emerging from the Pass, had reaped the advantage of his march over the hill, and had already established himself on a plateau on the lower slopes of Craig Eallaich, where "he had place enough to range his men." Noting the weakness of Mackay's line, Dundie kept his men in dense formation, so that none of the impact of their charge might be lost, but he was thereby obliged to leave a space between each battalion and "a large void" [3] in the centre. On the right he placed a battalion of Macleans under Sir John Maclean of Duart, "a youth of about eighteen years of age"; [4] then came the Irishmen commanded by Colonel Pearson, and the Macdonalds of Clanranald, while Glengarry's battalion completed the right wing. The handful of horse was posted in the centre. To the left were the Camerons under Lochiel, who took up a position opposite Mackay's Regiment; beyond them was a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean; and the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, commanded by his eldest son and Sir George Berkley, guarded Dundie's left.[5] By Lochiel's advice, each clan was to attack a separate regiment of the enemy.[6]

[1] "Reformed officers, or such as had deserted of Dundie's regiment out of England."

[2] Mackay tells us that having placed his men in position he made a short address to the battalions on his right, reminding them that the Protestant cause not only in Britain, but throughout the world, depended on the success of King William's arms, and urging them not to betray their master's service "by a criminal faint-heartedness." It may be doubted whether he added to the courage of his young troops by warning them that if they gave way, few or none would escape their fleet adversaries, and that they would find the men of Atholl "in arms ready to strip and knock in the head all runnaways." The tenor of the speech shows that the General felt by no means confident of victory.

[3] Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 266. This was probably caused by a hollow which divided the plateau.

[4] *Ibid.* The writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* gives Sir John two battalions, but this seems unlikely in view of Dundie's total strength and the fact that Balhaldies credits Sir John with only 200 men. The statement in the letter is probably due to the writer's evident wish to magnify the importance of the Macleans.

[5] The order of battle is from the letter to the Queen in the *Original Papers*. Balhaldies does not mention the battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean, but as, when it joined Dundie, it included a good many men under Macdonald of Largie (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 247), he may have confused it with the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald; or it may have been no more than a wing of Sir Donald's battalion. I have already pointed out that Sir Alexander Maclean is the special hero of the letter in question.

[6] See note A, "On the Site of the Battle," at the end of this paper.

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The afternoon was well advanced before Dundie had got his men into position, and Mackay meanwhile, thinking he detected a movement to cut him off from the Pass,[1] had moved his men up to the right, so that the further half of Hastings' Regiment outflanked Dundie's left. As the General galloped backwards and forwards along his line, he was an easy mark to his enemy, and, as he tells us, "drew their papping shot over all where he moved, whereby severals were wounded before the engagement." But the afternoon wore on, and Dundie showed no disposition to come to closer quarters The July sun was in the faces of his men and he was resolved not to hurry.[2] Mackay, therefore, fearing a night attack in such a terrible position—the result of which could hardly be doubtful—attempted to goad his enemy into action with artillery fire, but the carriages of his little field-pieces "being made too high to be more conveniently carried, broke with the third firing." Later a party of the Camerons seized "some houses upon the ascent of the height whereon they stood," [3] and their fire proving galling, the General's nephew, Captain the Hon. Robert Mackay, was sent "with some fire-locks" of his uncle's regiment to dislodge them.

About half-an-hour before sunset, Dundie finally gave the order to advance, and the Highlanders, throwing away their "Plads, Haversacks, and all other Utensils," [4] began to move down the hill, the men on the left meeting with a heavy fire as they came within close range of the battalions on Mackay's right. But nothing could check their stern onward rush. As ordered, they kept back their own fire until within reach of the "very bosoms" of their enemy, and then "poureing it in upon them all att once, like one great clap of thounder, they threw away their guns, and fell in pell-mell among the thickest of them with their broad-swords," nothing being heard for some few moments but the "sullen and hollow" clash of steel.[5] Mackay, as the Highlanders advanced, ordered out his troops of horse to take them in flank, but, infected with a panic which from the first had paralysed the fire of the Scots-Dutch battalions on the left,[6] Bel-

[1] The hollow through which the Girnaig runs would afford facilities for this.

[2] There were other reasons why Dundie should wait. Though he had the advantage of the position, he may have hoped that Mackay, trusting in his superior numbers, would attack him. Then again, his men being undisciplined, probably took some time to assemble and fall into position—indeed, Balhaldies implies that the process of formation was a slow one. Finally, Dundie may well have wished to defer the action until sunset, as in the event of a defeat, darkness would be a much greater help to his men than to the enemy.

[3] According to the letter in the *Original Papers*, it was Sir Alexander Maclean's men who at five o'clock began the skirmishing by "debating for advantageous posts."

[4] *Memoirs of the Lord Viscount Dundie* (London, 1714). The plaid was the belted plaid, *i.e.* the kilt and plaid in one, similar to the dress shown in the frontispiece and in the illustrations opposite pp. 29 and 56.

[5] Locheill's *Memoirs*, pp. 267–8.

[6] Mackay says that his own regiment, with Hastings', Leven's, Kenmure's, and half of Ramsay's "made prety good fire," but that the other half of Ramsay's, with Balfour's whole battalion and Lauder's fusiliers "fled without any firing" ("Short Relation"). It should be remembered that the men were probably tired after their long march, and that the force, except for Hastings', and a small proportion of the Scots-Dutch battalions, was composed of raw levies. It is evident, moreover, that the battalions of the Brigade were

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haven's and Annandale's men wheeled about, and in a few minutes were in full flight.[1] Mackay, in vain attempting to rally them, spurred his charger " through the crowd of the attacking Highlanders," only to find that the whole of the left, together with his own regiment and the greater part of Leven's men, had given way, and were already out of sight, rushing headlong to the haugh below with the enemy in pursuit. On the right " a small hep of red coats " showed where the remainder of Leven's had stood firm, and further on could be seen a portion of the right wing of Hastings' Regiment, which, though at first driven off the field, had rallied and was now returning to its original position.[2] Hastily reforming these remnants of his force, Mackay despatched his nephew with orders to bring back what men he could, and, momentarily expecting a renewed attack, considered the advisability of taking possession of a neighbouring garden pending the re-assembling of his army. But when, nearly an hour later, Captain Mackay returned with the news that all were " gone clear away out of reach, and that such as he had spoke to noticed him not," Mackay resigned himself to the inevitable, and, as dusk fell, marched his men quietly off the ground, not without fear of being attacked by a number of Highlanders who were establishing themselves along the edge of the wood where Lauder had been posted. The General crossed the Garry in safety, and, tired though his men were, preferred to make his way by Tenandry, Strathtummel, and Weem,[3] to Drummond Castle and

under-officered (*Memoirs*, app., p. 272). Then again, it appears probable that most of the men were supplied with old-fashioned match-locks (*Ibid.*, p. 289), and as their only other arms were plug bayonets, the Highlanders were upon them before they had time to fix the bayonets in the muzzles of their muskets after firing. The General, profiting by his experience at Killiecrankie, afterwards invented a way of fastening the bayonet with rings to the outside of the barrel.

[1] Mackay wrote that Belhaven's Troop, in spite of the exertions of their captain, after a little confused firing " renversed upon the Lord Kenmores right wing and so begun the first breach so neare as I could remarque " (" Short Relation," *Memoirs*, app., p. 265). As Balhaldies tells us that Leven's Regiment was not attacked at all, it seems probable that it in like manner was broken by Annandale's Horse.

[2] Macaulay wrote that Hastings' Regiment " kept unbroken order," and Professor Terry believes that most of it remained intact. Balhaldies too stated that Leven's remained whole (p. 269). But Mackay himself says that he arrived at Stirling with the débris of these two regiments (*Memoirs*, app., p. 257), and as he only left the field with 400 men (" Short Relation "), it is obvious that but a small proportion of both can have stood firm. That these regiments behaved better than the others was due to the fact that, (1) owing to the gaps in Dundie's line, only a part of each was attacked ; and (2) that the proportion of officers to men was greater than in the Scots-Dutch battalions (*Memoirs*, p. 59). The story told by Colonel Hastings to the General, to the effect that he had had to wheel to the right to prevent himself being outflanked (an explanation offered to account for his having left his original position), seems very improbable in view of the respective numbers and formations of the opposing forces, and it directly conflicts with Balhaldies' statement that Hastings' right wing was not attacked because it outstretched Dundie's line (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 269).

[3] According to a letter from Lord James Murray to Lord Murray, dated at Tulliemet the 28th July 1689, Robert Menzies, younger of Weem, accompanied Mackay from the battlefield (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 303). This again tends to show that the Menzieses had been attached to Leven's.

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Stirling, rather than risk a pursuit by Dundie and his horse along the shorter and easier road to Perth.

But the horsemen he so dreaded had proved the least formidable element in Dundie's force. Led by a new commander, Sir William Wallace of Craigie,[1] they had swerved to the left instead of following their General in a charge on the enemy's centre, where were posted the horse and artillery.[2] Dundie, "intent upon the action, and carryed on by the impetuosity of his courage," rode straight on, and, as he plunged into the smoke which marked the enemy's line, was observed by the Earl of Dunfermline and some sixteen others who followed him, to rise in his stirrups and "make signes by waveing his hatt over his head for the rest to come up."[3] In that instant, or a moment later, he received his fatal wound, and as he fell from his horse he was caught by one of his followers named Johnston. The dying man lived to ask how fared the battle. "The day goes well for the King, but I'm sorry for your Lordship," was the reply. "It matters less for me, seeing that the day goes well for my master,"[4] and with this simple expression of his unselfish and devoted loyalty, Dundie's lips closed for ever.

Dunfermline and his men, returning from their successful charge, had endeavoured to collect a few Highlanders to attack the portion of Hastings' Regiment which had by that time returned to the field. The men of Leven's, however, who had held their own, at once advanced to the assistance of their comrades, and the Highlanders, "whereof many were rather followers of the army than soldiers,"[5] refused to be led against the enemy by officers they did not know. Dunfermline was therefore obliged to abandon the attempt, and as he and his men retired they found Dundie "just breathing out his last." In spite of a sharp fusilade from Leven's Regiment they were able to carry him off, but life appears to have been extinct by the time they were out of range of the enemy's fire.[6] Having "poured out a flood of tears on the hearse of their great General," Dunfermline and his companions advanced again with some sixty Highlanders, in the hope of finally routing the remnant of Mackay's army. They were reinforced as they went, but the knowledge that Dundie lay dead behind them had destroyed their confidence, and finding some of the enemy

[1] Sir William Wallace had been a captain in Dundie's regiment (known officially as "The King's Own Regiment of Horse"), at least from April 1687 (*English Army Lists*, vol. ii. p. 211); but until that morning, when Sir William had produced a commission from King James as commander of the horse, the troop had been commanded by the Earl of Dunfermline.

[2] Balcarres tells us that Dundie "ordered his horse to follow him to attack their cannon." —*Account of the Affairs of Scotland* (1714 ed.), p. 104.

[3] Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 268. See note B at the end of this paper, "On Dundie's position in the Battle.

[4] *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix., app. p. 56.

[5] Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 269. It is from these *Memoirs* that the account of Dunfermline's operations is taken, and the quotations in this paragraph are from the same source.

[6] I conclude this from the meaning implied in the word "hearse," used by Balhaldies, and quoted in the text—though of course it is not to be supposed that Dundie's body was carried from the field in any conveyance resembling the modern hearse.

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possessed of a gentleman's house that was near the field of battle,[1] they fell back as " it was in vain to attempt to dislodge them."

Thus it was that Mackay was able to cross the Garry in safety, and that, having been joined by Colonel Ramsay and some hundred and fifty fugitives, and with Lord Belhaven and a few horsemen as scouts, he finally reached Stirling, though a hundred men fled from him in Strathtay, owing to a false alarm that the enemy was upon them. The Highlanders did not return from the pursuit until midnight,[2] and many of the Athollmen, unable any longer to restrain their inclinations, joined in the chase with their victorious kinsmen,[3] so that deadly havoc was wrought among the unhappy fugitives as they fled down to Perth in the gloaming. Jacobite writers have agreed in putting their enemy's loss at upwards of 2000 killed and wounded,[4] and some 500 prisoners [5] are said to have been brought in by the Athollmen.[6] Mackay's loss in officers was particularly heavy. Among those killed were Brigadier Balfour, who commanded the left wing; Fergusson of Craigdarroch,[7] the Lieutenant-Colonel of Kenmure's; the

[1] This was clearly Urrard, and it was probably Urrard garden in which Mackay, as narrated above, had thought of establishing himself. His narrative, however, implies that he did not occupy the garden, and the men whom the Highlanders found in possession were probably the fugitives and wounded men, who, according to local tradition, took refuge in the house. The men whom Dunfermline finally assembled must have been those whom Mackay saw drawn up along the edge of the wood where Lauder had been posted. The author of *Clavers, The Despot's Champion*, also identifies them as such, but forgetting that it is clear from Mackay's account that the men he saw were on his extreme left, and remembering only that Dunfermline's first rally was probably made on the right of Mackay's line (*i.e.* somewhere near Hastings' original position), he concludes that the second rally also took place on the right, and that it was there that Dundie fell. See note B, later.

[2] Balcarres complained that the Highlanders lost much of the fruit of their victory owing to their love of plunder, but this is denied by Balhaldies, and it is borne out neither by the description Balcarres himself gives of Mackay's losses (see *note* below), nor by the General's own statement that " most part of the slaughter and imprisonment of officers and souldiers was in the chasce " (*Memoirs*, p. 60).

[3] As soon as Lord Murray heard the news of Mackay's defeat he marched his men up into the hills, in the direction of Tulliemet, lest they should be tempted to plunder the fugitives. Ballechin's eldest son, however, " who till then professed as much as any to be disaffected with his fathers actiones," and a few others, stole away under cover of darkness (MS. Representation).

[4] Balcarres, Dalrymple, and the author of the *Memoir* of Dundie, say 2000; Balhaldies says 1800, and the writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* states the accounts as varying from 1500 to 2000. I do not know of any official return of the casualties, but the General wrote of his regiments as having been " shater'd " (*Memoirs*, app., p. 273); the *Earlston MS.* speaks of many of Kenmure's officers, and most of his men, having been " cut to pieces "; and it is evident from a letter written by Lieut.-Colonel Buchan on the 5th of September 1689 that none of the regiments which had been at Killiecrankie would be fit for active service again that year (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 271). Indeed, a year later, ten companies of Kenmure's only mustered 300 men (Mackay, *Memoirs*, p. 100).

[5] So Balcarres, Dalrymple, the letter in the *Original Papers*, and a letter from Thomas Stewart of Stenton to Lord Murray, dated July 29th, 1689 (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 304).

[6] Letter in *Original Papers*. Both Balhaldies and Dalrymple say that the Athollmen took a great many prisoners, without giving any specific number.

[7] *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. i. p. 385, *note*.

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General's brother, James Mackay; and many other officers of his regiment.[1] Sixteen officers were taken prisoner,[2] and William of Orange's standard, which had been carried by Mackay's Regiment, was captured by Sir Alexander Maclean.[3] The booty taken was considerable, for it included not only arms, clothing, and the food supplies of which the Highland army stood so greatly in need, but also a large quantity of specie, inasmuch as each company officer in Mackay's force had taken with him a month's pay in advance for his men.[4]

On the other hand, the Highlanders on Dundie's left suffered heavily from the fire of Mackay's right, the Camerons, in particular, losing 120 men—one-half of their number—owing to a flank fire from Leven's Regiment, which, on account of the gaps in Dundie's line, was not fully engaged by any of his battalions. In the other part of the field, however, the Highlanders' losses must have been small,[5] as Mackay himself tells us that practically the whole of his left "fled without any firing."[6] Besides Dundie, the principal Jacobite officers known to have been killed were Hallyburton of Pitcur,[7] one of Dundie's most staunch adherents; Archibald[8] Macdonald of Largie, with his uncle, the Tutor of Largie, who died of his wounds at Blair Castle; a younger son of Glengarry; and Major Gilbert Ramsay, who had acted as the bearer of Dundie's final missive to Lord Murray. Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat is said to have lost five cousins-german.[9] Pitcur was mortally wounded by a shot from Leven's Regiment,

[1] Mackay writes that all the captains of his battalion "were either killed or doe beare the marks of their good behaviour," *i.e.* the Lieutenant-Colonel and two captains were killed; a third captain and the Captain-Lieutenant were wounded. He adds that he lost "about six very good subalterns, and brisk fellows" (*Memoirs*, app., pp. 281–2).

[2] The officers taken prisoner were carried to Blair Castle, whence three of them were whisked off to Struan by the young Chief of the Clan Donnachaidh, Alexander Robertson (*Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. ix., app., p. 56). Struan is generally credited with having fought at Killiecrankie, but as Lord Murray told Mackay that Ballechin's garrison were the only representatives of the Athollmen in Dundie's force, I conclude that he joined the Jacobite army after the battle. In May he had agreed to join Lord Murray in his efforts to keep the country quiet.—*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. i. p. 281.

[3] Letter in *Original Papers*.

[4] *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 271.

[5] Very little has been recorded as to Dundie's loss. Balhaldies puts it at a third of his total number, *i.e.* six or seven hundred men. Dundie's alleged letter announcing the victory to King James, which Professor Terry has now shown to have originated in a contemporary Jacobite broadside (*John Graham of Claverhouse*, app., p. 354 *et seq.*), estimates the loss at less than nine hundred. Balhaldies' figures are probably the most reliable, though the truth may lie between the two. The letter in the *Original Papers* says that very few of the rank and file were killed, and Mackay covers himself with ridicule by his boast that the Highlanders lost six to his one (*Memoirs*, p. 59).

[6] "Short Relation," *Memoirs*, app., p. 265.

[7] Pitcur, who was a man of great stature, is described in the *Memoir of Dundee* (p. 27) as being "like a moving Castle in the Shape of a Man."

[8] Christian name given in *The Clan Donald*, vol. iii. p. 384.

[9] *Memoir of Dundee*, p. 28.

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while helping to carry Dundie off the field,[1] and he was buried with his leader in St. Bride's Church at Old Blair.[2]

Thus ended a day which, had it not been for the death of the Jacobite General, might have shaken King William's power in Scotland to its very foundations. But under Dundie's incompetent successor, Colonel Cannon, the advantage gained at Killiecrankie was quickly lost. Although the Highland army doubled its numbers within a day or two of the battle, its advance south was abruptly checked by the rout of some 200 Robertsons near Perth on the 1st of August; and three weeks later the defeat which was inflicted on the Highlanders at Dunkeld by the Cameronian Regiment under its gallant Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Cleland, placed Mackay at last in possession of Blair Castle, the fortress for which he had risked so much. By his orders the castle was fortified with a palisade and breastwork, and as no less than nine companies of foot[3] were left there as a garrison, the district of Atholl was never again the scene of resistance to the Government of William III.

[1] Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 269. Here again Mackay and Balhaldies are at variance, Mackay stating that by the Jacobites' own confession Pitcur was killed along with Dundie by the fire from his (Mackay's) regiment as they galloped up to the left. But Balhaldies' account of Pitcur's death is circumstantial, and for other reasons already given (see note on Dundie's position in the Battle, p. 271), I think him on this point a more reliable authority than Mackay.

[2] Macaulay, for reasons best known to himself, wrote that the church had "long since disappeared," but it was in use until about 1826, and though roofless now, the four walls and a side chapel are still entire. From Macaulay's whole account of the battlefield, however, it seems pretty clear that he had not studied the locality.

[3] *i.e.* 500 men.—*Memoirs*, app., p. 276.

A. *Note on the Site of the Battle of Killiecrankie.*

Readers of Professor Sanford Terry's *John Graham of Claverhouse* will be aware that the site described as being that on which the battle took place is the one rejected by him in favour of a position between Lettoch and Aldclune. The main point of Professor Terry's contention is, that Mackay by his own account made for a ridge which "seemed to him to be the highest ridge of the valley's bottom slope," and that it was only upon reaching it that he found it was commanded by a "yet higher slope, through which Allt Chluain's small burn runs," on which Dundie was already drawn up. I agree with Professor Terry that the little hill from which Mackay reconnoitred towards Blair was probably a knowe above Aldclune, or a little to the north-east of it; and, as related in the text, I believe that the ground described by Professor Terry was more or less the position Mackay at first intended to take up. I think, however, it is quite clear from the *Memoirs*, that when Mackay ordered Balfour to bring up his men to the Aldclune ridge, he had seen only the detachment which was slowly advancing by the main road from Blair, nearly a mile from where he stood, and that when, shortly afterwards, he saw that Dundie's main body was marching down the hill within a quarter of a mile of him, he realised that his first position was untenable, and that only the promptest measures could save his army from immediate destruction. His objective, as he tells us, then became the hill just above the haugh on which his forces had halted, which a little later he calls "the lowest hill near the river"—a description which exactly corresponds with the brae of Urrard, but not at all with the slope between Lettoch and Aldclune, as the latter is separated from the river by a series of little hills which begin at the west end of the Haugh of Urrard. Mackay also tells us that his men "were

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ranged a little above the brow" of "the height which he had marched up from the river," and this, I think, disposes of Professor Terry's first argument, *i.e.* that he would not have fought with his back to the "steep and difficult ascent" on which Urrard House stands. Then with regard to his second assertion—that there is not between Urrard House and the topmost ridge of the hill above it any lower ridge, which, from the valley below, could suggest itself as "commanding the position"—I must confess, with all due deference to Professor Terry, that Mackay's description of Dundie's position on "another eminence before our front" with "his back to a very high hill," seems to me to tally exactly with the plateau between Lettoch and Ochilmore, and I can see no other position which would answer to it at all, Craig Eallaich being not only the highest of the hills between Killiecrankie and Blair, but the only one of a commanding appearance.

On the other hand, Professor Terry makes Dundie take up a position divided by the precipitous little defile of Allt Chluain. It would be impossible for any troops to charge across it between Tomvuilt and the present village of Aldclune, and Dundie's horse could only have crossed either very high up the burn or low down, near the village.

Professor Terry, however, finds an argument for his site in the fact that the ground between Lettoch and Aldclune slopes down to the right, facing towards Killiecrankie. He believes this to be the reason of the destruction of Mackay's left, and discovers a convincing proof of his contention in Mackay's statement that it was the Macdonalds who defeated his regiment, whereas Balhaldies tells us that it had originally been faced by the Camerons, who, it will be remembered, were on Dundie's left centre, the Macdonalds of Sleat being on his extreme left. But contemporary opinions differ as to who routed Mackay's Regiment. Balhaldies tells us that it was Lochiel's men, and the writer of the letter to the Queen in the *Original Papers* claims the credit for Sir Alexander Maclean's battalion. Mackay's statement, therefore, is only one out of three conflicting ones, and his, on the face of it, appears untrustworthy, for he mentions the Macdonalds of Glengarry as attacking his right, whereas we know that they were drawn up opposite his left, and, according to Professor Terry's theory, they should, if anything, have been carried still further to his left than their original position would warrant. But Professor Terry's theory of the slope is, I think, finally disposed of by the fact that Mackay, far from telling us that "the full force of the Clans" (as Professor Terry puts it) bore down on his left, asserts that his left "was not attacked at all . . . because the right of the enemy had not budged from their ground when their left engaged."

It should be added that local tradition records that the fight took place at Urrard, and that the fact that in the Highlands the battle has always been known as that of "Raon Ruaraidh," is another, and a strong, argument for this site. Further evidence is afforded by the fact that the General at one moment thought of rallying the remains of his right wing in a walled garden. This points to the battle having taken place near a laird's residence, and, as I am informed by Mr. Alston Stewart that in 1689 there was a walled garden at Urrard on the site of the present one (*i.e.* just above the house), it seems probable that it was this to which Mackay referred. Again, skeletons and weapons have been found on the plain of Urrard, and below it, in the haugh, whereas, so far as I can discover, no relic of the fight has ever been found on the slope between Lettoch and Aldclune. It is also worth while to note that in Stobie's map of Perthshire, published in 1783—a date at which men may well have been living whose fathers had fought at Killiecrankie—the Urrard plateau is marked as the site of the battle.

Then the fact that Dunfermline's men had to pass Urrard House on their final advance against the remnants of Mackay's army, tends to show that the house stood somewhere near the centre of the line, and though it is difficult to definitely identify the bog which divided Mackay's two wings, there is plenty of marshy ground near Urrard, which, especially in the days before drainage was heard of, might answer to the General's description. One verse of the poem by Iain Lom Macdonald, to which I have already referred, mentions "the tender birch copse, near the farm of MacGeorge," where "full many a gay cloak lies torn." This was probably the former farm of Lagnabuiag, which Mr. Alston Stewart informs me was at that date held by a man whose Christian name was George. George is an uncommon name in the district, and it is known that several of this man's descendants bore the

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same name. If Mackay's centre were more or less in front of Urrard House, his left would easily extend to Lagnabuiag, and the "little hill wreathed with trees" on which Lauder was posted would be one of the knowes which are to be seen near the ruins of this farm.

Moreover, the fact that when Mackay was on the Aldclune ridge Dundie was but a quarter of a mile away, surely precludes the possibility of the General's having time to gallop back to his men (the nearest of whom were another quarter of a mile behind him), form them up, and bring them back up a series of steep slopes to the ridge he had just left. To do this in the safest and quickest way he would have had to form line on the head of the column—at the best a slow manœuvre, and necessarily a dangerous one in the face of an enemy, inasmuch as it would have rendered his regiments liable to be attacked in detail before the movement was completed.

The promptitude with which Mackay's force took up its ground, coupled with the fact that the order of the battalions, when in line, corresponded from the left with their order on the march, implies, I think, that the General executed what practically amounted to a "right turn" of the whole force from the direction in which it was marching; and that the army advanced up the brae in line—which could only have been done lengthways of the haugh. This would be a simple and a safe manœuvre, and could be executed with sufficient haste to account for the fact that Hastings' Regiment, though not with the General when he formed up his men on the haugh, joined him just as he was taking up his ground on the plateau above.

Finally, the evidence of Donald McBane, one of the private soldiers of Mackay's army, goes to show, as Professor Terry admits, that the battle was fought above Urrard. He writes: "We drew up at the house of Runrawrie, then [just ?] passed the Pass of Killiecrankie, having a great Water in the Rear, and another on the Right of our Line, we left our Baggage in the Rear, at the Smith's House." The "great water" was of course the Garry, and the other could only have been the Girnaig, which flows into the present village of Killiecrankie. Two old houses formerly stood on or near the ground now occupied by the lodge of Urrard House. One of these is supposed to have been the smithy of which Donald McBane wrote.

I maintain, therefore, that the battle was fought on the plain of Urrard, Mackay's right being pushed out towards Ochilmore, the gap in his centre being (roughly) in front of the present House of Urrard, and his left resting on one of the little knowes shown on the map near the ruins of Lagnabuiag Farm. I agree, however, with Professor Terry that the intrenchment noticed by Mr. Lang on the lower slope of Craig Eallaich has no connection with this battle. With his enemy lying at his feet, and with an army of Highlanders behind him, Dundie could never have thought of standing on the defensive, and even if he had, it would have been impossible for his men, with the number and quality of the tools which we may assume would have been at their disposal, to do so much digging in two hours. A trench would certainly appear to have been made at one time, but it probably dates from a much earlier period.

I should mention that the site for which I contend is the one adopted by most writers, and that Napier, at least, understood Mackay's *Memoirs* as indicating that the General was unable to take up the ground he originally chose. Such descriptions, however, of the battle-field, as I have seen, are brief, and in view of the new theory advanced with so much detail by Professor Terry, I hope that this somewhat lengthy statement of the evidence on which the Urrard site rests may not be thought amiss.

B. *Note on Dundie's position in the Battle.*

Professor Terry understands a statement in Mackay's *Memoirs* (p. 55) to the effect that "that part of their [the Highlanders'] forces which stood opposite to Hastings . . ., before the Generals, Levins and Kenmore's regiments, came down briskly together with their horse," as meaning that Dundie's horse were on the left, "probably on the right of the Macdonalds," *i.e.* of Sleat (*John Graham of Claverhouse*, app. p. 350, *note* 5). But Mackay's enumeration is a comprehensive one, inasmuch as it includes not only the three battalions on his right, but the battalion on his left centre. Thus, this passage may, I think, be dis-

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counted, and in the " Short Relation " Mackay writes that " they seemed to attack much about the middle of the line," thus confirming Balhaldies' twice-repeated assertion that Dundie's horse were in the centre. As we have seen, Balcarres on this point confirms Balhaldies (see *note* 2, p. 265).

Again, Professor Terry adopts Mackay's statement that Dundie wheeled to the left with his horsemen and that he was killed by the fire of his (Mackay's) regiment. This, I admit, is confirmed (1) by a newsletter of the 10th of August, 1689, in which Lieut.-Colonel James Mackay is alluded to as " the man that gave Dundie his passport to heaven or hell " (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report XII.*, app. pt. vii., p. 255); (2) by the writer of the letter to the Queen in the *Original Papers*, who says that Dundie was shot while riding " to help the confusion he observed in the left wing, occasioned by the gallant resistance of Colonel Hastings' regiment " to the Macdonalds of Sleat; (3) by a statement in Clarke's *Life of James the 2nd*, p. 350, to the effect that Dundie was killed by a random shot, while riding towards the left, where the enemy made the most opposition; and (4) by Balcarres, who on this point gives the same story as that which appears in the *Original Papers*. I think, however, that too much reliance need not be placed on the gossip of a newsletter, especially as Lieut.-Colonel Mackay did not himself survive the battle; the letter in the *Original Papers* has been shown to be untrustworthy in some respects; the account in the *Life of James the 2nd* is inaccurate in others, and appears to be taken from the accounts in the *Original Papers* and Balcarres' *Memoirs;* while, finally, Balcarres' version, which was probably the only one of those mentioned here which was known to Balhaldies, was emphatically denied by him. I am inclined to believe Balhaldies, for the following reasons :—

(1) His account, which, though not contemporary, is fuller and more circumstantial than either of those given respectively by Balcarres or the writer of the letter to the Queen, is compiled, he tells us, " from the relation of severalls of the sixteen gentlemen who accompanied him [Dundie] in the last moments of his life," of whom it appears that his father, Alexander Drummond of Balhaldies, was one (Locheill's *Memoirs*, p. 281). With regard to this point it should be remembered that it has been shown to be doubtful whether the writer of the letter in the *Original Papers* were present at the battle, and it is well known that Balcarres was not.

(2) If the situation on Dundie's left had been so serious as to warrant his taking his few horse across the zone of a heavy flank fire, we should undoubtedly have heard of it from Mackay. Though Balhaldies, indeed, tells us that one-half of Hastings' Regiment stood firm owing to its not being attacked, and though this, if true, would no doubt account for the heavy losses of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Mackay is completely silent as to the " gallant resistance " alleged to have been made to them by Hastings' Regiment; and he tells us twice over that Hastings in the first instance lost ground, though he afterwards succeeded in bringing back some of his men to the field of battle (see *note*, p. 264). And if Dundie were killed by Mackay's Regiment it must have been, as Mackay says, " at the first onset," for the General's battalion had fled by the time that Hastings was returning (*Memoirs*, p. 57).

(3) That Dundie's death took place at the very beginning of the action is confirmed by a letter from King James to Colonel Cannon (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 333). Balcarres, however, makes it happen after the guns had been captured, and at a moment when, by his account, Dundie's horse had " broke in thro' Mackay's own Regiment " (*Account*, p. 105).

(4) Mackay was not slow to claim all the credit he could for his regiment, and as he himself tells us that it was the men with firearms who ran away first (*Memoirs*, p. 59), I think it may well be doubted whether they did all the execution he attributes to them. In this connection his assertion that many of the Macdonalds of Glengarry were killed by the fire of his right wing should be remembered (see Note A, p. 269); and, as the author of *Clavers —The Despot's Champion* very pertinently points out, Mackay did not know when he left the field of battle that Dundie was killed.

(5) If, as Professor Terry believes, Dundie were killed by a shot in the left eye, it seems improbable that he would receive this wound while wheeling to Mackay's right, as this movement would expose the right side of his body to the enemy's fire.

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(6) Both in Creichton's *Memoirs* and in Clarke's *Life of James the 2nd*, Dundie is said to have been killed by a random shot. If this were true, the expression could hardly have been used of the direct fire of the battalions on Mackay's right.

To me it seems probable that Wallace's men, dismayed for a moment by the appearance of Belhaven's and Annandale's Troops as they wheeled out from the centre of their line (Mackay expressly tells us that at sight of them the enemy turned "away from the place where they saw the horse coming up"), swerved suddenly to the left—these being the horsemen of whom Mackay tells us; but that Dundie himself, followed by the "brave Earl of Dunfermline and sixteen gentlemen more," rode straight on towards Mackay's centre and was killed by a shot from the left—probably from Leven's Regiment, part of which, as already related, remained firm. There is a local tradition that Dundie's horse pulled up short on reaching boggy ground, and that it was then that its rider was mortally wounded. This tradition fits in with the statements made by Balhaldies and Balcarres to the effect that Dundie charged at the enemy's centre, for, as we have seen, Mackay's right was divided from his left by a bog.

There is another local tradition to the effect that Dundie was shot from a window of Urrard while his charger was drinking at the goose-dub near the house, and that the horse afterwards carried him to a knowe which is known to this day as Tom Clebhris—*i.e.* "Clavers' Hill." I am informed, however, by Mr. Alston Stewart that the knowe could only have been reached from the battlefield by passing between the walled garden and the house, and the idea that Dundie stopped to water his horse at the commencement of the battle is of course absurd. This tradition may have grown out of the one about the bog.

The story that Dundie was shot by Lieutenant-Colonel William Livingstone has been shown by Professor Terry to be impossible, but he produces some evidence tending to show that the Jacobite leader may have been murdered by two men who are said to have joined his troop of horse on the eve of battle (*John Graham of Claverhouse*, pp. 354–5). Passes, however, to leave London were not issued to these men until the 19th of July 1689, and it may be doubted whether, even if they could have succeeded in reaching Blair Atholl by the morning of the 27th (which seems rather doubtful), two English strangers, coming through the country held by his enemies, would have at once been placed by Dundie among the gentlemen cavaliers who had followed his fortunes so loyally since the opening of the campaign—and each one of whom must have been personally known to him.

It remains to consider the nature of Dundie's wound, with regard to which different statements have been advanced. Balcarres tells us that he was hit "in his Right Side, immediately below his armour"; Balhaldies says that the wound was "two hands'-breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side"; while Professor Terry believes that he was shot in the left eye. Though the local traditions as to the circumstances of Dundie's death vary considerably, one widely accepted one is to the effect that he was hit below the left arm.

Professor Terry's theory rests on a statement in *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Estates in Scotland* (London, 1689–90, No. 56, p. 129), to the effect that some of Mackay's officers, being at Blair Castle about five weeks after the date of the battle, had seen Dundie's body lying "in a vault in one of the Isles of the Church of Blair," and that they had described his mortal wound as having been inflicted "by a Shot in his Left Eye." The officers are said to have recognised Dundie's body "by undeniable marks," and Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck is also stated by the same authority to have seen the bodies of Dundie, Pitcur, and Macdonald of Largie, apparently about the same time, lying "in an Isle of the Church." Apart from the improbability that an army of victorious Highlanders would leave its General unburied, the statement, alleged to have been made by Auchinbreck, to the effect that the bodies were "not yet interr'd," conflicts with the information recorded elsewhere in the same volume that Dundie was buried on the 29th of July (*Ibid.*, No. 44, p. 106), and with a statement in the *Acts of Parliament*, vol. ix., app. p. 56, which shows that he was buried within a day or two of the battle. The interment, however, might merely have consisted in laying the coffin in the vault of the church, and though General Robertson

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of Lude some hundred years later wrote of Dundie's grave in Blair Church having been disturbed by a gravedigger on account of the removal of a seat, it is possible that what was disturbed was the stone which formerly covered the entrance to the vault. From a letter written by the Duchess of Atholl in 1705 it appears that the common belief then was that Dundie was buried in the vault (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 52).

Though, so far as I am aware, no record exists of the evidence on which the helmet and breastplate found by the gravedigger in 1794 were concluded to be Dundie's, they were considered as undoubtedly such at the time, and the breastplate certainly belonged to a cavalry soldier of the latter half of the seventeenth century. The story told to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe by Earl Gower in 1809 (C. K. Sharpe, *Correspondence*, 1888 ed., vol. i. p. 380), to the effect that General Mackay obtained possession of Dundie's breastplate and helmet, and that they were afterwards handed down in his family, seems very improbable.

It may well, however, be asked what were the "undeniable marks" by which Mackay's officers recognised Dundie's body; and as the statements made by the writer of the *Account of the Proceedings* have already been shown to be conflicting; as he elsewhere incorrectly asserts that three of Mackay's battalions maintained themselves upon the field; and as finally the entire publication is only of the nature of a newspaper, and the statement as to Dundie's wound seems merely to rest on town gossip, I think this authority need by no means be regarded as infallible. A direct argument, however, against Professor Terry's theory is the extreme improbability—if not impossibility—that a man hit by a musket ball in the left eye could live to speak sensibly afterwards; and that Dundie held the conversation recorded in the text was stated as sworn evidence by one of Mackay's officers, to whom Johnston had related it within a day or two of the battle (*Acts of Parl., Scot.*, vol. ix., app., p. 56).

Professor Terry, moreover, holds that the fact that there is no authentic shot-hole in Dundie's breastplate (which, since its exhumation in 1794, has been preserved at Blair Castle), disproves the statements made both by Balcarres and Balhaldies. This, however, can hardly be the case as regards Balcarres, for the latter asserts that Dundie was hit *below* the armour; and I cannot look upon the absence of a shot-hole in the breastplate as conclusive evidence against Balhaldies, for it is clear from a hook on one side that it formerly had a back-piece, and "hit in the left side" could refer as well to the back part of the armour as to the front. Balhaldies' account is at all events a consistent and quite a probable one, for he makes his hero receive his wound while exposed on the left to a possible flank fire from the only men who in the first instance kept their ground. It should also be remembered that the local tradition I have mentioned, though differing slightly from Balhaldies' version, is also consistent with his story; and it is even possible that "two hands'-breadth within the armour" might mean two hands'-breadth *from the centre* of the armour—*i.e.* in the gap between the front and back pieces. In this case Balhaldies' statement and the traditional one would coincide.

On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to accept Balhaldies' statement, though the evidence is so conflicting that it is difficult to give an unreserved opinion on the subject.

Since this article was sent to press, the fourth volume of Mr. Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland* has been published. I am glad to find that Mr. Lang too sees the difficulty of reconciling the wound in the left eye with the conversation related by Johnston.

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THE BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR [1]

(*13th November* 1715)

BY THE EDITOR

THE last battle fought on Perthshire soil was the action which proved the turning-point of the Jacobite Rising of 1715.

As will be narrated elsewhere,[2] the Earl of Mar, after setting up the standard of the Chevalier in Aberdeenshire on the 6th of September, had marched south to Perth, where he spent six weeks assembling an army, preparatory to marching into England to co-operate with the Jacobites there. His way was barred by an army which the Duke of Argyll had concentrated at Stirling, but by the end of the first week in November Mar had received the last of his expected reinforcements, and there could be no further excuse for delay. On the 8th of November, therefore, he set out from Perth at the head of a considerable force, with eleven pieces of artillery[3] and supplies for several days, hoping to cross the Forth with his main body either at the Fords of Frew or at the head of the river,[4] while smaller detachments were to engage the Duke's attention by

[1] Principal authorities:—The Master of Sinclair's *Memoirs of the Insurrection in* 1715; *A Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith*, written by himself; *The Annals of King George, Year the Second* (London, 1717); *A Compleat History of the Late Rebellion* (second edition, London, 1716); Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion* (second edition, with Original Letters, London, 1746); Campbell's *Life of John, Duke of Argyle* (London, 1745); *Historical MSS. Commission, Montrose MSS., Stuart Papers, Mar and Kellie Papers;* Patten's *History of the Late Rebellion* (London, 1717, and fourth edition, London, 1745), including (1) the account given by Colonel Harrison (the officer sent by the Duke of Argyll to take the news of the battle to King George); (2) Major-General Wightman's account (dated at Stirling, November the 14th); (3) Lord Mar's letter to Colonel Balfour, Jacobite Governor of Perth (dated at Ardoch, November the 13th); (4) the official Jacobite account, printed at Perth by Robert Freebairn, 1715; and (5) an unsigned letter to the Jacobite Governor of Burntisland, dated November the 16th; also the *London Gazette* of 18th November.

[2] See article entitled *Perthshire in the 'Fifteen and the Affair of Glenshiel*, p. 289 *et seq.*

[3] Six were made of brass, and five of iron, but they were worse than useless, for there was little, if any, ammunition for them. Sinclair, who had seen some service under Marlborough, protested to Mar that to take the guns with them was merely to use up horses which were needed to carry supplies, but, according to his story, was met with the reply that the knowledge that the army was accompanied by artillery would have an excellent moral effect on the enemy. After making due allowance for the fact that Sinclair throughout his *Memoirs* is unsparing in his criticism of Mar, it must be admitted that such an answer would be quite of a piece with the generalship displayed by Mar in the campaign.

[4] Sinclair says that up to the time of leaving Perth Mar was quite uncertain as to which of these places to make for, and points out that as the bridge over the Teith at Doune had been cut, that river had also to be crossed. Argyll had spoiled the Fords of Frew (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report III.*, app. p. 380), but Mar does not appear to have had definite intelligence of this, though Sinclair, as an old soldier, took it for granted.

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making feints at crossing at or near Stirling Bridge.[1] Three battalions were left at Perth under an old soldier, Colonel Balfour, who had been appointed governor of the town; other troops were garrisoning Dundee and Burntisland;[2] and the regiments of Lord George Murray and John Stewart of Innernytie were collecting the cess in Fife.

On the evening of the 8th of November Mar encamped at Dunning,[3] and on the 9th he marched to Auchterarder.[4] There his force was swelled by some 2500[5] Highlanders who were awaiting him under Lieutenant-General Gordon of Achintoul, but 400 Frasers who had arrived at Perth only a few days before, and 200 of Lord Huntly's Strathdon and Glenlivet men, left him in a body.[6] On the 10th a review was held on Auchterarder Muir, at which the Jacobite army mustered some six or seven thousand foot, and seven squadrons of horse;[7]

[1] The Whig historian Rae (*History*, p. 299) says that one feint was to be made at the bridge, another at the Abbey Ford, about a mile lower down the river, and a third at the Drip Coble, about a mile and a half higher up.

[2] Rae says that 3000 troops were left in garrison at Dundee or in Fife, but this of course is an exaggeration. Among the battalions left behind were Lord Ogilvy's and such part of Strathmore's as had not marched to England with Mackintosh of Borlum (see p. 295).

[3] Keith, p. 16.

[4] The dates of the march to Auchterarder are those given by Keith. Rae and the writer of the *Annals of King George* say that he marched from Perth to Auchterarder on the 10th, but the official Jacobite account says that the review was held on that day at Auchterarder (see text below), and as from Keith's narrative it appears that a considerable part of the army accompanied the General from Perth, it seems certain that he must have reached Auchterarder a day before the review. Sinclair, though he mentions no date prior to the 12th, gives the impression that only one clear day was spent at Auchterarder (*i.e.* the 11th), but the official Jacobite account mentions that the army was reviewed on the 10th and that it rested on the 11th. As this is confirmed by Keith (who says that two days were spent at Auchterarder), I conclude that it is correct. Part of the army had left Perth even before the 8th, but Mar was certainly there until that date (Rae, *History*, Original Letters, pp. 467–8).

[5] The figure given by Sinclair. It is quite borne out by an account of the pay issued at this period to six of the battalions under Gordon's command (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 472). The numbers shown are as follows: Macdonalds of Clanranald, 566 officers and men; Stewarts of Appin, 262 sergeants and men; Macleans, 327 ditto; Macdonalds of Glengarry, 462 ditto; Macdougalls, 33 officers and men; and a mixed battalion of Macdonalds of Glengarry and Glencoe, about 300 sergeants and men (estimate formed from the pay only, the actual number not being given). These figures amount to 1950. To them should be added a battalion of men from Breadalbane, about 400 strong, under John Campbell of Glenlyon, and a battalion of Camerons, say 300 strong—total, 2650. Rae credits Gordon with 4000 foot and 100 horse. The Grants of Glenmoriston came with Glengarry.

[6] The Frasers had been called out by Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall, who, on his marriage with the eldest daughter and heiress of the ninth Lord Lovat, had assumed the designation of Fraserdale. Simon Fraser of Beaufort, however, heir male to the Lovat title, who had been outlawed for some years, had recently returned to Scotland, hoping to win a pardon by raising his clan for the Government. It was on hearing of his arrival at Inverness that the Frasers deserted Mar. With them probably went a hundred of the Chisholms who had come with Fraserdale, the Chisholms being Lovat's vassals. Huntly said his men left because they had been purposely overworked (Sinclair, p. 203).

[7] The squadrons of horse were as follows:—two squadrons raised by the Marquess of Huntly; one raised by the Earl Marischal; the Perthshire Squadron under Lord Rollo; the Fife Squadron under the Master of Sinclair; the Angus Squadron under the Earl of

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the following day was spent in settling the order of march;[1] and on the 12th the advance was resumed, the Highlanders under Gordon, with three squadrons under the Master of Sinclair, being sent on to seize Dunblane,[2] while the main body under Lieutenant-General George Hamilton was to spend the night at Ardoch.[3] Mar himself rode off to Drummond Castle to confer with Lord Breadalbane, who was too old and infirm to accompany the army.

Southesk; and the Stirlingshire Squadron under the Earl of Linlithgow (this squadron carried the Standard which had been raised on the 6th of September, and which was known as the "Restoration Standard"). Field-Marshal Keith and the official Jacobite account mention eight squadrons as taking part in the march, the eighth no doubt being the "fortie scrub horse of servants, and others from about Inverness" brought by the Earl of Seaforth (Sinclair, *Memoirs*, p. 200). In the official Jacobite account, however, only seven squadrons are detailed in the actual disposition of the army at Sheriffmuir, and the forty horsemen appear to have acted as a bodyguard to Seaforth, and not to have been regarded as a regular squadron (see *note* 4, p. 283). For the strength of the seven squadrons, see *note* below.

[1] This delay of two days, which, as will be seen, proved fatal to the Jacobite hopes, is said to have been made in order to give time for Lord George Murray and Innernytie to join the army (Keith, *Memoir*, p. 16). If so, the halt was made in vain.

[2] The official Jacobite account says that Huntly's "three squadrons," and five squadrons under Sinclair, were sent on with Gordon, but only two of Huntly's are mentioned in Sinclair's *Memoirs* and the disposition of the army for battle; and Sinclair's narrative makes it clear that the only squadrons under his command were the one from Fife and Huntly's two.

[3] The figures given above as the strength of the army require some explanation. The Whig writers' estimates of the force actually engaged at Sheriffmuir vary from 9100 to 10,400; Sinclair gives it as about 8000, and Keith as 6000 foot and 800 horse. The last I believe to be nearest the truth. On the 13th of October the strength of the squadrons of horse was as follows: Huntly's, 400; Marischal's, 180; Rollo's, 70; Linlithgow's, 77; Southesk's, 100; Sinclair's, 90 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Mar and Kellie Papers*, pp. 511–512). To these must be added Seaforth's 40 horsemen; total, 957. The regiments of foot which marched from Perth were two battalions of Huntly's; three of Seaforth's; two of Lord Drummond's (commanded respectively by Lord Strathallan and Drummond of Logiealmond); and one each of the Marquess of Tullibardine, the Earl of Panmure, Alexander Robertson of Struan, and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. The return of the 13th of October, already quoted, shows Panmure's as 415 strong, and Struan's as 203, while Sinclair says that Seaforth and Sir Donald Macdonald each brought 700 men. On the 13th of October Huntly had 1200 infantry; if these were formed in only two battalions, that would leave him about 800, after deducting the 200 who left on the 9th, and 200 Macphersons, his vassals, who were then with Rob Roy (see *note*, p. 285). Tullibardine had presumably, at first, one-fourth of the 1400 Athollmen who joined the Cause; but as his father was strenuously opposing the Rising, it is probable that a good many of his men had deserted (on the 13th of October Lord George Murray's battalion, which at first would also be about 450 strong, mustered only 203). Tullibardine's battalion might therefore be put at about 300. Then as to the Drummond regiments;—there had originally been three, in all 600 strong, under Lord Drummond, Lord Strathallan, and Drummond of Logiealmond; but as Lord Drummond had some time before been appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, and as the official Jacobite account of the battle speaks of "the battalions of Drummond, commanded by the Viscount of Strathallan and Logie Almond," it is probable that by this time they had been formed into two. Logiealmond's battalion had been one of those despatched on Mackintosh of Borlum's expedition a month earlier, but he himself had been unable to cross the Forth (see article on the 'Fifteen, p. 295), and as only seven of his officers were taken prisoner at Preston (*Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion*, Chetham Society, 1845, p. 162), I conclude that but a small proportion of his regiment got across—in which case the Drummond battalions at Sheriffmuir may have

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In the meantime the Duke of Argyll had received information of Mar's design, and owing to the halt at Auchterarder had been able to call up reinforcements from Glasgow, Falkirk, and Kilsyth. Fearing that a severe frost which had recently set in might render the Forth passable for troops, and recognising that the open country to the north of the Ochills was more suitable for his cavalry than the ground near the Heads of Forth, he resolved to cross the river and anticipate his opponent by seizing Dunblane. On the 12th of November, therefore, he marched from Stirling at the head of 2500 foot and 1000 cavalry, and encamped that evening with his left at Dunblane and his right resting on the lower slopes of the Stoney Hill of Kippendavie,[1] his right flank being protected by the bogs on the southern slope of the Sheriffmuir.[2] Though the night was bitterly cold no tents were pitched. The Duke slept in a sheep-cote on the right of the army,[3] while the men lay on their arms in order of battle.

The Jacobites were not long left in ignorance of Argyll's move. At three o'clock on the afternoon of the 12th, when Gordon was about half-way between Greenloaning and Kinbuck, a lame boy, sent by Lady Kippendavie (whose husband was serving under Mar), came running up to say that the Duke was marching through Dunblane with his whole army. The news was at once sent back to Hamilton, and the column, after a brief halt, continued its march to Kinbuck. The main body had meanwhile halted at the Roman Camp at Ardoch, and Mar, recalled by Hamilton on the receipt of Gordon's intelligence, at first refused to believe it, and ordered the men to their quarters for the night. On the receipt, however, of further definite information as to the Duke's movements, the army marched on to join Gordon at Kinbuck, and arrived there at about nine o'clock. The night was spent in a dangerously cramped position, the whole force being packed into a small hollow with the river Allan in its rear.[4]

At six o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 13th of November the army formed up in two lines on the muir to the east of Kinbuck, and as day broke a party of Argyll's horse could be seen to the south, on the ridge of Sheriffmuir.

mustered upwards of 500 men. These figures amount to about 3600, making, with Gordon's 2650, some 6250 infantry and 950 horse—total, 7200. The inevitable desertions would bring this very near Keith's figure. Keith writes as if there had been only fourteen infantry battalions, but I have enumerated nineteen, though perhaps the Macdougalls should not be counted as a separate battalion. They are not mentioned as fighting so at Sheriffmuir.

[1] Now known as Stone Hill. For Argyll's position, see map on next page.

[2] In spite of all that modern drainage can do, the ground to the south of the so-called Gathering Stone, which stands on the crest of the Sheriffmuir ridge, is still somewhat marshy.

[3] This would probably be somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present farm of Dykedale. There is a local tradition to the effect that Argyll, instead of marching to Dunblane on the 12th, turned to his right through the hills and encamped for the night at a place called Ashentrool, about two miles south-east of the Gathering Stone. This, however, is entirely disposed of by the contemporary accounts, both Whig and Jacobite, which describe Argyll as marching straight to Dunblane, and encamping to the east or north-east of the town.

[4] Sinclair says of the position: "I believe eight thousand men . . . were never packt so close together since the invention of powder; and I can take it upon me to defie the most ingenious ingeneer . . . to contrive a place so fit for the destruction of men."—*Memoirs*, p. 208.

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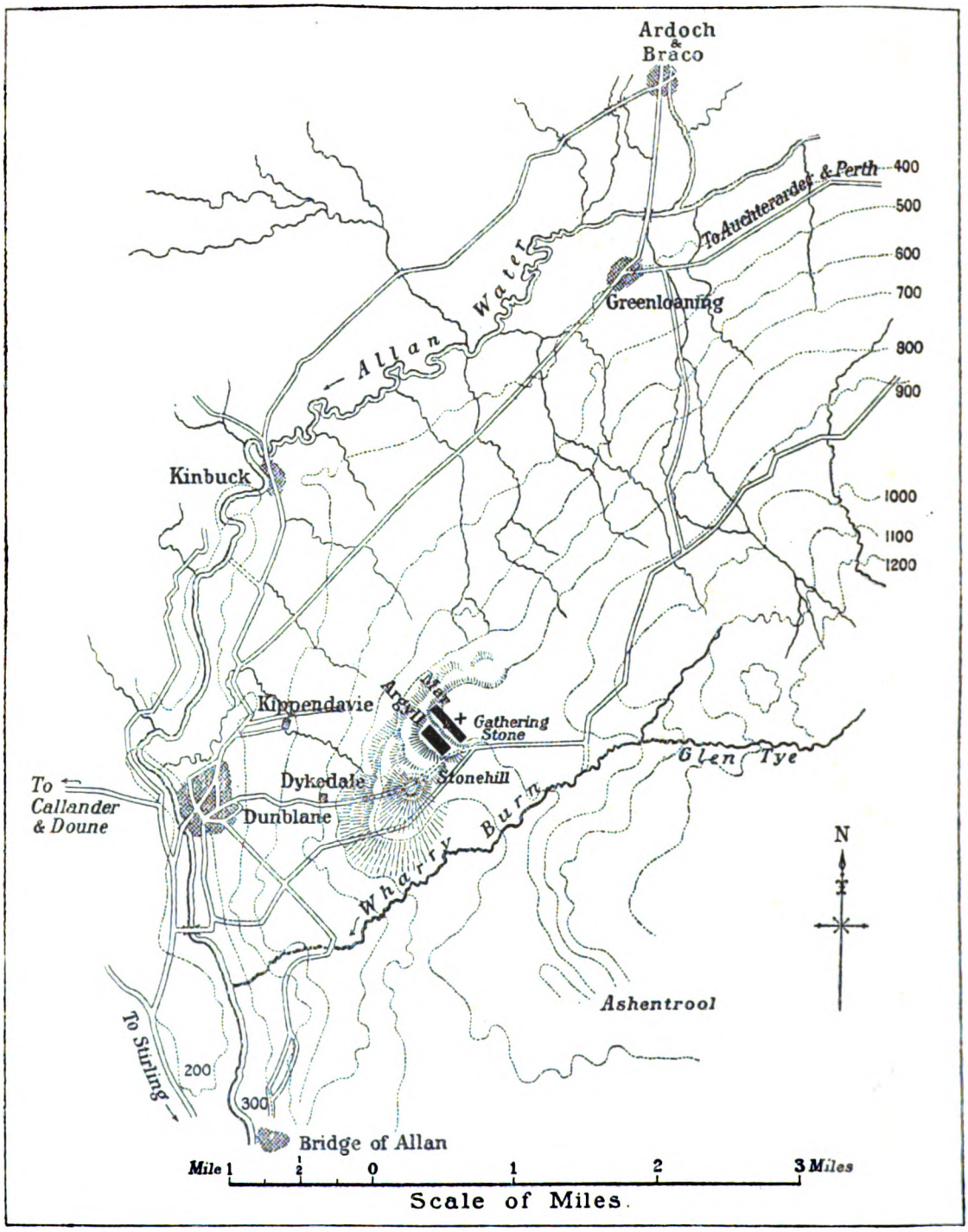

SKETCH MAP SHOWING SITE OF BATTLE OF SHERIFFMUIR

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Scouts were sent out who brought back word that the enemy were about the enclosures of Kippendavie House,[1] but for some hours nothing was done, Mar being apparently paralysed by the knowledge that the decisive moment of the campaign had at last arrived.

Finally, at about eleven o'clock, he summoned a council of war, at which, in a spirited speech, he set forth the wrongs of the exiled Royal Family and Scotland's grievances under the Union, and announced his opinion that they should attack the Duke forthwith. Huntly's was the only dissentient voice raised; the others were unanimous for battle, and their decision was received with loud cheers by the whole army. The Earl Marischal's Squadron and the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat were sent on in advance to seize the hill on which Argyll's horse had been seen and to cover the march of the army on the left; the rest of the force, by Hamilton's advice, was broken into four columns, and followed the Earl Marischal, marching at considerable intervals in échelon from the right. The first column (*i.e.* the right of the front line), consisted of Huntly's and Linlithgow's Squadrons and 2000 of the western clansmen under Gordon, the remainder of Gordon's men presumably forming the second column (or left of the front line). The rear line, which, like the other, was broken into two, included from right to left, Seaforth's three battalions, Huntly's two, the regiments of Panmure, Tullibardine,[2] Strathallan, Drummond of Logiealmond, and Robertson of Struan; and finally the squadrons of horse from Perthshire, Angus, and Fife.[3]

The Jacobite movements had meanwhile been closely followed by the Duke, who, from the Sheriffmuir ridge, had had a clear view of his enemies as they formed up on the muir of Kinbuck.[4] Believing that Mar's artillery tied him

[1] Sinclair, however, says that the scouts had not actually seen the enemy, and that their intelligence was only based on information supplied by the county people. I think myself, from the direction in which Argyll apparently advanced to the battle (see p. 281 and *note*), that his main body at least can hardly have been so far advanced as Kippendavie House (which was situated to the south of the enclosures, on the site of the present Kippendavie Lodge); and as his men were formed in only one line, it seems doubtful if he had an advanced-guard. There is no doubt, however, that they were not far from Kippendavie, as the lady sent frequent information of Argyll's movements to the Jacobites.

[2] Tullibardine having been promoted major-general, his regiment was commanded at Sheriffmuir by his cousin Lord Strathmore, whose regiment had been left behind at Perth. It is not recorded in what part of the field Tullibardine was posted, but it would probably be on the left, near the five Perthshire regiments mentioned in the text. He had been bred a sailor, and Sinclair tells us that he was not anxious to undertake the responsibilities of a general (*Memoirs*, p. 231).

[3] So Sinclair (*Memoirs*, p. 214). The official Jacobite account says that when the army was drawn up at Kinbuck, the Perth and Fife Squadrons formed the left of the front line, and that only the Angus Squadron flanked the rear line on the left. Though Sinclair does not say that Marischal's Squadron was sent on beforehand, and makes the mistake of placing it with Huntly's and Linlithgow's Squadrons on the right, his account of the order in which the four columns moved off is so circumstantial that I think it must be accepted.

[4] So say Harrison and Wightman. The author of the *Compleat History*, misreading what Wightman says as to the Jacobite right on the field of battle being hidden in a hollow, says that as the army formed up at Kinbuck its right was concealed in a "hollow way"—a statement which is followed and improved upon by Rae and the author of the *Life of the Duke of Argyle*.

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to the main road to Dunblane, he had formed up his men at daybreak on the site of their encampment, and in the order in which they had marched from Stirling, *i.e.* in one line. At first it seemed as if the Jacobites were intending to advance by the expected route, but at about eleven o'clock the advanced-guard was seen to wheel to the left, as if about to make for the ridge on which the Duke and his party were standing; and Argyll, realising that the morass to which he had trusted for protection the night before, was now frozen over, hurried back to bring up his men to the higher ground before the enemy could reach it. This movement involved a change of front to the right, and the army was at the same time formed in two lines—a manœuvre which took upwards of an hour to execute.[1] Three squadrons of dragoons with another in support formed the right and left flanks of the front line, the right wing also including a squadron of gentlemen volunteers under the Earl of Rothes. Six battalions of infantry were in the centre, while the second line consisted of other two battalions with a squadron of dragoons on either flank.[2] The Duke, with Major-General William Evans, commanded on the right, Major-General Joseph Wightman in the centre, and Major-General Thomas Whetham[3] on the left. A steep climb of half a mile brought them up the slope of the Stoney Hill, whence the Duke advanced north-east towards the Sheriffmuir ridge, over a rough and boggy piece of moor, slightly hog-backed in shape.[4]

[1] According to a letter dated the 13th November in the *Wodrow MSS.* (Advocates' Library) vol. 10, No. 146, most of the general officers wished to fight where they were, as they thought there was not time to make a change of ground—a prognostication which proved to be correct. They probably knew better than the Duke that in spite of strict orders to the contrary, many of the men had fallen out of the ranks, and it was owing to the difficulty in collecting them that the change of disposition was so slowly made (Rae, p. 304).

[2] The force was composed as follows (the modern names of the regiments engaged are given in brackets):—

FRONT LINE

Left Wing		Centre					Right Wing	
Two squadrons Carpenter's Dragoons (3rd Hussars)	Two squadrons Kerr's Dragoons (7th Hussars)	Clayton's Regt. (14th Foot. West Yorks)	Montagu's Regt. (11th Foot. Devon Regt.)	Morrison's Regt. (8th Foot. Liverpool Regt.)	Shannon's Regt. (25th Foot. K.O.S.B.)	Wightman's Regt. (17th Foot. Leicester Regt.)	Forfar's Regt. (3rd Foot. The Buffs)	Two squadrons Evans' Dragoons (4th Hussars)	Two squadrons Portmore's Dragoons (Scots Greys)
								Volunteer Squadron under Rothes	

REAR LINE

One squadron Stair's Dragoons (6th Dragoons)	Orrery's Regt. (21st Foot. Scots Fusiliers)	Egerton's Regt. (36th Foot. Worcester Regt.)	One squadron Stair's Dragoons (6th Dragoons)

One of the four squadrons of horse on either flank of the front line was in support of the other two.

[3] So the name appears in Mr. Dalton's *English Army Lists*. The contemporary authorities quoted give it as "Whitham" or "Witham."

[4] *i.e.* the piece of ground where there is now a reservoir. Portmore's Dragoons on Argyll's right flank, in marching up the Stoney Hill, were told "to incline to the right, as far as they could, which was uphill" (letter written apparently by an officer in the regiment and printed in the *Montrose MSS., Hist. MSS. Comm., Report III.*, app. p. 385). I conclude from this that the Dragoons extended to the crest of the hill.

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Marischal, therefore, when he reached the crest of the ridge, found Argyll's whole army advancing " without beat of drum, about two musket shot " away.[1] Word was at once sent back to bring up the rest of the force, and the four columns hurried up to the ridge, but probably owing to the boggy ground lying between Kinbuck and the Sheriffmuir, their march had been diverted somewhat to the east, with the two-fold result that Marischal's detachment, instead of forming the extreme left, found itself in the centre of the line, and that the left rear column, which had marched off last, had the furthest distance to go.[2] Huntly's and Linlithgow's Squadrons too, under the command of Lord Drummond, lieutenant-general of the horse, had formed somewhere near the centre, leaving the right flank unprotected. Hasty orders were therefore sent back for the Perth, Fife, and Angus Squadrons to come forward to the right, and these three squadrons, galloping up as Argyll's left wing was some two hundred yards away, formed themselves at an obtuse angle to the rest of the line on the extreme right.[3] On the left, however, where Hamilton was commanding, there was

[1] Keith, *Memoir*, p. 18. Mr. Stirling of Kippendavie tells me that Lady Kippendavie sent a " serving wench " to warn the Jacobite army " on the Sheriffmuir " that Argyll was coming up.

[2] I believe that a line drawn north-west and south-east through the Gathering Stone roughly marks the Jacobite line, the stone being actually on the crest of the ridge. In other respects the site agrees with the contemporary narratives. Rae speaks of the Duke marching from the ground on which he had encamped, up " a steep Ascent of about half a Mile's length," and then advancing " about half a Mile forward, straight East ; " and as the right wing of either army was somewhat in advance of the left, the opposing forces would probably come into action facing respectively north-east and south-west. According to local tradition, the Gathering Stone marks the site of the battle—in particular the spot where the Restoration Standard was raised. This seems to me quite possible, inasmuch as the stone would appear to have been about the right centre of the Jacobite line, and, if so, it was certainly not far from the Stirlingshire Squadron. In the six-inch Ordnance Survey of 1901, a spot more than a mile north-east of the Gathering Stone is marked as the battlefield, and in a monograph on the battle by " an F.S.A. Scot." (Stirling 1898), the opposing forces are placed facing due east and west, about half a mile to the south-east of the Gathering Stone. The latter disposition would imply a long flank march of the Jacobites from Kinbuck, and both sites are impossible in view of Rae's statement that the Duke fought " hedged in " with the Stoney Hill " close to his Rear," and Sinclair's that when first formed up in line there was on his own flank a little hill (from the context clearly the Stoney Hill), some three hundred yards away (*Memoirs*, pp. 216, 219). Sinclair, however, underestimates the distance. See map.

[3] Sinclair, *Memoirs*, pp. 215, 216. Keith too says that the whole horse on the left were ordered to march to the right (*Memoirs*, p. 20). The writer of the *Annals*, however, improving upon the official Jacobite account of the order in which the army was drawn up at Kinbuck (see *note*, p. 279), says that there were seven squadrons of horse on the Jacobite left in the front line, and three in the rear. Harrison also speaks of the Duke on the right charging " both their Horse and Foot." Chambers (*History of the Rebellions of 1689 and 1715, Constable's Miscellany*, vol. xlii. p. 258), and Browne (*History of the Highlands*, Glasgow, 1837, vol. ii. p. 324), misled by this and by the Jacobite account, place the Perthshire and Angus Squadrons on the left during the battle. The letter from the officer in Portmore's Dragoons says that the Jacobites " had only foot upon their left in the first line, and some horse in the second line, but the horse did not stay till we came up with them, and we only saw them flying." These of course were the squadrons galloping round by order to the right.

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considerable confusion. The two lines had got mixed,[1] and many of the regiments had not had time to form by the time Argyll was within range. But unprepared though the Jacobites were, they at once opened a heavy fire, and many of them charged, sword in hand, up to the bayonets of Wightman's right hand battalions,[2] who, being attacked while in the act of forming, were at first ill-prepared to receive them.[3] For a quarter of an hour the Highlanders kept up a hot fire, and Evans' Dragoons were, in consequence, thrown into some confusion; but the Duke, noticing the unprotected condition of his enemy's flank, detached a squadron of the Greys[4] under Lieutenant-Colonel Cathcart across a frozen morass to his right, and the Highlanders thus attacked on two sides, were at length forced to give way. The Duke, at the head of the dragoons, at once followed up in pursuit, with Wightman and some three infantry battalions in support;[5] but the ground was stubbornly contested; the Jacobites, though broken, made several desperate rallies; and it was not until three hours afterwards that the majority of the fugitives were driven across the Allan.[6]

It had fared very differently in the other part of the field. There Argyll's

[1] Keith (*Memoir*, p. 18) says that owing to the haste in which they had marched up, the regiments "arrived in such confusion that it was impossible to form them according to the line of battle projected, every one posted himself as he found ground." He adds that the foot "formed all in one line, except on the left, where a bog hinder'd them from extending themselves, and increased the confusion." The official Jacobite account, on the other hand, says that "some of the second Line jumbled into the first, on or near the Left." The passage already quoted from the officer in Portmore's seems to point to only one line of foot.

[2] Wightman says:—"The enemy were Highlanders, and, as it is their Custom, gave us Fire; and a great many came up to our noses Sword in Hand." His account is followed by Rae and the author of the *Compleat History*, and is fully corroborated by the officer of Portmore's Dragoons. On the other hand, Harrison, who is followed by the writer of the *Annals*, says that the Duke charged first, but his account is not so circumstantial as the two I have quoted, and Wightman was actually in command of the battalions in question. Wightman adds:—"I never saw Regular Troops more exactly drawn up in Line of Battle, and that in a moment, and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable." Patten tells a story that the rout of the left wing was owing to a false message brought to Hamilton by one Lawrence Drummond (a spy of the Duke's, who had been appointed aide-de-camp to Lord Drummond), to the effect that Mar had been defeated on the right, and that the left was therefore to retire. But I think the testimony of the eye-witnesses to the gallantry displayed by the Jacobites disproves this, though both Sinclair and the Duke's biographer speak of the man in question as being a spy.

[3] Letter from the officer of Portmore's Dragoons.

[4] *i.e.* Portmore's Dragoons. They are so described in the letter above referred to. The Jacobites speak of the "Grey Dragoons." Elsewhere they are called "Scots Grays." See p. 287, *note*.

[5] *i.e.* Forfar's, Wightman's, and Shannon's (letter from the officer of Portmore's). Another letter in the *Montrose MSS.* (unsigned, but evidently from an officer left on guard at Stirling Bridge), says that these regiments behaved "admirably well." Harrison, who is followed by the author of the *Compleat History*, says that Wightman followed with five battalions, but he himself says that he had "a little above three."

[6] *i.e.* from one to nearly four. *Annals*, p. 150. This tallies with the hours given by Rae and Sinclair. Two letters at the Record Office say that the battle began at about eleven.

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left wing, still unformed owing to the hasty change of disposition, had advanced up the slope with the infantry somewhat ahead of the horse,[1] and both totally unconscious that the Jacobite line was prolonged considerably beyond their flank.[2] Gordon, thereupon, seizing his opportunity, gave the order to attack, and the Highlanders on the right,[3] running forward, fired some dropping shots which drew a general salvo upon them from the enemy. Following their usual custom, Gordon's men threw themselves flat on their faces, but not before Allan Macdonald, the much-loved Chief of Clanranald, had been killed.[4] For a moment his men hung back, but Glengarry, starting forward, urged the clan to avenge his death,[5] and within a few seconds the Highlanders were among the infantry, hewing and hacking with their broadswords. The five battalions of Argyll's left, unaccustomed to this method of warfare,[6] and inferior in numbers to their assailants, gave way after a brief resistance, and falling back among the horse, threw them likewise into confusion, so that in seven or eight minutes the Jacobites could "neither perceive the form of a Squadron or Battalion of the Enemy" before them.[7] Communication with the right wing had been severed by the Highlanders' charge,[8] and Whetham, hearing a rumour that the Duke had also been defeated, gave up the day for lost and galloped off towards Stirling, determined in any case to secure the retreat to that town.[9] Drummond's

[1] *Annals*, p. 150.

[2] Wightman says that the Jacobite right was hidden "in a hollow way," which I conclude means that it extended down the north-western slope of the Sheriffmuir ridge.

[3] The regiments mentioned in the official Jacobite account as leading the attack, were the Macdonalds of Sleat, Glengarry, and Clanranald, the Macleans, Breadalbane men, and Huntly's two battalions, the latter having evidently changed positions with Seaforth's infantry (see above, p. 279). Seaforth's forty horsemen stood with their Chief on some rising ground in the rear, and took no part in the battle (Sinclair, p. 232).

[4] Clanranald was an easy mark, as he was the only man who attacked on horseback.

[5] "Revenge! Revenge! to-day for revenge and to-morrow for mourning."

[6] As the writer of the *Annals* quaintly puts it, "It is impossible to express the Horror which some of the Gentlemen of the *English* Regiments say their Men were possess'd with at that unusual and Savage Way of Fighting." The fact that the Highlanders, as usual, had doffed their plaids before charging (see *note*, p. 263), probably added to their consternation. Morrison's, Orrery's, and Montagu's were the regiments that suffered most (Table in the *Atholl Chronicles*, vol. ii. p. 203).

[7] Jacobite official account.

[8] The Highlanders appear to have charged in especial force about the Hanoverian centre, thus effectually breaking the line (Rae, p. 306). Added to this, the slightly hog-backed nature of the ground made it difficult for one wing to see the other, and an aide-de-camp of the Duke's, who was apparently carrying orders to Whetham, was killed at the very beginning of the battle (*Ibid*, p. 306, *note*, and *Wodrow MSS.*).

[9] Harrison's account and letter already quoted from the officer at Stirling Bridge. The latter says that "Colonel Keir" in vain urged the General to make a stand until they could hear definite news of Argyll. The writer of the *Annals* says that the troops retired in good order, but the officer above mentioned gives a different story, and from the fact that he says that Whetham himself reached the bridge at three o'clock, it is evident that the General had travelled faster than the defeated Jacobites on the left. Still, some of his horsemen rallied themselves. Marischal's Squadron was cut up and Linlithgow lost the Restoration Standard (see text below).

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and Marischal's Squadrons from the centre, finding that they could make no impression on the three battalions under Wightman,[1] joined in the pursuit, but Sinclair, unaware that Whetham's horsemen had been put to flight, and dreading an attack from them, kept back his men, and Southesk and Rollo following his example, did the same with theirs.[2] A few minutes later, however, seeing Marischal's Squadron surrounded on the Stoney Hill by some dragoons who had made a temporary rally, Sinclair and his companions advanced at a trot, on which the dragoons made off, after causing considerable loss to the squadron.[3] Sinclair then took up a position on the Stoney Hill, whence, learning some time later that the Duke was returning from the pursuit of the Jacobite left wing, he sent off two expresses to bring back Mar from Dunblane.[4]

In the meantime the two squadrons of the Greys appeared on the Sheriffmuir ridge, and Sinclair with difficulty restraining the impatience of his men, advanced slowly towards them. The dragoons showed no anxiety to come to close quarters,[5] and after marching to within two or three hundred yards of one another, the two forces halted. Finally, on the reappearance of Mar with some infantry, Sinclair prepared to attack, upon which the dragoons wheeled about and made off to join the Duke, who, having by that time been informed by Wightman of the defeat of his left wing, was now marching back from the direction of Kinbuck Muir.[6] Further to the east could be seen Rob Roy with the MacGregors and Macphersons, who might have rendered valuable service by falling on Argyll's rear,[7] but the wary outlaw, conscious that the issue of the day was

[1] Sinclair, pp. 218, 226.

[2] Sinclair, always self-satisfied, took credit to himself for his inaction, but Rae and the writer of the *Annals* justly point out that if the three squadrons on the Jacobite right had taken advantage of their position, the whole of the Duke's left would have been cut off. Sinclair's caution was doubly unfortunate, as, on account of his previous service, he evidently enjoyed a certain reputation as a soldier in the Jacobite army, and Southesk and Rollo appear to have practically put themselves under his orders for the day.

[3] Sinclair, pp. 219, 220. Harrison says that in the beginning of the action the dragoons on the left charged some of the horse on the Jacobite right, and captured a standard, but Sinclair says that he never saw any of the enemy's horse until a squadron "or a number neare to it" appeared on the Stoney Hill and attacked Marischal. This tallies with the statement in the *Annals* that the infantry had advanced in front of Whetham's horsemen; and if, as I understand, the three squadrons were a little way down the hill, they would not have a good view of the advancing force. The charge mentioned by Harrison was probably the attack on Marischal.

[4] The official Jacobite account says that Mar led the attack of the clans, but Keith and Sinclair both say that it was headed by Gordon, and as Sinclair speaks of congratulating Mar in person after the Government troops had been put to flight, it seems evident that he can only have joined in the pursuit. Mar himself gives a confused story, for in the official account he says that he stopped the pursuit short of Dunblane, whereas in his letter to Balfour, he says that he continued it to a little hill on the south of the town.

[5] According to the table given by Rae and quoted on p. 280 *note*, each of Argyll's squadrons was 90 strong—a figure which quite tallies with the total given by Wightman for the horse, *i.e.* 1000. If Sinclair's squadrons were as strong as on the 13th of October, they would number about 80 men more than the Greys.

[6] Jacobite official account. Sinclair says that Argyll was further east (*Memoirs*, p. 220).

[7] It is difficult to say where the MacGregors and Macphersons were stationed. Sir Walter

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by no means certain, was deaf to the entreaties of his companions that he would lead them to the attack, and left the Jacobite General to fight his battle unaided.[1]

And indeed Mar should have been independent of his help, for by this time nearly all his right wing had returned from the charge, Argyll had but three battalions and five squadrons to oppose to him, and the day could yet be won.[2] But after forming up his men on the ridge of Sheriffmuir[3] and advancing a little way towards the Duke, his nerve failed him; he allowed Argyll to establish

Scott (*Hist. Account of the Clan MacGregor*) says that they were on a hill in the centre of the Jacobite line; in Mr. John Monteath's *Dunblane Traditions* they are said to have come from Callander and to have watched the battle from a spot known as "Bent of Cullins," to the west of the Allan; while another tradition places them in Glen Tye (a glen about a mile and a half due east of the battlefield). For the following reasons I am inclined to think that they were somewhere to the north-east of the Gathering Stone and on the other side of the Allan. (1) From the official account of the battle it appears that Mar was expecting to be joined at Ardoch by the MacGregors, Macphersons, Lord George Murray and Innernytie, and the two last were certainly coming from the north-east. (2) In his letter to Balfour, Mar describes how he saw Argyll to the north "upon the field, where we were in the Morning [*i.e.* Kinbuck Muir]; and East of that, a Body, as we thought of our own Foot, and I still believe it was so." (3) Rob Roy's detachment was probably the 400 horse (*sic*) mentioned in the *Annals*, as being drawn up in a position from which they might have supported the fugitive Jacobites, though, while the Duke was still pursuing them, "there was a small River between." Finally, as the Macphersons had reached Perth some time before (Rae, p. 442, and Sinclair, p. 160); as the MacGregors had joined Gordon about the middle of October; and as on November the 4th Mar had written to Gordon at Auchterarder, to send Rob Roy to Perth immediately (he probably wished to question him about the Fords of Frew, about which he was reputed to be the only man in the army who knew anything), it seems much more probable that his force would approach Sheriffmuir from the east than from the west (Rae, *History*, Original Letters, p. 466). The two battalions had presumably been detached on some special duty. Sinclair says that the MacGregors and Macphersons, to the number of 500, had spent the previous night four miles from Kinbuck, but does not say in which direction. The MacGregors are said to have been some 300 strong (Rae, p. 286); the Macphersons therefore must have numbered about 200.

[1] "If they cannot do it without me they shall not do it with me." Writing to General Wade in after years, he claimed credit for having sent Argyll information in 1715.

[2] Wightman says that Mar was over 4000 in number, but Sinclair puts the infantry at 2000, and there were besides the seven squadrons of horse, though by that time Huntly's and Marischal's Squadrons were a good deal reduced in numbers (Sinclair, p. 226). On the other hand, Argyll had only about 1000 foot and five squadrons of dragoons. Keith, however, says that an officer sent to reconnoitre brought back word that the enemy's infantry were two or three thousand strong—a mistake due to a device of Argyll, who from behind the earth walls (see text below) displayed the standards he had captured in the pursuit, thus giving the appearance of more battalions than he had (*Memoir*, pp. 20, 21). Still Argyll had been long enough in the open for the Jacobites to form a fairly correct estimate of his numbers, and he should never have been given time to take up a good defensive position. Gordon of Glenbucket's exclamation "Oh for an hour of Dundie!" probably voiced the opinion of the army, though Campbell, in his *Life* of the Duke, says that Mar's inaction was owing to Glengarry, who refused to advance, as he said his men had done enough and were tired.

[3] Rae says that Mar remained on the top of the Stoney Hill, but Mar himself, in his letter to Balfour, says that he formed up his men "on the North Side of the Hill where we had engaged, and kept our Front towards the Enemy to the North of us."

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himself at the foot of the hill[1] behind some turf dykes, where, flanked by artillery, he was secure from an attack, and in these positions the opposing forces watched one another for half-an-hour. Then, as the light began to fail, the Duke gradually drew off to the right in good order, and having been joined at about five o'clock by the remains of his left wing, passed unmolested over the bridge which spanned the Allan at Dunblane, and bivouacked for the night on the further bank of the river.

Mar was thus in the first instance left in possession of the field of battle, but the artillery and baggage horses had stampeded at the beginning of the action; no supplies were to be had nearer than Ardoch; and he was therefore obliged to march his force thither, leaving five of his guns on the field.[2] On the following morning Argyll returned to the moor with a party of horse, prepared to renew the fight, but Mar was satisfied with his partial victory, and marched his men back to Auchterarder, whence on the 17th they returned to Perth.[3]

So far as can be judged, Argyll's loss in the battle was considerably heavier than Mar's, the official returns showing 477 officers and men killed or wounded,[4] besides 133 prisoners, whereas the Jacobite casualties, though estimated by the Whig writers at about 800, do not appear to have been more than 150 killed and wounded,[5] and 82 prisoners, of whom some 25 to 30 appear to have been officers. The principal Perthshire men taken were Lord Strathallan, his brother the Hon. Thomas Drummond, William Murray, younger, of Ochtertyre, Drummond of Drumquhany,[6] and Drummond of Logiealmond, who is said to have accounted for sixteen dragoons before he surrendered.[7] Three valuable lives were lost—those of Lord Strathmore, the Captain of Clanranald, and Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, a brigadier of foot. On the Government side the principal loss was the Earl of Forfar, also a brigadier, who fell with sixteen sword cuts, and a bullet in his knee, and died at Stirling of his wounds. Mar

[1] Keith says that Argyll posted himself on the ground where Mar had encamped the previous night, *i.e.* at Kinbuck, but Wightman says that the earth walls were at the bottom of the hill on which Mar was drawn up, and about half a mile off.

[2] The carriages of these were disabled. Sinclair wished to bury them, but apparently no attention was paid to his suggestion (*Memoirs*, p. 224). His squadron formed the rear-guard on the march to Ardoch, and was entrusted with the duty of bringing off the guns.

[3] The defeated Highlanders of the left wing, having lost their plaids, went home thence to reclothe (Keith, p. 22).

[4] Sinclair, always ready to belittle any success gained by the Jacobites, says that he did not see more than two hundred of the enemy fall on the field (p. 228).

[5] The number given by Keith (*Memoir*, p. 20). The official Jacobite account was that not more than 60 had been killed and very few wounded. Sinclair says that on the right only 25 were killed and a few wounded, and he attributes the comparatively small loss on the Jacobite left to the fact that the boggy ground between Sheriffmuir and the Allan was sufficiently frozen to bear the fugitive infantry, but not the pursuing dragoons (p. 225). Another reason was undoubtedly the clemency of Argyll, who offered "Quarter to several Gentlemen undesired," and gave it "to all that asked"—urging his men to "spare the poor blue-bonnets." *Home Office, Scotland*, bundle 10.

[6] Drumquhance?

[7] The list of captives includes the names of eighteen men, other than officers, who would probably belong to Tullibardine's or Struan's regiments.

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took four colours, several drums, forty horses, and fourteen or fifteen hundred stand of arms, but Argyll could claim the capture of fourteen colours, including the Restoration Standard,[1] five cannon, with their powder carts,[2] and, more important than all, the whole of the bread-waggons of the Jacobite Army.[3]

Though at first sight the issue of the battle was sufficiently doubtful for both sides to claim a victory, there is no question that the real success lay with Argyll. Mar by his fatal delay at Auchterarder had not only given the Duke timely warning of his plans, but had consumed so much of his provisions that by the time he reached Kinbuck it was very doubtful whether his supplies would enable him to make the proposed circuitous march through the desolate country at the Heads of Forth.[4] And in the battle itself never were good troops more sacrificed to an incompetent general. Hamilton and Drummond made their mistakes—the former by breaking the army into four columns and by sending the columns off in échelon from the right instead of from the left [5]—the latter by taking up a position in the centre of the line. But Mar by denuding his left of horse made these blunders irremediable, and was thus more responsible than any one for the disaster which followed.[6] Finally, as we have seen, when with 2000 victorious Highlanders and seven squadrons of horse (three of which were fresh) he might have crushed Argyll's remaining troops and cut off their retreat from Dunblane, he suffered them to escape untouched.

The Duke on the other hand was undoubtedly to blame for continuing the pursuit so long in person, and for thus losing sight of his left wing, but it is evident that he met with considerable resistance in his part of the field, and faulty though his tactics may have been, by his unexpected march to Dunblane on the previous day he had completely upset Mar's schemes for crossing the Forth, and had obliged his opponent to meet his undivided force on ground

[1] The Standard was carried by James Edmonstone of Newton, who had been exiled for abetting Graeme of Inchbrakie in the murder of the Master of Rollo in 1691 (Sir Walter Scott's note to Sinclair's *Memoirs*, p. 80). In a letter written from Stirling Bridge on the evening of the day of battle (*Wodrow MSS.*, vol. x. No. 120), the Standard is said to have been captured by one of the "Scots Grays," but I hardly see how the Greys and Linlithgow's Squadron could have met. Other standards and colours taken were Huntly's, Tullibardine's, Panmure's, and Logiealmond's.

[2] These had been overturned and disabled (Sinclair, pp. 224–5).

[3] Harrison.—The waggons were left at Kinbuck without any guard (Sinclair, p. 240).

[4] Harrison says that the Duke was informed that Mar had supplies for "a march of many Days"—the *Annals* say, for twelve—but Sinclair says that they could not have reached the Teith, and a letter written from Braco at midnight on the 12th of November fears great shortage unless supplies are at once sent on from the store at Tullibardine. Moreover, Argyll had destroyed all the corn about Doune and Dunblane.—Rae (Original Letters), pp. 473–4 and 450.

[5] The Highlanders of the left wing were so angry with Hamilton for the dispositions he made at Sheriffmuir, that Mar, after the Chevalier's arrival at the end of the year, judged it best to send him over to France with despatches for the Queen-Mother (*Stuart Papers*, vol. i., app. p. 486). Sinclair, however, says that Mar, to cover his own failure, made Hamilton the scapegoat (*Memoirs*, p. 228).

[6] Sinclair (p. 215) says that the order for the three squadrons to change from the left to the right flank came direct from Mar himself.

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where he could reap the full benefit of his trained cavalry. Finally, though with heavy loss, he had driven back an army twice the size of his own, and for the Jacobites all hope of entering the Lowlands was past beyond recall. The importance of the battle can best be gauged by a comparison with the events of thirty years later, when owing to General Cope's mistaken march to Inverness, Prince Charles Edward with some 200 men crossed the Fords of Frew unmolested; and there can be no question that the Duke of Argyll's victory, coupled with the simultaneous defeat of the southern Jacobites at Preston, sealed the fate of the first rising in favour of the exiled House of Stuart.

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THE CHEVALIER DE ST. GEORGE

(*From a Miniature at Blair Castle*)

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IV.—JACOBITE PERTHSHIRE

PERTHSHIRE IN THE 'FIFTEEN AND THE AFFAIR OF GLENSHIEL[1]

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE AND THE EDITOR

THE Treaty of Union had been forced through the Scottish Parliament in 1707; Queen Anne had died in August 1714; George I. had come to England in the following September, and by him the Earl of Mar had been insultingly dismissed from his office as Secretary of State. Early in 1715 the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Bolingbroke were attainted and fled to France. By the Treaty of Utrecht, ratified in 1713, Louis XIV. had been obliged to dismiss the Chevalier de St. George from Paris, and the exiled Prince had established his court at Commercy, near Bar-le-duc in Lorraine, but the French King was secretly assisting him with money. There was a great Jacobite party in England; the majority of Scotsmen detested the Union and were Jacobite at heart; and it seemed therefore an excellent opportunity for a rising in favour of the exiled family in both kingdoms. Plans were laid for a rising in England which was to be led by the Duke of Ormonde; the Chevalier's advisers plied the courts of France, Spain, and Sweden with requests for men, money, and arms; and Lord Mar was selected to rally the Jacobites in Scotland. On the 2nd of August Mar left London in disguise, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Colonel John Hay, son of the Earl of Kinnoull, and by an experienced officer, Lieutenant-General George Hamilton. On the 8th of August he landed in Fife; on the 17th he reached Dupplin; thence he went to Invercauld *viâ* Craighall, and invited the leaders of the Jacobite party to assemble for a hunt in Braemar.

As will be shown hereafter, Perthshire was Jacobite almost to a man; but there was one great exception, the Duke of Atholl, and perhaps there should also be excluded the nominal head of the Menzieses, the Laird of Weem, who was then a minor, and whose castle was held for the Government by his guardian.

[1] Principal authorities:—*Chronicles of the Families of Atholl and Tullibardine;* the Master of Sinclair's *Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in* 1715; Rae's *History of the late Rebellion* (Dumfries, 1718, and second edition with Original Letters, London 1746); *Compleat History of the late Rebellion* (London, 1716); Patten's *History of the late Rebellion* (London, 1717); *A true account of the proceedings at Perth, the debates in the Secret Council there, with the reasons and causes of the suddain breaking up of the Rebellion,* written by a Rebel (London, 1716), reprinted in *The Spottiswoode Society Miscellany,* vol. ii. 1845. *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask; The Jacobite Attempt of* 1719 (Scottish History Society, 1895); *Fragment of a Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith,* written by himself; *The Annals of King George, Year the Second* (London, 1717); *Stuart Papers, Historical MSS. Commission; Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland,* 1882, and 1884–85; and others.

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The Duke's eldest surviving son, William, Marquess of Tullibardine, had been in London, where he had seen much of Lord Mar. The fourth son, Lord Charles Murray, who held a cornet's commission in the 5th Dragoons, was in Scotland, but having had a dispute with the Duke, was not at Blair. The fifth son, Lord George Murray, an ensign in the Royal Scots (then in Ireland), was spending the summer with his father. Lord Tullibardine arrived at Blair from London on the 13th of August. He had not been expected, for he and the Duke had not been on very good terms, but on his arrival at home he was received with open arms. "My heart," wrote the Duke, "warmed to him and I must say as his I think did to me." But soon there was trouble; the Marquess told his father frankly he had come by King James' orders, and that what he intended doing was a matter of conscience. The Duke determined to place him out of harm's way, and a week later despatched the Marquess and Lord George under charge of a trusted retainer to visit their grandmother, the Duchess of Hamilton, in Lanarkshire. The young men started, but had no sooner got through the Pass of Killiecrankie than they turned north to join the Earl of Mar, being accompanied on their journey by Alexander Robertson of Struan, the poet chief, who had fought in the Killiecrankie campaign twenty-six years before.[1]

Though two sons of the Duke of Atholl had thus taken up arms on behalf of the Stuarts, the Duke himself, with his third son, Lord James, and his brother, Lord Edward Murray, remained staunch to the Government. As early as July the Duke had offered to raise a considerable force of Highlanders in King George's interest, but the proposal had been laid aside. On the 19th of August, as is mentioned elsewhere, he was appointed lord-lieutenant of Perthshire, with powers to act as commander of the Militia and Fencible men, as exigencies might require,[2] but by the time he received this commission most of the leading men of the county were already pledged to join Mar. The Duke, however, raised two or three thousand of his own men, gave orders to sink the boats on the Tay below Dunkeld, and sent four companies down to Perth to assist in the defence of that place. Yet the leaders of the Jacobite party, knowing that the Duke had strenuously opposed the Union with England, and that he had been by no means well treated by the new monarch,[3] had thought it worth while to make an effort to secure his support, and Mar, by the Chevalier's order, had therefore sent Colonel John Hay to offer him the command of the army,[4] at the same time

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. pp. 183–7.

[2] See article entitled *The Perthshire Militia of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 122–3.

[3] On George I.'s accession he had been deprived of the post of lord privy seal for Scotland, and had not been allowed to offer himself for election as a representative peer. Representation drawn up in 1716 for presentation to the King (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 242 *et seq.*).

[4] Sinclair in his *Memoirs* (p. 35) says that Atholl was offered the command of the army under the Duke of Berwick, who the Jacobites at that time believed was coming to Scotland, but from the *Stuart Papers* it appears that he was definitely offered a commission as generalissimo, though the Chevalier, acting on a suggestion made by Mar in July, had given instructions that, if the Duke accepted the offer, he was to act in everything by the advice

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asking him to call out his men and to proclaim King James at once. The Duke is said to have declined the offer on the ground that if it were a genuine one the Chevalier would have sent the commission direct to him instead of through the Earl of Mar,[1] but this answer, if really given, must have been a mere pretext. The Duke had been a strong Whig and Presbyterian before the Revolution; as Lord Murray he had vigorously opposed Dundie in 1689;[2] and, though his dislike to the Union had led him to intrigue with the Jacobites in 1707,[3] his defection from Whig principles had only been of brief duration.

Meanwhile Lord Mar had been visited at Invercauld by many of the leading Jacobites, and on the 27th of August a meeting was held at Aboyne at which were present the Marquess of Huntly, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Southesk, and others; and from Perthshire the Marquess of Tullibardine, and Campbell of Glendaruel, as representing the Earl of Breadalbane, who was then eighty years of age. Mar assured the meeting that there was to be a general rising in England; that powerful assistance was to be given by France; and that finally the Chevalier had promised to come over in person to Scotland. It was therefore unanimously agreed to take up arms, and the different noblemen and gentlemen present then dispersed to their homes, to take secret measures for calling out their adherents, pending the general signal for insurrection which was to be given by Mar. Within a day or two they had learnt of the death of Louis XIV., and of the accession of the Regent Orleans to power, but whatever fears they may have entertained as to the effect of this news on their enterprise, their word was pledged, and there was no turning back.[4]

The Government, moreover, had taken alarm, and on the 30th of August a large number of nobles and gentlemen, believed to be disaffected, were summoned to surrender themselves at Edinburgh by the 17th of September. Of those so summoned many were Perthshire men. The list included the Earls of Kinnoull and Breadalbane; Viscounts Stormont and Strathallan; Lords Rollo, Nairne,[5] and Glenorchy; and the eldest son of the titular Duke of Perth, known among

of Mar and the Earl Marischal (*Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 525 and vol. ii. p. 222). Mar was unpopular in Scotland on account of his political inconstancy and his share in the promotion of the Union, and no commission as commander-in-chief was sent to him until after the Chevalier had heard of the Duke's refusal of the offer (Mahon, *History*, vol. i. app. p. xxv.). Sinclair says that Mar, not being anxious to see Atholl in command of the army, took care to make the proposal unacceptable by selecting as his messenger Colonel John Hay, who had been a bitter opponent of the Duke in a recent parliamentary election; but, as shown in the text, the Duke was a staunch upholder of Presbyterianism and the Protestant succession, and it is very improbable that his relations with Colonel Hay influenced his decision.

[1] Sinclair, p. 35. [2] See the article on the battle of Killiecrankie, p. 253 *et seq.*

[3] *Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negociations in Scotland in 1707* (London and Edin. 1760).

[4] Mar and his immediate followers tried to make out that there was more hope of help from a vigorous young Prince such as the Regent Orleans, than from an old "half-doated" king (Sinclair, *Memoirs*, p. 25); but the Regent soon showed that no assistance was to be expected from him.

[5] Lord William Murray, a younger son of the first Marquess of Atholl, and younger brother of the first Duke, had married the only child and heiress of the first Lord Nairne, and on his father-in-law's death had succeeded to the title in right of his wife.

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the Jacobites as Marquess of Drummond.[1] Of county gentlemen there were Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre and his son; the Masters of Stormont and Nairne; James Stirling of Keir; Alexander Robertson of Struan; Rob Roy MacGregor; and John Drummond, a half-brother of the Marquess, called by the Jacobites Lord John Drummond.[2] Of all these Sir Patrick Murray alone surrendered. The others were denounced as rebels, which naturally gave a great impetus to the Cause.

Lord Mar raised King James's standard at Braemar on September the 6th,[3] and a skilful scheme, designed by Lord Drummond, for the capture of Edinburgh Castle, was attempted three days later. Success seemed certain, but the plot miscarried from the two causes to which cynics attribute many human failures. One of the conspirators confided in his wife, and she anonymously sent word to the authorities. Even then success was not impossible, for the commander of the Castle was imperfectly prepared, but the conspirators remained at a tavern drinking success to the enterprise until two hours late for the rendezvous.

One immediate result of the exposure was increased activity in the authorities. Many suspected Jacobites were seized and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, among these being the Earl of Kinnoull.

The Government was now thoroughly alarmed; such troops as were available were assembled at Stirling to secure the passages of the Forth; and on the 9th of September the Duke of Argyll left London to take over command of the forces. About the same time the Earl of Sutherland was despatched to raise his vassals and to rally the other Whig clans of the north—the Rosses, Mackays, and Munroes.[4]

Mar meanwhile had commenced to march south from Aberdeenshire. In the second week of September he entered Perthshire, and at Kirkmichael was met by 300 horse under Lord Drummond and Lord Linlithgow, and by 500 Atholl-

[1] Afterwards the second titular Duke of Perth.

[2] Lord John Drummond, Lord Nairne, and Robertson of Struan were among those who had visited Mar in Aberdeenshire prior to the meeting at Aboyne (Rae, *History* (Original Letters), p. 415, and *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 187). Rae elsewhere says that Lords Drummond, Stormont, Strathallan, Rollo, and Nairne were among those present at the meeting, though he acknowledges a doubt as to the accuracy of his list (*History*, second edition, p. 189, *note*). Mar, however, in a manifesto dated the 9th of September, gives the names of those who had met him at Aboyne, and the only Perthshire men mentioned by him are those whose names are given in the text above.

[3] Place and date given in Rae's *History*, *The Compleat History*, and (date only) the *Annals of King George*. Patten (*History*, p. 3) says that the standard was erected for the first time at Kirkmichael on the 9th, but Mar's letter to his bailie of Kildrummie (Rae, second edition, p. 193) shows that he had not left Invercauld on the evening of the 9th.

[4] Among those who subsequently joined him was Simon Fraser of Beaufort, who claimed the title of Lord Lovat, which was afterwards adjudged to him. Early in November he arrived from France, hoping, after an enforced absence of fourteen years, to make his peace with the Government. He found that many of the Lovat clansmen had joined Mar under Alexander Mackenzie of Prestonhall, a son of the Lord Justice Clerk, who had married the eldest daughter and heiress of the ninth Lord Lovat and had assumed the designation of Fraserdale.

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men under Lord Tullibardine.[1] The next stage in the march was Moulin, whence a summons was sent to the Duke of Atholl demanding that he should surrender Blair Castle. The Duke returned an uncompromising refusal; mounted such cannon as he possessed; manned the castle and outposts; and otherwise prepared for a siege.[2] But in the meantime Perth had been lost to King George. The Jacobite party there was in the ascendant, and when on the 16th of September[3] Colonel John Hay appeared at the head of some forty horse, the Provost refused to allow the Athollmen then in garrison there to open fire, and sent them home to their master.[4] The way to the south thus being open and Blair Castle being placed beyond the reach of a *coup de main*, Mar on the 22nd of September left Moulin for Logierait, where he met Lord Breadalbane; on the 26th he reached Dunkeld, where he was joined by upwards of a thousand Athollmen;[5] and on the 28th he established his headquarters at Perth.

Shortly before his arrival at Perth, Mar had been joined by Lord Charles Murray, and at Perth itself he found a considerable force assembled. It included the Earls of Panmure, Southesk, and Strathmore, with their following; the men of Aboyne under Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse; Lord Nairne and his eldest son; David Smythe of Methven; and some 250 Highlanders under Alexander Robertson of Struan. There was also a squadron of horse from Fife, under the Master of Sinclair, in which was serving Francis Stuart (brother of the Earl of Moray), who was afterwards appointed treasurer to the Jacobite army.[6]

Meanwhile the Jacobite force was steadily growing in numbers, and the organisation was progressing. In all some 1400[7] Athollmen had been brought

[1] Rae, *History* (Original Letters), pp. 415, 416.

[2] The Duke had prepared to take the offensive as soon as he heard that Mar had left Aberdeenshire, and had accordingly ordered a rendezvous of his men at Blair on the 16th. The Athollmen, however, were nearly all Jacobites, and so many of them deserted that the Duke was unable to march out as he had intended.—*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 193.

[3] Date given by the Duke of Atholl in the Representation already referred to. In the *Annals of King George*, p. 41, the date given is the 14th of September.

[4] Representation above referred to. The Duke says that on the way back to Atholl the four companies were captured by Mar, but they were more probably induced by Tullibardine's influence to change sides. Sinclair in his *Memoirs* says that they were by no means anxious to defend Perth for King George, and from the *Atholl Chronicles* it appears that two of the officers in charge of the detachment afterwards served in Lord Charles Murray's Regiment (see below).

[5] Rae in his *History* (second edition, p. 219) says that at Dunkeld Mar was joined by 500 of Lord Breadalbane's men, under the command of Campbell of Glendaruel, Campbell of Glenlyon, John Campbell of Achalader the chamberlain, and others. But the Original Letters at the end of Rae's book show that the Breadalbane men were sent to join General Gordon at Strathfillan. See biography of Colonel Campbell of Fonab, p. 374, *note*.

[6] Mahon (*History*, vol. i. p. 229), following the majority of the Whig historians, says that about the time Mar reached Perth the Hon. James Murray, second son of Lord Stormont, arrived from France with despatches from the Chevalier; but the *Stuart Papers* (vol. i. pp. 442 *et seq.*) show that Murray did not leave Commercy until late in October, and that he was captured in Flanders while on the way to Scotland.

[7] Rae in the text of his *History* says that 1400 Athollmen joined Mar at Dunkeld, and, as already mentioned, one of the contemporary papers printed in his appendix says that 500

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over; these were formed into four regiments, commanded respectively by Lord Tullibardine, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Lord George. Other reinforcements from Perthshire were three battalions of infantry (in all 600 strong) which were raised by Lord Drummond [1] with the aid of Lord Strathallan and Drummond of Logiealmond; and a squadron of horse, which was placed under the command of Lord Rollo. James Oliphant of Gask sent his two eldest sons to join Mar, while he himself stayed at home, and thus kept his lands out of the clutches of the Government. Laurence Oliphant, the eldest son, received a commission as "Lieutennant of the Pearthshyre Regiment of Horse." [2] Among other Perthshire men who joined the Jacobite army at this time were Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and his eldest son, also called David; James Stirling of Keir; John Stewart of Innernytie, who brought out 500 of Steuart of Grandtully's men; Sir James Kinloch, who came with Lord Ogilvy's Regiment; John Steuart of Dalguise and Charles Stirling of Kippendavie, who joined the Perthshire Horse; and Robertson of Blairfettie, who apparently served in an Atholl regiment. The Earl of Breadalbane sent some 400 Highlanders to join the western clansmen, who were assembling in Strathfillan under Lieutenant-General Alexander Gordon of Achintoul,[3] and Gordon's force was also swelled by upwards of 300 MacGregors under MacGregor of Glengyle and his uncle Rob Roy.[4]

Mar's arrival at Perth was shortly followed by a marked success. At midnight on the 2nd of October, after a night march, the Master of Sinclair and eighty horsemen surprised the town of Burntisland and seized a quantity of arms and ammunition on board a ship anchored outside the harbour. An infantry garrison [5]

men joined at Kirkmichael. In view, however, of the Duke's active hostility to the movement, it appears more likely that 1400 was the total.

[1] Lord Drummond was afterwards appointed lieut.-general of the horse, which included seven squadrons:—the Stirlingshire Squadron, commanded by the Earl of Linlithgow (this squadron carried the standard which had been raised at Braemar, and which was known as the "Restoration" Standard); the Perthshire Squadron, commanded by Lord Rollo; and the Fife and Angus Squadrons under the Master of Sinclair and the Earl of Southesk respectively. To these were subsequently added two squadrons raised by the Marquess of Huntly, and one by the Earl Marischal, who was appointed major-general of the horse under Lord Drummond. As to Seaforth's horsemen, see article on Sheriffmuir, p. 276, *note*.

[2] This commission is dated the 29th of October 1715, "of his Majesty's reign the fourteenth year" (James II. and VII. died in 1701), and is signed by Lord Rollo.

[3] Another Breadalbane contingent, under Campbell of Glenlyon, was sent into Argyllshire rather later, and made an ineffectual attempt to reach Dunstaffnage. See Colonel Campbell of Fonab's biography, p. 374. Glendaruel commanded the first contingent.

[4] The MacGregors had risen under Glengyle in September; had disarmed their neighbours in Buchanan and the Heads of Monteith; and after possessing themselves of all the boats on Loch Lomond, had retired to a strong position at Inversnaid. Boats, pinnaces, and guns, however, were brought up from the Clyde, and with the aid of the Paisley Volunteers and some levies from Dumbartonshire the boats were retaken on October the 13th. It was after this that the MacGregors joined Gordon.—*The Loch Lomond Expedition* (ed. James Dennistoun, Glasgow, 1834), p. 3 *et seq.*, and *History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. pp. 288, 290.

[5] The battalions of Farquharson of Inverey and Stewart of Innernytie had been sent out to support Sinclair. Rae and the writer of the *Annals of King George*, followed by Chambers (*History of the Rebellions of* 1689 *and* 1715) and Browne (*History of the Highlands*), increase

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was left at Burntisland, while Sinclair and his men returned to Perth without opposition. Three days later the squadron was again sent into Fife, to proclaim the Chevalier, to appropriate the Customs revenues, and to arrange for the seizure of the boats on the coast. These services were successfully performed, and the few Government forces which had been assembled at Leslie having been withdrawn, Fife was practically overrun by the Jacobites.

At the same time Mar, being joined by some 500 Mackintoshes under their Chief and William Mackintosh, younger of Borlum, and by 200 Farquharsons under Invercauld, despatched a force to co-operate with a rising in Dumfries-shire which was to be led by Lord Kenmure and the Earl of Nithsdale, and finally to join the Jacobites of the north of England, who were assembling in Northumberland under the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Thomas Forster, member of Parliament for the county. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Mackintosh of Borlum, an old soldier, and the troops allotted to him were Mar's own regiment and the battalions of the Laird of Mackintosh, Lord Strathmore, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logiealmond—in all some 2200 [1] infantry. The plan for crossing the Forth was well devised. Mackintosh (on whom before his departure Mar conferred the rank of brigadier) marched his men in the first instance to Burntisland, and, having left a small force to make a feint of crossing there,[2] turned north-east along the coast, and on the nights of the 12th and 13th of October embarked his men in open boats at Elie, Pittenweem, the Anstruthers, and Crail. Fifteen hundred men with Mackintosh at their head landed safely on the shores of East Lothian,[3] but King George's ships, though at first engaged in bombarding the force at Burntisland, finally espied the little flotilla and gave chase. A large number of the Jacobites were unable to embark; Strathmore with about 300 men was driven on to the Isle of May;[4] and two boats were captured. Among the prisoners taken were three

the horsemen to four or five hundred and give part of the credit of the capture to the infantry—Rae, the *Annals*, and Chambers, stating that each horseman carried a foot-soldier behind him. Sinclair's *Memoirs*, however, show that Innernytie was only sent to Kinross, and that Inverey got no further than Auchtertool, about four miles from Burntisland.

[1] The figure given by Sinclair (*Memoirs*, p. 106). Most of the contemporary Whig writers say 2500. Mahon, on the other hand, probably following the *Annals*, says "nearly 2000."

[2] Rae, Mahon, Chambers, and Browne, in their respective *Histories*, and the writer of the *Annals*, say that a separate force of 500 men was sent from Perth to Burntisland, to engage the attention of the men-of-war in the Firth, but Sinclair's narrative makes it clear that the detachment which made the feint had been left there by Borlum himself.

[3] The number given by the Whig historians and by Mar in his *Journal* (printed in the appendix to Patten's *History*). Sinclair says that not more than 1100 got across, but a return in the *Annals* (App. pp. 45, 46) shows that 1022 Scotsmen of Borlum's force were taken prisoner in England, and this, with the numerous desertions on the march south, would probably amount to Mar's figure.

[4] Strathmore and his force, though attacked by men-of-war, made a vigorous defence, and after maintaining themselves for eight days on the island, succeeded in reaching Perth. Sinclair, p. 128. Elsewhere (p. 157), Sinclair says that the 1000 men (*sic*) who failed to cross all returned to their homes. Logiealmond and the greater part of his regiment were driven back. Part of Strathmore's got across.—*Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion* (1845), p. 162.

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officers of the Atholl regiments: Stewart of Foss, Robertson of Dungarthle, and Stewart of Glenbuckie, in Balquhidder. The younger Threipland was also captured and imprisoned, first in the Tolbooth and afterwards in Edinburgh Castle, whence he contrived to escape by the classic expedient of a blanket rope.[1]

Brigadier Mackintosh meanwhile directed his march towards Edinburgh, but hearing that the Duke of Argyll had arrived from Stirling with reinforcements, he altered his course and seized the citadel of Leith. On the following day (the 15th of October), the Duke marched down to Leith and summoned the Jacobites to surrender, but received a resolute answer from John Stewart of Kynachan, the Lieutenant-Colonel of Nairne's Regiment, to the effect that "As to surrendering, they laughed at it; and as to bringing Cannon and assaulting them, they were ready for him; that they would neither take nor give any Quarter with him; and if he thought he was able to Force them, he might try his Hand." The Duke, having no artillery, thought it wiser to postpone his attack on the citadel, and that same night Mackintosh, aided by an ebb-tide, slipped off with his men to the south. The Duke was recalled to Stirling by a feint which was made in that direction by Mar from Perth, and Mackintosh was thus able to join the Lowland Scots and English Jacobites at Kelso on the 22nd of October. His men finally reached the town of Preston in Lancashire on the 9th and 10th of November, and on the 12th they were attacked by the Government troops. During the fighting which ensued, Lord Charles Murray[2] behaved with great valour, and is said to have killed with his own hand several of the enemy who had effected a lodgment in the churchyard. After a resistance of two days the town was surrendered (November the 14th, 1715). A good many of the Jacobites escaped, but nearly fifteen hundred were made prisoners.[3] Among these were Lord Charles Murray, Lord Nairne, the Master of Nairne, Stewart of Kynachan, Blair of Glasclune, Robertson of Drumachine and his brother, Menzies of Culdares, and Butter of Pitlochrie.[4] As Lord Charles Murray had held a commission in King George's army, he was tried by court-martial. The trial took place at Preston on the 28th of November 1715. Lord Charles was sentenced to death, but was recommended to mercy, and his father's influence finally saved his life. Three other Scots officers were tried at the same time on a similar charge and were shot; Major Nairne, son of an Edinburgh bailie, Captain Lockhart, brother of the Laird of Carnwath, and an Ensign Erskine.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, Mar on the 16th of October had advanced towards Stirling, hoping in the Duke's absence to cross the Forth and join hands with Lieutenant-General Gordon, to whom he sent orders to meet him in Monteith. The cavalry had got as far as Dunblane, where King James was

[1] David Threipland was again out in the 'Forty-five, and lost his life at Prestonpans.

[2] Patten (*History*, p. 44) says that Lord Charles and the Master of Nairne, who was his Lieutenant-Colonel, always marched on foot at the head of their men, in the Highland dress.

[3] The return in the *Annals* shows a total of 1489, English and Scots.

[4] Archibald Butter of Pitlochrie, when taken prisoner to London, is said to have caused quite a sensation there on account of his looks. Patten refers to him as "the Lady's Darling."

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proclaimed by Lord Drummond, when news was received that Argyll was marching north with his whole army. Mar at the same time received word from Gordon that, owing to the dilatoriness of many of the chiefs, he would be unable to join him at the date appointed, and on the 18th orders were therefore issued for a retreat to Perth.

Three weeks of inactivity followed, broken only by the despatch of two successive expeditions to Dunfermline to collect the cess. The first of these was commanded by Major Thomas Graham, an officer who had served under Dundie; it ended in disaster, Graham's horse being surprised and routed by two hundred dragoons under Colonel Charles Cathcart.[1] The second expedition was led by Lord George Murray, who had with him his own battalion and Stewart of Innernytie's, and was completely successful.

During the month which followed Mackintosh of Borlum's departure, Mar's force steadily increased in numbers. On the 8th of October the Earl Marischal had brought him upwards of 300 horsemen,[2] and on the 9th, Huntly had marched in at the head of 1400 infantry[3] and two squadrons of horse. Gordon, after making a vain attempt on Inveraray with the Macdonalds of Clanranald and Glengarry, the Macleans, MacGregors, and Breadalbane men, had returned to Strathfillan; but by the end of October, with numbers swelled by the arrival of the Camerons, Appin Stewarts, and others, he had reached Auchterarder.

But Mar, totally oblivious of the value of time, as yet made no attempt to leave Perth—one reason for this delay being the expectation of receiving further reinforcements, and another his hope of hearing of the success of the co-operative rising in the south-west of England, which was to be headed by the Duke of Ormonde. This last hope was rudely shattered. Towards the end of October Ormonde embarked at La Hogue, hoping to land near Plymouth and to rally the Jacobites in the west of England. His plans, however, had been betrayed by his agent Maclean, his friends had been arrested, and the troops he had expected to find awaiting him had dispersed. He was unable to land, and was forced to return precipitately to France.

Early in November the army at Perth was strengthened by the arrival of the Earl of Seaforth and Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, who brought 700 men each, and by Alexander Mackenzie of Fraserdale with 400 of his clan. Having no more reinforcements to expect, Mar at last made up his mind to commence his march south, and about the 8th of November[4] he left Perth for Dunning. From the 9th to the 11th his men quartered at and about Auchterarder, where they were joined by the West Highlanders under Gordon. The 10th of November was occupied with a review, and on the evening of the 12th, hearing that Argyll

[1] Seventeen prisoners were taken, among them Robert Moray, brother of Abercairny.

[2] Rae (Original Letters), p. 425. The Whig writers erroneously credit Marischal with bringing infantry as well. On the 13th October his horse had shrunk to 180 (*Mar and Kellie Papers*, p. 511).

[3] Sinclair, p. 157. On the 13th, Huntly had 1200 foot at Perth, and 400 horse.

[4] Contemporary writers differ as to the date. See the article on Sheriffmuir, p. 275, *note*.

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had seized Dunblane, Mar advanced as far as Kinbuck. On the following day he encountered the Duke of Argyll at Sheriffmuir, and a battle was fought in which both sides claimed a victory.[1] The engagement might have resulted more favourably for the Chevalier if Rob Roy, who was in command of a party of MacGregors, had led his men to the charge. But the outlaw refused to move. Among the prisoners taken at Sheriffmuir were several prominent Perthshire Jacobites—Lord Strathallan and his brother; William Murray, younger, of Ochtertyre; and Colonel Drummond of Logiealmond. Lord Strathmore, who was in temporary command of Tullibardine's Regiment, was killed.

Mar and the remainder of his force passed the night after the battle at Ardoch, and on Thursday, the 17th of November, lack of provisions obliged them to return to their old quarters at Perth.

Things now went very badly in the Jacobite camp. After the battle many of the Highlanders dispersed to their homes. News arrived that Lord Sutherland was preparing to march south at the head of 1700 men of the Whig clans, and that Lord Lovat had captured Inverness. Seaforth thereupon hurried north to protect his own country, and Huntly, hearing that Sutherland was within a few miles of his home, soon followed. The Frasers, hearing of Lord Lovat's arrival, had deserted to him three days before the battle of Sheriffmuir; the vassals of the Duke of Atholl, learning of the unhappy fate of their relatives at Preston, refused any longer to obey the orders of his Jacobite sons; and the vassals of Grandtully and other neighbouring lairds were in fear of reprisals by the Duke. The Drummonds, two of whose leaders, Lord Strathallan and the Laird of Logiealmond, had been captured at Sheriffmuir, also deserted, while the crafty Breadalbane withdrew his men when he saw the trend of events. It was rumoured in the camp that some of the leaders were treating for terms with the Duke of Argyll, and dissensions of every kind broke out. Among others who were suspected of making overtures was the Master of Sinclair, who on this account was fiercely attacked by Lord George Murray. Sinclair's own account of the quarrel throws some sidelight on the manners of the time :—

"Lord George Murray, some minutes after, thought fit to attack me, and said flatlie that I was doeing things that if his own brother did so, he'd call him a traytor. I ansuered him, He advanced too much on so small grounds; But, were I his brother, I'd take him and lash him; and I told him It was less his bussiness than anie bodie's to speak so, for it would be hard if a lustie young fellow like him could not find ane Ensigne's commission somewhere, for that was all that in realitie he risqued; and bid him beware of that way of talking to me, for he'd gain little at my hand."[2]

[1] An account of the battle of Sheriffmuir will be found on p. 274 *et seq.*

[2] *Memoirs*, p. 287. Sinclair actually had made overtures to the Duke of Argyll. (Secretary Townshend to Argyll, January 10th, 1716. *Coxe MSS.*, vol. lxxi. p. 40.) At this period Sinclair was thirty-two years old and Lord George twenty-one. Thirty-five years later, Sinclair, then under attainder, became Lord George's son-in-law by marrying his eldest daughter, Amelia Murray.

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It was in the midst of these dissensions, while the Jacobite army was melting away and that of the Duke of Argyll, reinforced by English and Dutch troops, was steadily growing, that the Chevalier de St. George finally made his way to Scotland. The delay so fatal to his prospects had not been of his making. In the first instance, the English Jacobites had implored him not to come without an army at his back, and when he and his advisers had at last decided to override their objections, and the failure of Ormonde's expedition had shown the Chevalier that his only hope lay in Scotland, his departure was rendered extremely difficult by the vigilance of the French Government and of the British ships. Disguised as a French naval officer, and with only six attendants, the Chevalier landed at Peterhead on the 22nd of December 1715; travelled southwards by Fetteresso, Brechin, and Glamis to Dundee, where he lodged with Steuart of Grandtully; made his way up the Carse of Gowrie; and arrived on the 7th of January 1716 at Sir David Threipland's house of Fingask, near the village of Errol. There he spent a night, and was royally entertained.

"When the king came to Fingask
To see Sir David and his lady,
A cod's head weel made wi' sauce
Took a hunder pound to make it ready."[1]

From Fingask he journeyed to Scone, where he established his court. He issued Royal proclamations, and decreed that January the 26th should be kept as a general day of thanksgiving in all the churches. The following special prayer, among others, was to be used:—

"O Lord God of our Salvation, who hast been exceeding Gracious to this Land, and by Thy Miraculous Providence hast delivered Thy Servant, our Dread Sovereign King *James* from all the Snares and Conspiracies laid against His Most Precious Life, by unnatural and blood-thirsty men, and hast preserved him in the Dangers of the Deep, and brought Him safely into his own Dominions, to the Comfort of all those who, in Obedience to Thy Holy Word, *Fear God, and honour the King;* We are here now before Thee, with all due Thankfulness to acknowledge Thy unspeakable Goodness herein shewed unto us, and to offer up our Sacrifice of Praise for the same, unto Thy Great and Glorious Name; Beseeching Thee to accept this our unfeigned (though unworthy) Oblation of ourselves unto Thee; Vowing all Holy Obedience in Thought, Word and Deed unto Thy *Divine Majesty;* and Promising in Thee, and for Thee all Loyal and Dutiful Allegiance to Thine Anointed Servant (now by Thy good Providence Restored to Us) and to His *Heirs* after Him. O Gracious God, Perfect what Thou hast so wonderfully begun: Preserve and Defend our King from all His open and secret Enemies; Protect His Person, and prosper His Arms; Place Him with Safety and Honour on the Throne of His Royal Ancestors; and

[1] So, at least, says a contemporary ballad. The room in which the Chevalier slept on this occasion (locally known as "Prince Charlie's room") is marked by a brazen star on the door. The whole house is a charming memento of bygone Scotland.

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restore Him to all His own Just and Undoubted Rights: O Lord, bow the Hearts of all His Subjects, as one Man, to Him, that they may only contend who shall be *the First to bring the King to His own House:* Bless Him with Increase of Grace, Honour and Happiness in this World; and crown Him with Eternal Felicity in the World to come, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord. *Amen.*" [1]

On the arrival of the Chevalier the spirits of the troops rose to enthusiasm, but this quickly passed away. "I must not conceal," writes one of them, "that when we saw the man whom they called our King we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence, and if he was disappointed in us we were tenfold more so in him." Although, as the same writer says, it was no time for mirth, yet his profound and constant melancholy depressed his followers; he was never seen to smile. He had "something of a vivacity in his eye" which might in happier times have brightened into cheerfulness, but this was impossible in the then hopeless state of his affairs. The few followers he had brought with him, among whom was his nephew, Lord Tynemouth, the Duke of Berwick's eldest son, openly stated that they had been betrayed, as before coming they had been told that "the whole kingdom was in arms on their side." [2] In spite of these depressing circumstances, preparation was begun for the Chevalier's coronation, many Jacobite ladies denuding themselves of their jewels and ornaments that a crown might be extemporised for the occasion. In the midst of these preparations Mar received word that the Duke of Argyll was about to advance on Perth with an army three times the strength of that with which he had met him at Sheriffmuir. On the receipt of this news, the Chevalier gave what a Whig writer calls "an impolitic instance of his cruelty." In a winter of extraordinary severity he signed an order for burning the villages and houses between Dunblane and Perth, the object being to impede Argyll's march. On the 25th of January, in pursuance of this order, a party commanded by Macdonald of Clanranald set fire to the villages of Auchterarder and Blackford. The following day a body of Highlanders, mostly Camerons and Macdonalds, burned the town of Crieff. On the 28th and 29th of January, Lord George Murray destroyed Dunning and Dalreoch; and at the same time some fifty Camerons, Macdonalds, and Macleans, under Clanranald, came from Drummond Castle, where they had been quartered, and burned the village of Muthill.[3]

The destruction of these villages involved terrible hardships on the poor inhabitants, but a more lasting misfortune to Scottish archæology was caused a few days later by the vandalism of Argyll's troops at Muthill. An invaluable collection of Roman remains, which had been excavated from the neighbouring Roman camp at Ardoch and stored in Ardoch House, was broken up and the implements all carried off, not to be seen again.[4]

[1] Rae (Original Letters), p. 483.

[2] *A True Account of the Proceedings at Perth* (*Spottiswoode Misc.*), vol. ii. p. 445 *et seq.*

[3] *Accounts of the Burning of Auchterarder, Muthill, Crieff, Blackford,* &c., printed in *Maitland Club Miscellany*, vol. iii. pp. 450–74.

[4] *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1793, vol. viii. p. 495.

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The Duke of Argyll, whose advanced-guard had been in possession of Dunblane for some days previously, left Stirling on the 29th of January. The following morning he sent a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot towards Tullibardine, which was held by a Jacobite force consisting of a captain and fifty men. Being summoned to surrender, they replied by opening fire, but the officer commanding the besieging force ordered his cannon to be brought towards the house, whereupon the garrison asked for a parley, which was granted. They surrendered, and were sent to Stirling as prisoners.

On the 30th of January Argyll advanced from Dunblane to Auchterarder, where, the houses having been burned, his troops had to sleep out of doors. The following day he entered Perth, but found that the enemy were gone.

On the 28th Mar had heard of the Duke's intended advance. The Highlanders were delighted at the news, and were eager to fight, but their General was against putting the safety of his King to the hazard of a battle, and ominous reports reached the ears of the troops that a retreat was projected. Mar was beset by angry inquirers: "What did the Chevalier come hither for? Was it to see his People butchered by Hangmen and not strike a Stroke for their Lives? Let us die like Men and not like Dogs!"[1] A council of war met on January the 28th, and continued until the next day. Opinions were much divided until Mar announced that, two days before, accounts had been received that some of their principal confederates had conspired to make their peace with the Government by seizing the person of their Prince and delivering him to his enemies. This communication, whether true or false, determined the council, and a retreat was decided upon. On the 30th the decision of the council was communicated to the army, and that same day, which was gloomily remembered as the anniversary of his grandfather's execution, the Chevalier came from Scone to Perth. He supped with Mr. Hay, the Jacobite Provost, and next morning the army started for the north. Bridges were not required; the extraordinary cold had frozen the Tay. On crossing the river the unfortunate adventurer observed to Lord Mar with melancholy wit, "See, my Lord, how you have led me on to the ice." They marched by the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee, the Chevalier again stopping at Fingask on the way, and from Dundee he went to Montrose.

Here Mar brought pressure upon James to leave the country; things were so hopeless that he would serve his cause better by retiring to safety and waiting for a happier occasion. A ninety-ton ship, the *Marie Terèse* of St. Malo, was lying in the harbour; let him seize the opportunity thus provided for escape. The Chevalier burst into tears. "Weeping is not the way to win kingdoms," was the grim comment of his kinsman Prince Eugène when he heard of it. James finally consented to go, but not until it was pointed out to him that his followers would have a better chance of escape and of lenient treatment if he were away. His last act in Scotland was a merciful one. On February the 4th, the very day he embarked, he wrote a letter to General Gordon authorising him to treat with the Duke of Argyll and to pay over to the Duke all the money left in his

[1] *A True Account*, p. 449.

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hands for the subsistence of the army. At the same time he wrote to the Duke asking him to expend this sum in relieving the unfortunate inhabitants of the villages which had been destroyed by military necessity.[1] That evening, accompanied by Lord Mar, Lord Melfort, and Lord Drummond, the Chevalier went secretly on board, and sailed forthwith for France.

General Gordon, who was left in command, marched the army to Aberdeen, where, on the 6th of February, the great majority of officers and men learnt for the first time that James had left them. The news occasioned a violent outburst of feeling, and it was recognised by all that a capitulation was inevitable. Huntly, however, was hinting at a possible attack on Inverness; and, in the hope that better terms might be secured if Inverness were captured, it was agreed to defer opening negotiations with Argyll. The march north was continued as far as Keith, though large numbers deserted daily.[2] At Keith word was finally received that Huntly refused to do anything and that Seaforth had already made terms for himself. General Gordon, with the West Highlanders, therefore turned his steps towards Ruthven in Badenoch, whence on the 15th of February a letter was sent to Argyll, imploring clemency. The remains of the army then dispersed.[3]

During the Jacobite occupation only one house in all Perthshire held out for King George. The Duke of Atholl's seats at Dunkeld, Tullibardine, and Huntingtower were all taken and held by the Chevalier's troops, but Blair Castle remained uncaptured. It was blockaded, but never seriously attacked. The Duke and his garrison, however, were reduced to great privations owing to want of supplies, and in order to obtain fuel were obliged to cut down the fruit trees in the orchard. Naturally, the stores of corn and hay in the various homesteads and the cattle in the neighbouring fields disappeared; but more wanton mischief seems to have been done by the foreign troops of Argyll's army than by the Jacobites. A party commanded by Captain St. Armand plundered the house of Tullibardine, and, as the Duke wrote, "took away even the very books out of my Liberary in that house, and ruined what was left of that whole Barrony."[4]

The House of Weem, now known as Castle Menzies, was at first held for the Government by Captain James Menzies of Comrie, but was lost owing to the commandant's indulgence in the convivial habits of the time. On one day late in October he had gone to drink at the village tavern, and in his absence a party of Struan's men captured the castle. The Jacobites remained in possession until early in February, the last relief for the garrison being found by Campbell of Glenlyon. On the 3rd, Captain Menzies, learning that Glenlyon's

[1] Both letters are printed in full by Chambers in his *History of the Rebellions*, pp. 312–314. The letter to the Duke was never sent (*Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 505), but the Chevalier had previously proclaimed that compensation would be given.—Rae (Original Letters), pp. 485–486.

[2] Some of the Atholl and Breadalbane men left the army at Aberdeen; the remainder at Inverury.—*Stuart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 112.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 110 *et seq.*

[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 247.

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supplies were running short, organised a blockade, but on the 6th, "to save further trouble to the Government," he allowed the garrison to march off with all the honours of war, to the great wrath of the Duke of Atholl, who had assembled 200 men at Logierait to besiege the castle, and who knew that in a few days the Jacobites must have surrendered at discretion.[1] There was probably a friendly fellow-feeling between Menzies and Glenlyon.

Unlike the terrible vengeance wreaked on the English Jacobites, there was little vindictive prosecution in Scotland, and although there were naturally many attainders and forfeitures, no Jacobite captured in Scotland lost his life.[2] Of the Perthshire men taken at Preston three were executed; Archibald Menzies,

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, pp. 200–4.

[2] The following is a list of the Perthshire attainders, so far as the names can be identified. They are extracted from a contemporary and apparently official list entitled "An Alphabetical List of all Persons attainted by Impeachments, Acts of Parliament, Judgments or Outlawry for the late Rebellion in the year 1715." The additions made here within parentheses are the result of an attempt at identification. Most have been added after a study of the list of the officers of the Atholl regiments who were captured at Preston (which is printed in the *Atholl Chronicles*, vol. ii. pp. 210, 211). The letters "N." and "C. M." mean that the officer in question belonged to Lord Nairne's or Lord Charles Murray's Regiment. The four names marked with an asterisk are included here, although not identified, as they seem likely to be of Perthshire origin. All four are designated "gent. Carlisle," which shows that they are names of prisoners sent there for trial. The names of officers who surrendered at Preston are as a rule designated "gent. Preston." One exception is that of Donald Macdonald, who is called "labourer, Preston," but who seems to have been the executed Tullochcroisk of Lord Charles Murray's Regiment.

Lord George Murray's name is not on the list. No proceedings were taken against him until 1718, when a true bill for treason was found against him at a court of "oyer and terminer" at Cupar-Fife.

Blair, John (of Glasclune, N.).
Blair, Patrick (Surgeon, N.).
Campbell, Robert, called Rob Roy.
Drummond, Alexander (? of Logiealmond).
Drummond, James (? of Drumquhany).
Drummond, James, Marquess of Drummond.
Drummond, Thomas (? Strathallan's brother).
Hay, John, Colonel (Kinnoull's son).
Kinloch, John.*
Macdonell, Donald (of Tullochcroisk, C.M.). Executed.
Mackenzie, George, son of Delvine.
Menzies, Alexander (of Woodend, C.M.).
Menzies, Archibald (N.). Executed.
Murray, William, Marquess of Tullibardine.
Murray, William (younger of Ochtertyre).
Nairne, William, Lord Nairne (N.).
Nairne, John (Master of Nairne, C.M.).
Ramsay, James (of Drumlochy, N.).
Rattray, John.*
Robertson, Alexander, of Struan.
Robertson, Donald (brother to Drumachine; C.M.). Executed.
Robertson, James (probably younger of Blairfettie, C.M.).
Robertson, John (three of this name in C.M.).
Robertson, Patrick (? of Blairchroisk, C.M.).
Rollo, James.*
Rollo, Robert.*
Stewart, Alexander (C.M.). Sentenced, but not executed.
Stewart, John, of Innernytie.
Stewart, John (of Kynachan, N.).
Stewart, John (N.).
Stewart, John (C.M.).
Stewart, Malcolm (? of Achmerkbeag, N.). Sentenced, not executed.
Stewart, Robert (N.).
Stirling, James, of Keir.
Threipland, Sir David, of Fingask.

John Rattray was probably one of the Craighall family. Sinclair speaks of "Ratre of Craighall" as being with the army at Perth (*Memoirs*, p. 277), but though the Laird of 1715 (Dr. Thomas Rattray, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld) was a Jacobite, he is not known to have been "out."

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a subaltern in Lord Nairne's Regiment; Captain Donald Robertson, brother to Drumachine; and Lieutenant Donald Macdonell of Tullochcroisk, an officer in Lord Charles Murray's Regiment. It is said that Donald Robertson's death was due to an act of brotherly devotion; he answered to his elder brother's name, and was executed in his stead.

Knowing that no jury would convict in Scotland, the Government removed eighty-nine prisoners to Carlisle for trial—a proceeding of doubtful constitutional legality against which a strong protest was made. Many of these prisoners were released without trial, some were acquitted, some were formally sentenced to death, but none were executed. They were allowed the alternative of a few years' transportation to the plantations.

The case of William Murray, son of Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, is probably typical of the proceedings taken against many of the gentlemen. He had been made prisoner at Sheriffmuir and sent to Edinburgh Castle, from which he was removed to Carlisle in September 1716. He was indicted on December the 11th, and formally pled guilty, but was not sentenced. He was given the liberty of the city of Carlisle in January. In February his uncle, John Haldane of Gleneagles, one of the members of Parliament for Perthshire, procured from the King, then at Hanover, the promise of a pardon which does not seem to have been formally granted, but Murray was liberated along with the other prisoners in June 1717. The attainder was not removed until 1736, when an Act was passed by which he was enabled to succeed to the paternal estates.

The case of Menzies of Culdares (a captain in Lord Charles Murray's Regiment), who was tried in London, was also probably similar to many others. He was found guilty by a jury; but with the help of Lord Townshend, secretary of state, he obtained a "nolle prosequi" and was liberated. So grateful was he for this clemency that, although he continued an ardent Jacobite, he declined to go out in the 'Forty-five, as he felt bound in honour not to take arms against the Government that had granted him his life.

An Act of Indemnity and an Act of Grace, passed at the end of 1716 and the beginning of 1717, released many prisoners, but the attainders seem to have been strictly enforced. Among those attainted by Act of Parliament was George Mackenzie, son of the Laird of Delvine, of whose part in the Rising there appears to be little or no record.[1] In 1722 he had returned to Perthshire, and a warrant was issued committing him to the Tolbooth of Perth. He was not finally pardoned until 1725.

The fate of the more prominent Perthshire Jacobites may be briefly noted.

Against the Earl of Breadalbane no action was taken, perhaps on account of his age, or possibly because he was a Campbell.

Lord Nairne was tried by the House of Lords along with the other Jacobite peers. He pled guilty and was sentenced to death, but owing to the strong efforts made on his behalf, particularly by his brother, the Duke of Atholl, his

[1] Late in October he was at "the Earl of Mar's Quarters" in Perth.—Rae (Original Letters), p. 461.

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life was saved, and he was released in 1717 by the Act of Grace.[1] His eldest son was also released at the same time, and survived to take an active part in the 'Forty-five. Lord Strathallan and Lord Rollo were confined for a short time in Edinburgh Castle, but were released in 1717, and no further proceedings were taken against them.

Lord Charles Murray was released in 1717; he died three years later.

Lord Drummond, who left Montrose along with the Chevalier, escaped to France and never returned. He succeeded as fifth Earl and second titular Duke of Perth in May 1716, and died in 1720, leaving two sons, who took a prominent part in the 'Forty-five.

Robertson of Struan, who had narrowly escaped capture at Sheriffmuir,[2] fled to France, where he remained until 1731, when he obtained a partial remission of the attainder and returned home. He took an active part in the initial stages of the 'Forty-five.

Colonel the Hon. John Hay, youngest son of Lord Kinnoull, escaped to France and afterwards joined the court of the Chevalier, by whom he was in 1718 created Earl of Inverness, and in 1724 appointed secretary of state. He was dismissed from that office in 1727, owing to the hostility of the Chevalier's consort, Clementina, but was then created Duke of Inverness. He died in 1740.

Lord Stormont's second son, the Hon. James Murray, who had been captured in Flanders while attempting to carry despatches to Scotland,[3] was created Earl of Dunbar by the Chevalier in 1721, and succeeded John Hay as secretary of state in 1727. He was dismissed in 1747, as he was charged by Prince Charles with being responsible for the decision of Prince Henry, Duke of York, to enter the Roman priesthood. He died at Avignon in 1770.

Sir David Threipland wandered abroad for ten years, but by the end of that time he had returned to Scotland and was in hiding. General Wade interceded with the Government for his pardon, which seems to have been granted. The family tradition of his tragic ending while preparing to join Prince Charles in 1746, is told in the chapter on the 'Forty-five.

James Stirling of Keir was attainted, but, as in many other instances, his estates were bought in by friends for the benefit of his family. For some years he seems to have lived in semi-hiding, unmolested so long as he remained quiet, but in 1727, having taken some part in the elections, he was apprehended and imprisoned for a time in Edinburgh Castle.[4] He survived to take a small part in the 'Forty-five.

[1] A tradition exists that Lord Nairne's life was saved by the interposition of the Secretary of State, General (afterwards Earl) Stanhope, who had been his school friend at Eton, and who threatened to resign unless Nairne were pardoned. (Mahon, vol. i. p. 291.) The tradition, however, is of doubtful accuracy, as it is very improbable that Lord Nairne was ever at Eton. None of his brothers were there, and he began life in the Navy. The incident is the subject of a stirring lyric by Sir Hastings Doyle (see *Return of the Guards, and other Poems*, 1866).

[2] He was made prisoner in the rout of the left wing, but escaped "during the Hurry of the Pursuit."—*Home Office, Scotland*, bundle 10.

[3] See *note*, p. 293. Murray had been appointed a gentleman-usher to the Chevalier in 1706. —*Stuart Papers*, vol. i. p. 205.

[4] Wodrow's *Analecta*, vol. iii. p. 436.

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Rob Roy, who, though loth to fight at Sheriffmuir, had proclaimed the Chevalier at Drymen on the 7th of December, and a month later, with his nephew Glengyle, had commanded some 150 MacGregors in garrison at Falkland Palace,[1] surrendered himself to the Duke of Atholl on the 3rd of June 1717, and was confined at Logierait pending his removal to Edinburgh. Three days later he made his escape, to reappear in 1719 at the battle of Glenshiel, and to continue the romantic career which ended with his peaceful death at Balquhidder in 1734.

The fate of the Marquess of Tullibardine was a sad one. In 1716 an Act was passed depriving him of the succession to the dukedom of Atholl and settling it on his younger brother, Lord James Murray, who had remained loyal to his father and to the Government. After the dispersion of the Jacobite forces he retired to the Outer Hebrides. The ship which had carried the Chevalier from Montrose to France was sent back to South Uist, and in it Lord George Murray with his elder brother and many other Jacobite leaders escaped to France.

Six months later Tullibardine was once more involved in serious plottings. Charles XII. of Sweden detested George I., who in 1715 had purchased from the King of Denmark and annexed to Hanover, two secular bishoprics which had been wrested from Sweden by the Danish Sovereign in 1712. The Swedish Monarch vowed vengeance on the Elector of Hanover, and Baron Gortz, his envoy at the Hague, entered into a scheme with the Jacobites by which a general rising was projected in England, and Charles himself was to invade Scotland with 12,000 Swedish troops. The plot was discovered in time by the British Government and it came to nothing, but while it was under discussion the Chevalier gave the Marquess of Tullibardine a commission as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief in Scotland, and a few days later he was created Duke of Rannoch and Marquess of Blair.[2]

In 1718 another and more threatening blow was aimed at King George's Government. Spain, chafing under the loss of territory inflicted on her by the Peace of Utrecht, had declared war upon the Emperor, and early in the year had fitted out a naval armament, with evident designs on Sicily or some part of Italy. Great Britain thereupon concluded an alliance with France and Austria, by which she pledged herself to uphold the Treaty of Utrecht, and a squadron under Sir George Byng was sent to the Mediterranean—with the result that in August 1718 the Spanish fleet was destroyed off Cape Pessaro, on the south coast of Sicily. Alberoni, the Spanish minister, was furious; he entered into an alliance with Charles XII. and opened negotiations with the Jacobite court. While these negotiations were proceeding the scheme received a severe check from the death of Charles at Frederickshall in Norway in December 1718, but Alberoni persevered. A great expedition was prepared to sail from Cadiz with 5000

[1] *Wodrow MSS.*, vol. x., and *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report III.*, app. pp. 375, 378.

[2] The commission is dated at Avignon, January 28th, and the warrant creating him a duke, February 1st, 1717.

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Spanish troops, and with arms and ammunition sufficient to equip 30,000 English Jacobites; it was to be joined at Corunna by the Duke of Ormonde, and was to effect a landing in the west of England, the stronghold of Jacobitism.

A subsidiary expedition, consisting of two frigates and a small corps of 307 Spanish soldiers, was to make for the Western Highlands of Scotland, where a junction was to be formed with the Jacobite Highlanders, for whom the Spaniards were to take a supply of arms. This expedition was to be under the command of the Earl Marischal.

Ormonde, who had a special commission from the Chevalier, selected Lord Marischal's brother, James Keith, afterwards the famous field-marshal, to visit the Scottish Jacobite exiles, many of whom were then residing in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux. Keith, coming straight from Madrid, informed them of the projected expedition, directed them to proceed to Scotland as quickly as possible, and supplied them with money which Alberoni had sent for the purpose. General Gordon, who had commanded the army of 1715 after the Chevalier's departure, was too ill to go, but Lochiel, Clanranald, and Lord George Murray, with some others, sailed from Bordeaux on March the 14th,[1] 1719, while Campbell of Ormidale (generally styled brigadier) went south to Passages and joined Lord Marischal.

Keith meanwhile went to Orleans, where Lord Tullibardine was living, and showed him an order directing him and Lord Seaforth to proceed at once to Lewis to join the Scottish expedition. Seaforth was with difficulty persuaded to go, but at last consented, and these two noblemen, with Campbell of Glendaruel (also a brigadier[2]) and James Keith, sailed for Scotland from the mouth of the Seine on the 19th or 20th of March.

The armada which had left Cadiz for England on March the 7th was utterly shattered and dispersed by a great storm when off Finisterre three weeks later, but the Earl Marischal's expedition sailed from Passages about March the 8th and reached the Outer Hebrides before the end of the month. A few days later the Earl was joined at Stornoway by Tullibardine and Seaforth. At once the evil genius of the Stuart cause asserted itself, and violent dissensions broke out among the leaders. Marischal believed that he was to command the expedition, but two days after landing Tullibardine produced his commission of 1717 as commander-in-chief in Scotland. A compromise was however effected, by which the Earl was to command at sea, and Tullibardine on land.[3]

Marischal's desire was to proceed at once to the mainland, and to march on Inverness, which was garrisoned by only 300 men, but Tullibardine and Glendaruel desired to wait until news of the landing of Ormonde's expedition should reach them. There was much friction, but at last it was decided to land in Kintail,

[1] New Style—this being the style in vogue on the Continent, and therefore the one used by the Jacobites abroad. The dates from April the 13th onwards inclusive (*i.e.* the dates of events in Scotland), as also the dates given throughout the account of the 'Fifteen, are O.S.

[2] Commission dated the 3rd February 1717.—*Stuart Papers*, vol. iii. p. 510.

[3] Tullibardine's tenure of command dated from the 30th of March, O.S.—*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report X.*, app. i. p. 123.

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Seaforth's country, and after difficulties and delays owing to storms, the ships anchored on April the 13th off the little island of Eilean-Donan, which lies at the junction of Loch Alsh, Loch Duich, and Loch Long, in Ross-shire. The next day the party was joined by Lord George Murray,[1] and a few days later by Clanranald, Lochiel, the Chiefs of Chisholm and Mackinnon, and by Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum, who had come over from France. An ancient castle on the island was selected as a depôt, and provisions for the Spanish troops and the greater part of the ammunition were eventually stored there under the care of a Spanish guard. The main body of the troops were encamped some two miles off on the north-eastern shore of Loch Duich, and another magazine was formed near the head of the loch, at the Croe of Kintail. Tullibardine had fixed his headquarters on the coast in order to be able to retire by sea in the event of any misfortune happening to Ormonde's expedition to England, but Marischal, who preferred a bolder policy, determined to prevent such a possibility, and exercising his authority as naval commander, he sent the frigates back to Spain on April the 30th, as soon as the stores had been landed. Five days later a messenger arrived from the " King's friends " in Edinburgh bringing news of the dispersal of the Spanish fleet, and warning Tullibardine to re-embark the Spaniards and disperse as quickly as possible. These ill tidings had no sooner come to hand than a squadron of three English ships under Captain Boyle sailed up Loch Alsh, and on May the 10th captured the castle with the munitions and stores, and took the garrison prisoner. Boyle then went in search of the other magazine at the head of Loch Duich, and so severely shelled the detachment of Spaniards in charge of it that he forced them to blow it up.

Tullibardine was now in a most perplexing position. The greater part of his ammunition and stores were lost; his retreat by sea was cut off; and as Loch Duich was patrolled by the Government ships, he could only join the detachment of Spaniards at the Croe of Kintail by making a circuitous march by Loch Long and Glen Elchaig.[2] Meanwhile Seaforth, Clanranald, and Lochiel had declared

[1] Lord George's movements about this time are rather obscure. On the 15th of May the Lord Justice Clerk wrote to the Duke of Atholl that he had been informed that Lord Tullibardine and Lord George had been meeting gentlemen at several places in Perthshire, notably at the house of Mr. Hall, an Episcopalian minister who lived near Dunkeld (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. pp. 281–2), but this was certainly untrue as regards Tullibardine, and was probably equally so of his brother. That emissaries were sent is on record, but no mention is made of Lord George, and no men from Atholl joined the movement (*Ibid.* p. 468). A joint letter from the two brothers is, however, preserved at Gask, requesting Lord Nairne to advertise all the Athollmen to be ready to rise in the event of their services being required.—*Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 465.

[2] The Jacobites had hoped to transport the arms and the remainder of the ammunition overland from the head of Loch Long to the Croe, but as they could procure no baggage horses at the head of Loch Long they were obliged to send back their munitions of war "with great difficulty by sea under night." The boats successfully eluded the vigilance of the ships, and landed the stores at the Croe.—" Distinct Abridgement of some materiall Poynts relating to Scotts Affairs," written by Lord Mar to Lord Nairne in August 1719 and printed in the appendix to *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*.

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their inability to get their men to rise in the present juncture of affairs, and the two last-named chiefs had returned to their homes to wait for a more favourable opportunity. However, on the 23rd of May, the day on which he reached the head of Loch Duich, Tullibardine was encouraged by a message from Ormonde recommending him to hold out as best he could, and promising to send assistance; other advices informed him that the Spanish fleet was repaired, and might soon sail.

The latter part of May was therefore spent in endeavours to assemble an army, and summonses were sent out widely; but the news of the disaster to Ormonde had reached the Highlands, and the clansmen were naturally reluctant to rise. Seaforth, however, collected some five or six hundred Mackenzies, and Lochiel a part of his clan, while contingents of Macdonalds, Mackinnons, Macleans,[1] and Macdougalls, with a few volunteers, came in, and Rob Roy joined with a body of MacGregors.[2]

Meanwhile General Wightman, who commanded at Inverness, had been largely reinforced, and had collected a field force of 850 infantry, 120 dragoons, and a battery of 4 Cohorn mortars, together with about 130 Highlanders of the Whig clans of Mackay and Munro. He left Inverness on June the 5th, and marching by Loch Ness and Killichiumen (now Fort Augustus) through Glenmoriston, reached Glen Clunie on June the 9th, and encamped for the night at the head of Loch Clunie.

On the same day Tullibardine had taken up a strong position in Glenshiel, about five miles from Invershiel, at the place where the modern road crosses the river by a stone bridge. The Shiel here runs like a torrent through the rocky bed of a narrow gorge; the southern bank is protected by an almost impassable corrie; while the northern bank is met by the steep slopes of Ben Mor, a spur of the great mountain Scour Ouran, 3500 feet high. The dispositions were made by Brigadier Campbell,[3] who had further strengthened the position by throwing up breastworks on the hillside and by erecting a barricade across the road, which ran along a narrow ledge on the north side of the river. The Jacobite force was drawn up at right angles to the Shiel. The right wing, which was commanded by Lord George Murray, was posted on the south side of the glen, occupying a low hill protected in front by the corrie before mentioned. It consisted of two companies of Seaforth's Mackenzies, and two small detachments

[1] From a statement of the public money expended by Tullibardine (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report X.*, app. i. pp. 123–5), it appears that a company of Macleans under a captain of that name had joined the army about May the 24th; but no contemporary Jacobite account mentions any Macleans as taking part in the battle of Glenshiel. In a detailed return of the Jacobite forces engaged, sent by General Wightman to Lord Carpenter and forwarded by him to the Duke of Atholl, "McLean, brother to Argoure," is the only one of the clan referred to (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 288).

[2] James Keith says: "Not above a thousand men appeared, and even those seemed not very fond of the enterprise" (*Memoir*, p. 51). The actual numbers are given later on.

[3] *Proceed. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* 1884–85, p. 65. There were two Brigadier Campbells in the Jacobite camp. This was evidently Glendaruel, who seems to have acted as chief-of-the-staff to Tullibardine on the day of battle.

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under Macdougall of Lorne and Major James[1] Mackintosh, brother of Borlum, making in all 150 men.[2] On the other side of the river came the Spaniards, now reduced to some 200 men; then Lochiel with 150 men; to his left 150 of "Mr. Lidcoat's" men;[3] then 20 volunteers and 40 men under Rob Roy; to their left 50 Mackinnons; then 200 of Seaforth's men under Sir John Mackenzie of Coul; while Lord Seaforth himself with over 200 of his best men was posted on the extreme left at a considerable distance up the hill. Marischal and Campbell of Ormidale commanded on the left with Seaforth.[4] Mackintosh of Borlum was with the Spanish Colonel, and Tullibardine with Campbell of Glendaruel commanded in the centre. The total fighting force was about 1120 men,[5] but not far off Clanranald and his clan, the Chisholms of Strathglass, and the Grants of Glenmoriston, were coming up, though too late to join the main body in time for the battle.

Next day, June the 10th, the Chevalier's birthday, the Government troops under General Wightman crossed the saddle which joins Glenclunie to Glenshiel, and advanced to the attack. The right wing, consisting of the greater part of the British infantry with the force, and of some Dutch troops with a detachment of Strathnaver Mackays on the flank, was formed on the north side of the river. The dragoons and the artillery were placed on the road. The left wing—Clayton's Regiment, with eighty Munro clansmen on the flank under Captain George Munro of Culcairn—formed on the south side of the river.

The battle began between five and six in the evening[6] by a fierce onslaught on Lord George's position, which having been first shelled by the mortars, was

[1] So a letter dated at Glenloe (? Glendoe) on the 22nd of June 1719 (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 585). In a letter written by a Mr. Johnson from London on the same date (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report X.*, app. i. p. 196) he is called John. So far as they can be compared (for Johnson's letter is not given in its entirety), the two letters are strikingly similar in language, and it seems unquestionable that one is based on the other. The letter in the *Portland MSS.* is the fuller of the two.

[2] In the account in the *Portland MSS.*, already referred to, the right wing is described as consisting of "about one hundred and twenty Belkash and Loch-Errin men with about fifty Camerons."

[3] "Mr. Lidcoat" is a fictitious name used by Tullibardine in a despatch to Mar, and is identified by Mr. Dickson as probably Glengarry (*Jacobite Attempt*, p. l., *note*). This is corroborated by Wightman (return above-mentioned), who places 150 of Glengarry's men under Macdonald of Shien and others in the Jacobite fighting line (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 288). The letter from the *Portland MSS.* already quoted, which, however, is by no means free from inaccuracies, says that no men were present from Glengarry or Skye, "but about eighty stragglers who were with the general." In Mar's "Distinct Abridgement" Mr. Lidcoat's men are referred to as "a friend's" or "out of the neighbouring bounds."

[4] Tullibardine's letter to Mar. The letters written on the 22nd of June from London and Glenloe say that Marischal and Ormidale were only serving as volunteers.

[5] The figures given in Tullibardine's letter to Mar, above quoted, amount to this total. General Wightman gives the total in action as 1869 men, of whom 1595 were Highlanders and 274 Spaniards. In this return the numbers of the Mackenzies and Camerons are obviously exaggerated.

[6] Tullibardine to Mar. The letters from London and Glenloe say that the action began at about four o'clock.

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charged by Clayton's infantry and the Munroes. The first attack was repulsed, but on its being renewed with reinforcements, the Highlanders, who had received no support from the northern bank of the river, gave way and retreated.[1] The nature of the ground prevented any serious pursuit in this part of the field.

Wightman then directed his attack on the Jacobite left wing, where Lord Seaforth was posted. Finding himself hard pressed, Seaforth sent for help, and Mackenzie of Coul took his contingent to his Chief's assistance. Rob Roy and the Mackinnons were also detached from the centre to his aid, but before they could reach the left wing Seaforth had been badly wounded, while most of his men had given way, and were retiring up the slope of Scour Ouran.[2] The MacGregors and Mackinnons joined the retreat, and "Lidcoat's" men soon followed. Wightman pressed on his attack against the Jacobite left, and the Camerons, sent up to stem the tide, fell back as the others had done. At last only the Spaniards remained, and finding themselves deserted by their Highland allies, they too eventually retired up the slope, and Tullibardine was obliged to accompany them. The Government troops followed in a pursuit which only ended with nightfall, by which time the Jacobites had nearly reached the top of the mountain. Tullibardine still clung to the hope that his little army might keep together in expectation of Ormonde's scheme being renewed, but "everybody declared absolutely against undertaking anything further," while the Spanish Colonel was obliged to confess that his men could not live without civilised provisions, or "make any hard marches through so rough a countrey."[3] Next day, therefore, the Highlanders dispersed, and the Spaniards surrendered to General Wightman. They were marched off to Inverness, and from thence were sent to Edinburgh. The last act of warfare was the blowing up of the remaining magazine by Rob Roy, so that no ammunition fell into the hands of the Government.

During the action Wightman's troops suffered more severely than Tullibardine's. The Government loss was twenty-one killed, including three officers,

[1] The letters already quoted from London and Glenloe say that, in spite of the vastly superior numbers opposed to them, the men of the right wing repulsed three attacks and maintained their ground for two hours, and that they were finally driven back owing to the heather having been set in a blaze by the artillery fire. Even so they "retyred in good order and deliberation."

[2] The letter in the *Portland MSS.*, which is evidently written by a partisan of Seaforth, says that the latter, in spite of his wound, held his ground for more than two hours, and that during that time no help was sent him from the centre—in fact from the writer's account it would appear that no reinforcements were at any time sent to the left. The account in the text is from Tullibardine's letter, which mentions that when Seaforth first asked for help Campbell of Ormidale brought word that the main body of the enemy seemed about to attack the centre, and that this occasioned a delay in sending up the MacGregors and Mackinnons.

[3] "Distinct Abridgement." The letters from London and Glenloe say that the Jacobites, having received reinforcements after the battle, were eager to fight again the next day, but that Tullibardine, acting on Glendaruel's advice, refused to allow it, saying that "his orders were to the contrary untill there was a landing in England." According to his own account, and the *Proceed. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1884-85, p. 65, by the morning of the 11th nearly all but the Spaniards had dispersed. It is clear that neither letter is written in any friendly spirit to him.

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and one hundred and twenty-one wounded. The loss on the Jacobite side, it is said by a contemporary, was not more than ten killed and wounded,[1] among whom were Lord Seaforth, severely wounded in the arm,[2] and Lord George Murray, who was wounded in the leg.[3]

Lord Tullibardine concealed himself for a time in the wilds of Glengarry's country, and afterwards in the Outer Hebrides. A reward of £2000 was offered for his apprehension, but he evaded capture, and escaped to France in the following spring. There he adopted the pseudonym of Kateson, after his mother's Christian name,[4] and for the next twenty-five years he remained in France, often in great poverty, sometimes in prison for debt, not perhaps making the best use of the remittances that were sent him from home. Finally, in 1745, as will be narrated hereafter, he accompanied Prince Charles on his fateful voyage to Scotland.

[1] The letter in the *Portland MSS.* says that the Highlanders lost "but seven men, all commons."

[2] So Tullibardine's letter to Mar, the "Distinct Abridgement," the letters from London and Glenloe, &c. In the *Culloden Papers*, p. 73, he is said to have been wounded in the shoulder.

[3] *London Gazette*, June 20th–23rd, and *Historical Register* 1719, p. 285. In the *Culloden Papers*, p. 73, it is stated that "Gordon" was wounded in the leg, apparently a mistake for Lord George Murray.

[4] Lady Katherine Hamilton, first wife of the first Duke of Atholl.

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LADY JEAN GORDON
WIFE OF JAMES, SECOND DUKE OF PERTH

(*From a Drawing by G. P. Harding after a Portrait by F. van Vost at Drummond Castle*)

MARGARET, LADY NAIRNE
WIFE OF LORD WILLIAM MURRAY (SECOND LORD NAIRNE)

(*From a Portrait at Meikleour*)

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PERTHSHIRE IN THE 'FORTY-FIVE[1]

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

IN 1745 there were living in Perthshire two aged ladies whose influence did more than that of any other persons in Scotland to make the last Jacobite Rising possible. Both were widows; both were of high rank; both were closely connected with some of the noblest families in the kingdom; both in the end reaped to the full the crop they had sown, for both survived to witness the utter destruction of their respective Houses.

The elder of these ladies, the Baroness Nairne, was then seventy-six years old; she was the only daughter of the first Lord Nairne; she had married Lord William Murray, a younger son of the first Marquess of Atholl, and by doing so had brought to him her father's title. Her influence had alienated her husband from the Revolution principles of the head of his family, and had sent him and their eldest son to join Lord Mar in 1715.

But this unflinching Jacobite had influenced more than her own immediate family. It was to her that her brother-in-law, the first Duke of Atholl, ascribed the ruin of his three sons, William, Marquess of Tullibardine, Lord Charles Murray, and Lord George Murray, who (as is narrated elsewhere)[2] had all been "out" in the 'Fifteen.[3] For this, Lord Tullibardine had been deprived by Act of Parliament of the ducal inheritance, which had been settled on his younger brother, Lord James, who succeeded to the dukedom in 1724. The Marquess had lived in exile in France for a period of nearly thirty years, broken only by a visit to Scotland during the abortive Jacobite attempt which ended at Glenshiel in 1719. Lord Charles had died in London in 1720. Lord George, after several years of exile, had received a pardon in 1725, and settling down at

[1] Principal authorities:—*The Lyon in Mourning; Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families;* Henderson's *History of the Rebellion* (5th edition, London, 1753); *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*; *Report of the Proceedings . . . of the Board of General Officers on . . . Lieut.-General Sir John Cope* (London, 1749); *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton; Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family;* Lord Macleod's Narrative in Sir William Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie; The Lockhart Papers; The Albemarle Papers;* Cottin, *Un Protégé de Bachaumont* (Paris, 1887); *The Chiefs of Grant; Historical MSS. Commission Reports; The Caledonian Mercury* and *Scots Magazine* of 1745–46; *History of the Clan Gregor*, vol. ii. (Edinburgh, 1901); several unpublished MSS. in private ownership; and others.

[2] See preceding article and Lord George Murray's biography, p. 340 *et seq.*

[3] I make this statement in spite of Jesse's assertion that Lady Nairne conjured her husband to remain at home (*Memoirs of the Pretenders*). The Duke of Atholl distinctly attributes the perversion of his brother to Jacobitism to his wife's persuasion; while Lord Mar, in a letter, wishes that all the men under his command had the spirit of Lady Nairne. (*Hist. MSS. Comm., Report XII.*, App., pt. viii. p. 21. *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 37.)

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Tullibardine, had devoted himself to a quiet country life. In 1745 these two surviving nephews of the aged lady again took up arms for the exiled Royal family, and along with them Lady Nairne had the satisfaction of seeing two of her sons, her four sons-in-law, and six grandsons, devote themselves to the same chivalrous adventure.

The younger lady, the Duchess of Perth, then over sixty years of age, was a daughter of that Duke of Gordon whose interview with Claverhouse is immortalised in Scott's ballad of "Bonnie Dundee." He had held Edinburgh for King James for more than seven months after the landing of William of Orange, and, spending his after life more often than not a captive, had died in Leith a prisoner on parole. His daughter Lady Jean had married the son and heir of the fourth Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland in James VII.'s time, who had accompanied his sovereign to France in 1688. The exiled King had created him Duke of Perth at St. Germains, and this title, which was quite illegal in Great Britain, was given to his descendants not only by contemporaries, but, as a rule, by historians also. Lady Jean's husband, the second Duke of Perth (the Marquess of Drummond of the 'Fifteen), died in France in 1720, leaving two sons—James, known as the third Duke of Perth, born in 1713, and a younger brother, known as Lord John Drummond. The family religion was Roman Catholic, and the boys were educated at Douai in France. By legal artifice the estates had been preserved, and the Duke, when his education was finished, returned at the age of nineteen to Scotland, where he lived for the most part at Drummond Castle. He was a Roman Catholic, but not bigoted; he was fond of literature and a patron of art; he was a man of great liberality and philanthropy. Though devoted to sport,[1] he lent himself to all local interests, and was beloved and respected in the county. His temperament was facile and sympathetic, and thus he was easily influenced by those about him. One remarkable characteristic of the Duke of Perth was that he never properly learned the English language, but invariably used broad Scots.

His brother Lord John retained his French connection, and when war broke out with England in 1743, he accepted, to the Duke's annoyance, a commission from Louis XV. to raise a regiment of his fellow-countrymen, to be known as the Scots Royal.

For a short time after her husband's death the widowed Duchess of Perth resided in Edinburgh along with her mother, where their house was denounced as a "kind of college" kept openly for "instructing young people in Jesuitism and Jacobitism together."[2] After her mother's death in 1732, the Duchess resided for the most part at Drummond Castle.

The general situation, just previous to the outbreak of the Rising, was briefly as follows:—About 1739 an association of seven prominent Jacobites was formed to promote the cause of the exiled Royal family. Of these, two were Perth-

[1] Horace Walpole calls him "a foolish horse-racing boy."—Letter to Mann, September 27th 1745.

[2] Wodrow, quoted in *Reekiana*, p. 246.

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shire men—the Duke of Perth and his uncle, Lord John Drummond of Fairnton ;[1] the others were Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, the Earl of Traquair, and his brother, John Stuart. William MacGregor or Drummond,[2] the son of the Perthshire Laird of Balhaldies, was sent to represent the Jacobites in Paris, and John Murray of Broughton, son of a Peeblesshire baronet, was general manager for the party in Scotland. The Chevalier James and his two sons were then resident in Rome.

Plotting of an inconsequent character went on for some time, but the first definite action was taken in 1743. The British Government had sent troops to the Continent to assist Austria against France, and it seemed a likely opportunity for the French to foment Jacobite dissension in Great Britain.

The Duke of Perth accordingly went for a time to reside at York, where he met and plotted with English Jacobites who gave many promises which were never fulfilled, and in the beginning of 1743 Murray of Broughton was sent over to France to consult with the French Government. He had an interview with M. Amelot, the Foreign Minister, but nothing definite resulted, and he returned home. By midsummer, however, things in Europe had greatly changed. The French had been beaten at Dettingen on the 27th of June, and their Government, thinking it advisable to keep King George's troops busy at home, resolved on an invasion of Great Britain, which was to be assisted by a rising of the English and Scottish Jacobites. A French army of 15,000 men was accordingly assembled at Dunkirk under Marshal Saxe. Prince Charles Edward was summoned from Rome to take command of the expedition, and travelling with great secrecy he arrived in Paris at the end of January, 1744.

There were plots and preparations in Scotland to co-operate with the expected invasion, but the absence of news from headquarters occasioned much perplexity to the Jacobite leaders. Among suggested projects was one to enlist men ostensibly for the Scots Brigade in Holland, and from that experienced body to procure officers, many of whom were known Jacobites.[3]

The Prince and Saxe were ready to sail, and the troops had actually embarked ; the British fleet was preparing to attack, when a fierce storm wrecked most of the transports and dispersed King Louis' ships. The French Government took no steps to proceed further with an invasion, and Charles remained incognito at Paris, impatiently awaiting developments, buoyed up with hopes of a renewal of the French scheme and a great rising of his adherents in Scotland and England.

Early in 1744 Lord John Drummond was secretly in the Highlands raising men for his French regiment, and although his presence was known, and vigorous attempts were made to capture him and his brother, both successfully evaded arrest. Murray of Broughton was sent over to France to interview Prince Charles and to consult with the Jacobites there. He found things worse

[1] Now Ferntower.
[2] As the name of MacGregor was then proscribed, all MacGregors had another official name.
[3] *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, pp. 61, 97, 100.

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than he expected; the Jacobite agents Balhaldies and Sempill seemed to him to be deceiving the Prince with false hopes, and everything was at sixes and sevens. Murray saw the Prince, explained the Scottish situation to him, pointed out that his adherents were fewer than was supposed, and that they were entirely opposed to a rising unless Prince Charles brought with him a strong French contingent and a large supply of arms and equipments. Charles Edward, however, replied that come he would, if only a single footman should accompany him.

Murray returned to Scotland in 1744 to report on his mission, and there were meetings and consultations among the Scots Jacobites, but, with the exception of the sanguine Duke of Perth, all were absolutely averse from rising without a French contingent. A letter was written to the Prince setting forth the "situation and inclination of the party," and imploring him not to come unless he could bring 6000 men with him. This letter, however, never reached him. At first it was delayed in London by Lord Traquair from no apparent reason except dilatoriness and supineness. After being kept for some months it was returned by Traquair in April 1745 with a message that he had been unable to find a proper messenger. Finally the letter was sent by young Glengarry, who was going to France to join Lord John Drummond's regiment. It was then, however, too late; the Prince had gone before it could be delivered. Meantime John Murray, receiving no answer, and fearing that the letter had miscarried, and that the Prince might suddenly arrive, began to collect money for the Cause, to prepare manifestoes and to procure arms. Broadswords, muskets, and ammunition were purchased and lodged at Leny House in Perthshire, the home of Buchanan of Arnprior. Murray also wrote a second letter to the Prince, signed by several Jacobite leaders, and this he sent direct to France by a former servant of his own named John Macnaughton. This second letter was not so explicit as the previous one, and it had not the effect of deterring the Prince. At the end of May the messenger returned with a reply saying that the Prince had arranged to start, and would be in South Uist some time in July.

Then Murray hurried through the country, visiting the Jacobite adherents and doing everything that was possible to prepare the party for what was coming. One bold stroke was attempted. Græme of Braco, a Jacobite Perthshire laird, was then in Scotland raising recruits for the Scots Brigade in Holland, in which he was an officer.[1] Two thousand men, many of whom were High-

[1] I follow John Murray of Broughton in calling him Græme of Braco, but I cannot help thinking that he may possibly have meant Græme of Inchbraco or Inchbrakie. Both David Græme of Braco and Patrick Græme of Inchbrakie raised companies for Colyear's regiment of the Scots Brigade in 1745. Braco may have been in Scotland then, but Inchbrakie certainly was. Miss Græme in *Or and Sable*, p. 285, says that Inchbrakie, after taking his company to Holland, returned to Scotland and fought for Prince Charles, and that he is identical with "Mr. Peter Greeme, Gorthy's cousin," who belonged to the Perthshire Squadron, but the authority for this statement is not given. It seems certain that Inchbrakie was at home in September 1746 (*Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 192). Mr. Ferguson, however, distinctly states that it remained the boast of the Scots Brigade that none of the

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landers, had been recruited for the brigade and were awaiting a fair wind to sail from the Firth of Forth. Captain Græme promised to attempt to transfer their services to the Jacobite Cause if only the Prince arrived in time, but as his arrival was too long delayed the recruits had to sail for Holland.

The first active move in the game was the arrest of Sir Hector Maclean, an officer in the French army who had come to Scotland to enlist recruits, but who also carried despatches for the Duke of Perth and for Murray of Broughton. He was arrested in Edinburgh on June the 5th, and the incriminating documents were discovered. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Murray and the Duke, but Broughton had gone to the Highlands and could not be found, while the authorities dreaded arresting the Duke at Drummond Castle as he was so much beloved by his retainers. It happened, however, that Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre and Campbell of Inverawe had lately received commissions in Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment,[1] and in the latter part of July were quartered at Crieff. To them the warrants were entrusted, and by them a plot was arranged to enforce them. Sir Patrick, who was the Duke's county neighbour, obtained an invitation to dinner at the castle for the two officers. They were hospitably welcomed by the Duke, and, as if to amuse the castle party, they brought some of their men to exercise in the park. At dinner Inverawe asked his host for a private interview, and then informed him he had come to arrest him. The Duke made no resistance, but expressed a wish for a moment's talk with Sir Patrick, and while moving back to the dining-room he quietly slipped out at a side door and made his escape. The next time the Duke met Ochtertyre was as his captor on the field of Prestonpans: "Sir Patie," he said good-humouredly, "I am to dine with you to-day."

From Perthshire the Duke of Perth fled to Moray and Banffshire, and there, despairing of Prince Charles' arrival, he was looking for a ship to take him to France, when the news reached him that the Prince had at last landed in the West Highlands. The Duke returned in time to meet him on the march and to accompany him into the town of Perth.

The news of the landing reached Murray of Broughton in Peeblesshire, where he had gone to avoid arrest and to await events. At once he posted to Perthshire and found his way to Arnprior's house at Leny. Here he enlisted the useful services of a Perthshire man who was in communication with the Government, but who was even then prepared to play a double part. This was James Mor MacGregor or Drummond, third son of Rob Roy, since immortalised in Stevenson's romance "Catriona." MacGregor was sent to Edinburgh to tell a garbled story, partly true and partly false, to the Commander-in-Chief and the Lord Advocate, a scheme which he carried out so well that he deceived the

officers joined the Jacobite army (*Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. ii. p. 221). Inchbrakie subsequently married Gask's daughter, and as an officer in the brigade was of use to the Oliphants in their exile. One of his sons was the original major of the battalion of Highlanders which eventually became the 73rd Regiment.

[1] *i.e.* the Black Watch.

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authorities and delayed their preparations. John Murray then went to join the Prince at Kinloch-Moidart.

Prince Charles landed in Arisaig on July the 25th, 1745, accompanied by seven adherents of whom the only man of position was William, Marquess of Tullibardine, the elder brother of the Duke of Atholl. It was with difficulty that the Prince persuaded some Western Highland chiefs to join him, but he finally overcame their objections. Young Lochiel, young Clanranald, and some minor chieftains agreed to rise, and the Standard was raised at Glenfinnan by the Marquess of Tullibardine on August the 19th, amidst the cheers of the Macdonalds and Camerons.

The news of the Prince's landing did not reach Edinburgh until the 8th of August, and Sir John Cope, the Commander-in-Chief, at once prepared to march to the Highlands to crush the insurrection.

He assembled all the infantry he could muster, numbering about 1700, at Stirling, and sent reinforcements to Inverness, Fort Augustus, and Fort William. A small garrison then quartered at Perth, consisting of two companies of the Royal Scots, was despatched to Fort William, but was ambushed on the shores of Loch Lochy and the whole detachment captured. This occurred on the 16th of August and was the first outbreak of hostilities.

Cope, leaving two regiments of dragoons in the Lowlands, marched with his army from Stirling on the 20th of August and spent two nights at Crieff, where he summoned the principal local leaders to meet him. He was met by the Duke of Atholl; by his brother Lord George Murray, who a few days before had been appointed a sheriff-depute; by Lord Monzie and Lord Glenorchy; and by Macdonell of Glengarry, who had privately arranged not to go "out," although he authorised his second son and his clan to join Prince Charles.

Up to this point Sir John Cope had acted as a prudent, zealous officer, but the moment he entered the Highlands the new experiences with which he met seemed to paralyse his judgment. He could not understand the Highlanders, and they had no confidence in this "little dressy finical man." He had brought with him a thousand stand of arms with which to arm the retainers of the loyal chiefs. Lord Glenorchy, acting for his father Breadalbane, who was then eighty-three years old, could not get his men together, he said, the time was so short; and when, a little later, he proposed to call them out, they threatened to join Prince Charles. Glengarry's men followed his son and went with the Prince. The Duke of Atholl sent a contingent of his Glenalmond men, who marched with Cope for a few days, but they could get neither attention nor pay, and came home again. Nay more, Cope could not even keep the two companies of Highlanders he had brought with him belonging to Lord John Murray's Regiment. Passing through their native districts,[1] to use the General's own words, they "mouldered" away. When Cluny, the son of the great Chief of the Macphersons, who had accepted a commission in Lord Loudoun's newly raised Highland

[1] They had been chiefly recruited in the districts of Atholl and Breadalbane.

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PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

(*From a Portrait, supposed by F. Boucher, at Beaufort Castle*)

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regiment, joined him a few days later at Dalnacardoch, intending to raise his clan for King George, Cope, unable to distinguish between a Highland chief and a junior captain, treated him so insultingly that Cluny was eventually lost to the Government.

Leaving Strathearn, Cope marched by Taybridge, Tummel Bridge, Trinafour, and Dalnacardoch to Dalwhinnie, which he reached on the 26th, intending to cross the Corryarrack Pass and crush the rising in Lochaber.

Meanwhile Prince Charles, marching by Loch Eil and Loch Lochy, had reached Invergarry Castle, and sending forward an advanced-guard had seized the Pass of Corryarrack, which leads from Lochaber into Badenoch. Cope, hearing of this, and fearing to attack the Highlanders in so strong a position, determined to evade them, and so marched by Ruthven to Inverness. The Jacobite army, advancing by Garvamor, reached Dalwhinnie on the 29th; the next day Prince Charles entered Perthshire and spent the night at Dalnacardoch; the following day he arrived at Blair Atholl.

As the Prince's army approached, the Duke of Atholl, feeling unsafe in Perthshire, went to London, while his elder brother William, who for many years had been deprived by Act of Parliament of his hereditary possessions, now returned to claim them. His reception might well be hailed as a happy omen by the disinherited Prince Charles, for no sooner had the Marquess set foot in Atholl than he was met by "men, women, and children who came running from their houses kissing and caressing their master whom they had not seen for thirty years"; and he was given a welcome evincing "the strongest affection, which could not fail to move every generous mind with a mixture of grief and joy." The people of Atholl accepted him as their Duke, and his arrival gave a great impetus to the Cause.

From Dalnacardoch Duke William had written to his cousin, the Hon. Mrs. Robertson of Lude (always known as "Lady Lude"[1]), a widowed daughter of the aged Lady Nairne, requesting her to repair to Blair to put the castle in order, and to be ready to welcome Prince Charles with suitable honour. The party reached Blair Castle on August the 31st, and there Lady Lude received her Prince at the door, dropped on her knees, and kissed his hand.

Among the first to welcome Prince Charles at Blair were Lord Nairne (the son of the old lady), and his brother Robert, who on his marriage with the heiress of Aldie had assumed the name of Mercer; along with them came their nephew, Laurence Oliphant, the younger, of Gask. The Prince was also joined here by an experienced officer, John Roy Stewart, who afterwards rose to high rank in his army and lived to give much trouble to Duke William and his brother, Lord George. Stewart was a member of the family of Kincardine, or Kinchardie, in Strathspey, and had at one time been quartermaster in the Scots Greys. He subsequently became a Jacobite agent, joined the French army, and at the

[1] The wives of Scottish lairds at that time were generally called after their husband's estate, with the title of "Lady."

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time of meeting Prince Charles held a captain's commission in Lord John Drummond's French regiment of the Scots Royal.

Prince Charles stayed two days at Blair, where he was royally entertained. It is interesting to know that in this Highland castle not only did he taste his first grouse, but he also saw pine-apples for the first time. He soon became very national in his tastes, demanding Scots dishes and learning enough Gaelic to propose Highland toasts to his officers.

On September the 2nd young Oliphant was dismissed with a fateful letter from the Prince to Lord George Murray, and Charles Edward spent that night at the house of Lude, where he gaily danced Highland reels and strathspeys.

Next day he went to Dunkeld and lodged in the Duke of Atholl's house.

The day following, after stopping to dine at the house of Nairne, he rode on to Perth and was met on the way by the Duke of Perth, who with Mercer of Aldie and Oliphant of Gask formed his escort. The party entered Perth on the evening of Wednesday, September the 4th, by the North Port and Skinnergate, and the Prince was conducted to the house of Lord Stormont. The Viscount, who had been a Jacobite in 1715, was absent from home, and it may be that the fact of his brother (afterwards Lord Mansfield) being then solicitor-general for England kept him from openly joining the Cause; two of his sisters, however, were present, and royally entertained the Prince.

Perth received him with apparently rapturous welcome, and the enthusiasm of the Jacobite ladies, which practically meant all Perthshire ladies, was almost hysterical. Lady Lude behaved "like a light giglet," and—says another observer—"she was so elevate while she was about the Young Pretender that she looked like a person whose head had gone wrong."[1] Another Perthshire lady, Miss Threipland of Fingask, writing a little later than this, says:—"Oh, had you but beheld my beloved Hero, you must confess he is a Gift from Heaven, . . . in short . . . he is the Top of Perfection and Heaven's Darling. . . . Would to God I had been a man, that I might have shared his fate of weal or woe, never to be removed from him."[2]

Miss Margaret Oliphant of Gask, who afterwards married Græme of Inchbrakie, was equally enthusiastic:—"I am a woman, not designed for war; yet could this hand (weak as it is thought) nerved by my heart's companion resolution, display the Royal banner in the field, and shame the strength of manhood in this cause.

> "Let Charles encounter with a host of Kings
> And he shall stand the shock without a terror."[3]

The day after the Prince's arrival all Jacobite Perth was astonished and delighted to learn that Lord George Murray had joined the army. What the letter carried by young Oliphant from Blair two days before contained we do not know, but it was quickly followed by Lord George's espousal of the

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 13. *Albemarle Papers*, vol. i. p. 258.
[2] *The Threiplands of Fingask*, p. 43. [3] *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, pp. 123-4.

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Jacobite Cause. From the first he was received by the Prince with suspicion which was never removed throughout the adventure.

Six busy days followed the arrival at Perth, where the Jacobite gentlemen poured in to pay their respects to the Prince and to make arrangements to call out their retainers. Among them were the four sons-in-law of Lady Nairne—Lord Strathallan, Laurence Oliphant, the elder, of Gask, the Hon. William Murray of Taymount (brother of Lord Dunmore), and Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, afterwards of Struan. Lord Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie, arrived from the neighbouring county of Forfar, and the aged poet Alexander Robertson of Struan, who had fought in the Killiecrankie campaign and in the 'Fifteen, came to pay homage to the Prince. Lord George Murray and the Duke of Perth were named lieutenants-general; two of the Irish adventurers who had accompanied the Prince from France received staff appointments—O'Sullivan as quartermaster-general, and Sir John Macdonald as instructor of cavalry—while young Oliphant of Gask was made aide-de-camp.

But by far the most active and able organiser was Lord George Murray, who was the life and soul of the army. From the first he showed his inherent military genius, for he invented a simple form of drill that was quickly picked up by his raw recruits. He soon obtained a great ascendency over the Highlanders, whose national pride he often gratified by marching in the kilt.

From Perth an expedition was sent under the Chiefs of Keppoch and Clanranald to Dundee, which they captured for King James, and where they collected some public money and seized two ships laden with arms and ammunition.

Duke William and Lord Nairne were in Atholl raising the Duke's vassals, and were soon joined by many of the Stewarts and Robertsons when it was known that Lord George Murray had joined the Cause. The Duke of Perth was forming a regiment[1] which included two companies of MacGregors, under Malcolm MacGregor (or Drummond[2]) and Ronald MacGregor, second son of

[1] I am indebted to Mr. J. R. N. Macphail for a copy of the oath of allegiance taken by officers and men of the Duke of Perth's Regiment. It ran as follows:—"I solemnly promise and swear in the presence of Almighty God That I shall faithfully and diligently serve James the Eighth King of Scotland England France and Ireland against all his Enemies foreign or domestick And shall not desert or leave his service without leave asked and given of my officer And hereby pass from all former alledgeance given by me to George Elector of Hanover. So help me God." The copy contains the names of several officers, among others of Captain James Ged, an Edinburgh printer, who was the first prisoner sentenced to death for the Rebellion. He escaped execution owing to the intercession made for him for the sake of his father, the inventor of the art of stereotyping.

[2] Eldest son of Donald Drummond or MacGregor, of Craigruidhe in Balquhidder. He commanded the MacGregors resident on the Perth estates. The MacGregor companies in the Perth Regiment finally joined MacGregor of Glencarnaig, and during the Prince's stay in Edinburgh a regiment was formed, with MacGregor of Glengyle as colonel and Glencarnaig as lieutenant-colonel. The Major was Glencarnaig's brother Evan, who had been appointed aide-de-camp to the Prince for having captured seven hundred stand of arms on the entry of the Highland army into Edinburgh. Owing to Glengyle being left in command of the garrison at Doune Castle (see text below, p. 326), Glencarnaig commanded the regiment on the march to England.—Duncan MacPharig's MS. (*Hist. Clan Gregor*), vol. i. p. 365 *et seq.*

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Rob Roy; an independent corps of the same clan was led by Robert MacGregor (or Murray) of Glencarnaig, with his younger brothers, Duncan and Evan; and Robertson of Struan called out 200 men under the leadership of his kinsman Robertson of Woodshiel. But though the people seemed glad enough to welcome the Prince, there was great reluctance to rise for him, and much tyranny was practised to obtain recruits. Gask was so infuriated at the reluctance of his tenants to enlist that he forbade them to harvest their crops or to feed their cattle, and it required the interference of Prince Charles to remove the embargo.

The Prince applied very closely to business. When he arrived at Perth he had but one guinea left, but his exchequer was soon filled by levying the cess or land tax from the ratepayers, while the city of Perth had to subscribe £500 to his finances. He took the greatest interest in military details and had little time for amusement. He gave a ball to the ladies of Perth, but he only took "a single trip" and then withdrew to visit the guards. On Sunday, the 8th of September, he attended the Middle Parish Church, where the service was conducted, not by the parish minister, but by a non-jurant Episcopal clergyman named Armstrong, who chose as his text Isaiah xiv. 1, 2, "The Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land . . . and the people shall take them, and bring them to their place . . . and they shall rule over their oppressors." On the 10th he visited Glenalmond to inspect the Duke of Perth's Regiment, the MacGregors, and others.

While these preparations were going on in Perth, a painful tragedy had occurred in another part of the county. Stewart of Glenbuckie, the chieftain of a small clan in Balquhidder, was bringing up his men to join the Duke of Perth's Regiment and was met on his way by Buchanan of Arnprior, who took him to his house of Leny near Callander. A dispute arose about the majority of the regiment, and what actually happened has never been explained, but Glenbuckie was found in the morning shot dead in his bed with a pistol in his hand. His followers took up the body, went to their homes, and were lost to the Prince; Arnprior, being under certain suspicion, felt constrained to remain at home, though he afterwards suffered death for the Cause.

At Perth various plans of campaign were discussed, but on news being received that Cope was collecting shipping at Aberdeen to transfer his army to the Firth of Forth, it was resolved to march to Edinburgh, and on the 11th of September the little army, about 2000 strong, left Perth, headed by Lord George Murray. The Prince had a busy day. He rose early in the morning to visit Scone, where his father had stayed thirty years before. He breakfasted at the house of Gask, where to this day a lock of his hair is preserved, popularly supposed to have been cut from the Prince's head by the lady of the "Auld House," but which was in reality obtained from his valet. He dined with Lord George Murray at Tullibardine, and spent the night at Dunblane in the house of MacGregor of Balhaldies, the Jacobite agent in Paris. Here the Duke of Perth joined him with 150 men.

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From Dunblane he went to Doune, where he was entertained at Newton House by the Edmonstone family. On September the 13th the army left Perthshire, crossing the Forth at the Ford of Frew, where the Prince was "the first who put his foot in the water and waded through the Forth at the head of his detachment." [1]

When the army went south Duke William remained behind as commander-in-chief benorth the Forth, working as few men have ever worked, to organise a brigade. Hitherto the Prince had received no men from Perthshire except the Duke of Perth's corps, the MacGregors, and Struan's clan, but soon a regiment of 450 men assembled under Lord Nairne, which left Perthshire in the second week of September and reached Edinburgh on the 18th—just in time to take part in the battle of Prestonpans. A troop of horse but 36 strong, commanded by Lord Strathallan, was also present at the battle. This troop, afterward known as the Perthshire Horse, increased later to a squadron, but at no time does it seem to have numbered more than 80 men. Lord Strathallan was colonel, Oliphant of Gask lieutenant-colonel, Haldane of Lanrick major; while young Gask and young Lanrick commanded the two troops.[2]

Among other Perthshire gentlemen who joined the army about this time were the two sons of Sir David Threipland of Fingask—David, who had been in the 'Fifteen, and Stuart, who was an M.D. of Edinburgh. The old Jacobite was too feeble to go out himself, being now in his eightieth year; yet if family tradition is to be trusted, on the Prince's return from England in the spring he determined to join, but dropped down dead while pulling on his boots for the journey. James Stirling of Keir, an old gentleman who had served in the 'Fifteen, took his sons Hugh and William to Prince Charles at Edinburgh, where they joined the Prince's Life-Guards. James Rattray of Corb, son of the Laird of Rannagulzion, obtained the majority of an Atholl regiment, and John Rattray, an eminent surgeon of Edinburgh, brother of James Rattray of Craighall, joined the army as surgeon to Prince Charles.

King George's officers who were made prisoner at Prestonpans were sent on parole to Perth,[3] and Lord George took the utmost pains to arrange for their comfort. He wrote from Edinburgh to his wife asking her to entertain them at Tullibardine, and it is interesting to find that he actually instructed Lady George what to prepare for dinner. Young Farquharson of Invercauld, who afterwards married Lord George's eldest daughter, was one of the prisoners.

When the Prince determined to invade England, most vigorous measures were taken in Perthshire to raise men. An Atholl brigade of three battalions was organised, of which the titular colonels were Lord Nairne, Lord George Murray, and Mercer of Aldie. Menzies of Shian led the Menzieses from Weem.

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 16th September 1745.

[2] When the army marched to England the command of this squadron was given to Lord Kilmarnock.

[3] The non-commissioned officers and men were confined chiefly at Logierait, but some were retained at Blair Atholl and Dunkeld.

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A contingent from Breadalbane was headed by a fourteen-year-old son of Campbell of Glenlyon, the Laird being too old to go. Steuart of Grandtully's men joined a regiment raised in Edinburgh commanded by John Roy Stewart, and the Duke of Perth's Regiment was reinforced from various quarters.

Perth was the general rendezvous for the gathering Jacobite levies which were pouring down from the north and from the west. Lord Strathallan was sent back from Edinburgh to take command, with Oliphant of Gask as his lieutenant, while Robertson of Drumachine, who had an ailment which prevented him from taking the field, became governor of Blair Castle. Strathallan acted as military governor of Perth; while Gask, as civil administrator, collected the revenues, the subscriptions to the Cause in money and in kind, and disbursed pay to the assembling troops. From Gask's accounts, still preserved, much side light is thrown. We find that though Lord Stormont did not go out, both he and Lady Stormont subscribed liberally to the Jacobite funds, and we see that even Lord Advocate Craigie of Glendoick sent contributions of meal—though whether voluntarily or not is not stated.

A welcome addition to the equipment arrived in the middle of October. Four ships landed at Montrose and Stonehaven between the 9th and 19th, bringing artillery and stores, and with these came Alexandre de Boyer, Marquis d'Eguilles (an accredited agent of the French Government), along with two experienced officers—Colonel James Grante, a French engineer of Scots origin, and Captain Brown, an Irish officer of Lally's Regiment. D'Eguilles went straight to Edinburgh, while the artillery and stores, escorted by the Athollmen and Cluny Macpherson's clan (who about this time arrived from Badenoch), were ferried across the Forth at Alloa, where batteries were erected on both shores to prevent attack from English cruisers. These troops, under the command of William, Duke of Atholl, were the last reinforcements received by the Prince before his astonishing march into England. They reached Edinburgh on October the 30th, and the army started for the south on November the 1st.

Perth, though now a Jacobite stronghold, was left without a garrison, and the citizens were not all Jacobites. On October the 30th, King George's birthday, Gask had a very unpleasant experience. Lord Strathallan having gone out of town, some of the town's people set the bells ringing and erected bonfires in the streets. At first Gask did not dare to interfere; but it happened that fifteen men from Aberdeenshire and two French officers arrived during the day, so he felt strong enough to forbid the demonstration. The rioters refused to obey and attacked the little garrison, who took refuge in the council-house and fired on the mob. A few were killed, and several wounded, on both sides. One of Gask's French officers, Captain Callaghan, an Irishman by birth, was killed, but the garrison held its own. Old Lady Nairne, confined to her bedroom at Nairne House, heard of the trouble, and summoning her retainers to her chamber she personally ordered them off to the assistance of her sons-in-law, and forty men reinforced Gask the following day. That day, too, a body of

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Mackintoshes and Farquharsons came into the town, and all trouble of this kind ceased.

There seems to have been little animosity in the county between parties. Old Robertson of Struan, who had accompanied the army to Prestonpans, returned to Perthshire in Sir John Cope's carriage and clad in Cope's fur cloak. Visiting his friend the Whig minister of Dunblane, he was mildly chaffed on his improved circumstances. "All the effect of your good prayers," retorted Struan.

Dunkeld was very Jacobite, but even there a schoolboy, son of the commissary of James, Duke of Atholl, collected some comrades on the Duke's birthday, lighted a bonfire, drank his health in ale, and marched through the town shouting, "Long live King George II. and James, Duke of Atholl." The only penalty was the removal of the little ringleader for a short time from Dunkeld.

At Dunkeld, Jacobite feeling was so strong that even the parish minister, Mr. Thomas Man, prayed publicly for King James and the exiled Royal family. He was the only Presbyterian parish minister in Scotland who did so, and for this indiscretion he suffered ecclesiastical suspension when the Rising was over. The Whig minister of the parish of Monzievaird, on the other hand, courageously preached on the text, "Thy princes are rebellious, the companions of thieves," although he was close to Drummond Castle, and there were five hundred Highlanders in the neighbourhood.

The curse of the Jacobite army was desertion, and particularly was this the case in Atholl, where, owing to the counter-influence exerted by the Whig Duke, most of the men had to be pressed. The principal business of Robertson of Drumachine was to punish deserters, and heavy fines were inflicted on defaulters. The excitable Lady Lude, who had a company of her own in Lord George's Regiment, threatened to hang up deserters before her front door. The fact that Lord Nairne's Regiment, which marched south 450 strong, was soon reduced to 150, gives an idea of the leakage. Other Perthshire regiments suffered proportionally, and this constant desertion continued throughout the whole campaign.

While Prince Charles was away in England a new army gradually assembled, with Perth as headquarters. The Mackintoshes and Farquharsons were the first to arrive, then a regiment of Mackenzies under Lord Cromartie and his son Lord Macleod. Reinforcements of Macdonalds came for Glengarry, Clanranald, and Glencoe, as well as a large body of Camerons under the elder Lochiel and a detachment under Macdonnell of Barrisdale. Later they were joined by a regiment of Frasers under the Master of Lovat, a second battalion for Lord Ogilvy under command of Sir James Kinloch of Kinloch, and two battalions from Aberdeenshire under Lord Lewis Gordon.

Early in December the army received from abroad a welcome addition of about 800 men. Lord John Drummond had left France with two battalions—his own regiment, the Scots Royal, and a battalion made up of men picked from six Irish regiments in the French service. He had arrived at Montrose on November the 22nd, after an eventful voyage in which two of his transports had

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been captured by English cruisers. On reaching Perth he tacitly assumed the chief command of the troops assembled in the neighbourhood, which eventually amounted to something like 4000 men.

Carlisle had fallen to the Jacobites in the middle of November, and before going further Charles had despatched a messenger to Perth ordering Lord Strathallan to join him at once in England with all his men. But Drummond had by this time arrived, and he declined to acknowledge the Prince's order, saying that his master the French King had instructed him that the Scottish fortresses were to be reduced before he undertook any other expedition, and that if the Scots troops went, he must remain behind. Lord John's refusal decided Lord Strathallan to disregard the Prince's orders and to remain in Scotland.[1] The news of the arrival of the French auxiliaries reached Prince Charles at Derby, and the fact that the army had these troops to fall back upon in Scotland, was one of the principal causes which induced the Jacobite leaders to insist on the retreat which began on the 6th of December.

A small garrison under MacGregor (or Græme) of Glengyle had been left in Doune Castle, which commanded the fords of the Forth and the Teith. In December, owing to fears of an attack from Stirling, the garrison was reinforced by some Macdonalds of Glencoe and a body of Stewarts of Appin, while the passages of the Forth were further strengthened by sending the Camerons under the elder Lochiel, and the Mackenzies under Lord Macleod, to occupy Dunblane and the Bridge of Allan.

It is pleasant to know that during the anxious month of December the Jacobites at Perth found time to enjoy themselves at a dinner and ball given on the 20th, the Prince's birthday, the very day on which he left Carlisle and crossed to Scotland in his retreat. The expenses of the rejoicings were met from public funds, for no Jacobite had any money left, and it is pathetic to read a letter from Lady Strathallan to her sister Lady Gask, who had already lent two or three guineas for her eldest son, the Master of Strathallan, imploring a similar sum for her son Willy, who was going to join the Prince. That Lady Gask was able to send the money is not stated.

Prince Charles with his original army, still about 5000 strong, reached Glasgow the day after Christmas, and after resting there for a week marched to Bannockburn, where Lord John Drummond and the reinforcements joined him. Here they made a futile attempt to take Stirling Castle, held for King George by General Blakeney. On the 17th of January, leaving the Duke of Perth with 1200 men to prosecute the siege, the Prince marched to Falkirk and there defeated General Hawley, who had advanced from Edinburgh to relieve Stirling. The Prince then returned to Bannockburn and continued the siege of Stirling Castle. Ten days later he learned that the Duke of Cumberland had been appointed to the command of the Government army and was on his way to Edinburgh to join it. Lord George Murray and the Highland chiefs thereupon

[1] This is given on the authority of Lord Macleod.

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pointed out the necessity of a retreat to the Highlands, as the army was not fit to meet the Duke. To this the Prince sorely against his will agreed, informing the chiefs that he washed his hands "of the fatal consequences, which I foresee but cannot help."

The retreat, which degenerated into a stampede, began on February the 1st, and that night the Prince (who crossed the Forth at the Fords of Frew) lodged at Drummond Castle, while the army lay in the neighbourhood of Dunblane. Next day he went to Crieff, whither part of the army accompanied him, the other part proceeding to Perth.

At Crieff it was decided that the troops should retire on Inverness in three divisions: that the clans, the artillery, and the prisoners should take the great Highland road, the wheeled carriages going by Dunkeld and Blair Atholl, the infantry by Tummel Bridge and Trinafour; that they should meet at Dalnacardoch and thence proceed through Atholl, Badenoch, and Moy to Inverness. Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond were to take the cavalry and Lowland regiments by Perth and the coast through Montrose and Aberdeen; while a third division, consisting of Lord Ogilvy's men and the Farquharsons, took a middle course through their own country by Clova and Glenmuick. The town of Perth was evacuated by the Jacobites on February the 4th.

The Prince, who went with the Highland column, spent the 2nd and 3rd at Fairnton, the house of Lord John Drummond the elder. On the 4th and 5th he stayed at Castle Menzies, where Lady Mary Menzies gave a great party in his honour and where he enjoyed a day's shooting. Thence the column went north by Tummel Bridge, from which the Prince crossed the hill to Blair Castle, where he spent four days amidst a large assemblage of his officers, Duke William and the French envoy being among the number. At Blair he had another day's sport, but what doubtless pleased him more was to find a body of two hundred newly-raised Athollmen.

On the 10th he went to Dalnacardoch, and the following day he left Perthshire by the Pass of Drummochter, never to return.

While Duke William was spending these few last days at Blair he made the most frantic efforts to obtain recruits. The Fiery Cross was sent round, but few responded; the Athollmen were sick of the business. "Damn them," said Lady Lude's ground-officer to his mistress, "they will rather stay and go for King George than go any more with Duke William," and it was only by the strong measure of burning houses that Blair of Glasclune, a lieutenant-colonel in the Atholl Brigade, could force out the two hundred recruits who gladdened the Prince at Blair. In a few days the Jacobite army, which had lately held all the county, possessed but one remaining post in Perthshire—at Dalnaspidal, where Cluny Macpherson had a party guarding the passes which led into Badenoch.

The Government troops were not long in occupying the county. Cumberland, who had reached Edinburgh on the 30th of January, was at Stirling on

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February the 2nd. He crossed into Perthshire on the 4th and halted at Dunblane; he was at Crieff on the 5th, and on the 6th he occupied Perth, where his army remained for a fortnight before going further north. A party of 500 men, under Sir Andrew Agnew of the 21st Fusiliers, was told off to occupy Blair Castle, and was there by the 13th. Another party was sent to garrison Castle Menzies, and turned Sir Robert Menzies and his family out of his own house—to the intense indignation of the Chief, who said he had been neutral during the Jacobite occupation.

About this time there was much looting of the houses of Jacobite adherents. Fingask, Lude, and Gask, among others, were pillaged, and the nonjuring Episcopal meeting-houses were wrecked. A kind of auction mart was set up in Perth for the sale of loot, but the Duke of Cumberland interfered and made examples. The officer who commanded the party that looted Gask, a certain Lieutenant Fawlie of Fleming's Regiment (the 36th), was court-martialed and cashiered.

The Duchess of Perth was seized at Drummond Castle on February the 11th and was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, as was also Lady Strathallan. The other ladies of the Nairne family were arrested too, but seem to have been soon set at liberty. Lady Lude was carried prisoner to Blair Castle, but was released with an apology and was entertained to dinner.

Soon a new force appeared on the scene. A division of about 5000 Hessians (of whom 500 were hussars), commanded by Prince Frederick of Hesse, brother-in-law of King George, had been taken into English pay and were brought to Leith on February the 8th. They were moved on to Perth and Stirling to garrison these places while the Regular troops were sent north to fight Prince Charles. By the beginning of March the Hessian Prince was established in command at Perth with four battalions and some hussars, while St. George's Dragoons (8th Hussars) were at Bridge of Earn; the Earl of Crawford was in command of the cavalry under the Prince of Hesse. A garrison remained in Castle Menzies, and the eccentric and irascible Sir Andrew Agnew held Blair Castle with a force reduced to 300 men. The smaller manor-houses and farms were held as outposts by parties of the Argyll Militia; James, Duke of Atholl, was living quietly at Dunkeld striving to settle the district in King George's interest; the nearest Jacobite troops were in the confines of Badenoch; and everything seemed peaceful. Suddenly like a bolt from the blue all was changed. Lord George Murray had left Perth at the beginning of February, and marching by Montrose and Aberdeen had met Prince Charles at Inverness on the 19th. Fort George and Fort Augustus had fallen before the Jacobite army, and an expedition had been sent to attack Fort William. Lord George, learning that Atholl was overrun, and burning with indignation at the pillaging of the houses of his friends, determined on vengeance. He also feared lest, with Atholl as a base, the enemy might attack the Jacobite army in the rear, and he had the further desire to raise some more men from his own country.

With the greatest secrecy, deceiving even his brother Duke William, he

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marched with extraordinary rapidity from Inverness on March the 15th with his Atholl regiment. Joined on the way by Cluny Macpherson, he appeared in Atholl on the morning of the 17th and simultaneously surprised about thirty posts held by the Argyll Militia. Of these the principal were Bun Rannoch, Blairfettie, Struan, Blair Inn, Bridge of Tilt, Lude, and Kynachan. The last-mentioned important post was commanded by Campbell of Glenure—"the Red Fox"—who was accidentally absent, and who survived to be murdered in Appin five years later. Lord George's plans had been so skilfully laid that he did not lose a man, and even on the other side there was very little bloodshed, but every one of the defenders—about 300 in all—was made prisoner, though the Jacobite force was but 700. Lord George at once occupied the strath as far down as Dunkeld, and his outposts even reached to Nairne House, half-way between Dunkeld and Perth. He promptly sent the "Fiery Cross" round Atholl, the last time in history that this peremptory summons was ever used. He also called on Sir Andrew Agnew to surrender Blair Castle, and on his refusal set to work to besiege it. This was the last act of warfare which took place in Perthshire.

The siege was not without its humorous incidents. The extraordinary temper of the commandant was so notorious that none of Lord George's officers would deliver the summons to Sir Andrew. Molly, the comely handmaid at Blair Inn, was induced after much persuasion to hand the document to the young officers of the garrison, with whom she was on very good terms, but even after she had done so, not one of them dared face Sir Andrew except a lieutenant "with a constitution impaired by drinking." "The peerless knight" was as furious as was expected; he kicked the maudlin subaltern downstairs, shouted terrible imprecations on the head of Lord George Murray, and threatened to shoot any one through the head who should dare to deliver another such message.

The first shot of the siege was fired by Lady Lude. The Jacobite artillery consisted of two four-pounders served by French gunners, but so inefficient were they that although the guns were trained within half-musket shot they frequently missed the castle altogether. They could make no impression on the castle walls, so the Highlanders—somewhat to Lord George's concern—attempted to set fire to the roof by using red-hot shot. Sir Andrew foiled them by picking up the balls where they fell, with an iron ladle, found in the kitchen, and by dropping them into pails of water.

Meantime two more battalions of Hessians were sent from Stirling, the Perth garrison and the dragoons from Bridge of Earn moved to Dunkeld, and the Jacobites fell back. But King George's troops never got nearer Blair than a couple of miles below Pitlochry. The terrors of Killiecrankie were too great for them, although they outnumbered the Jacobites many times over. The garrison of Blair were nearly starving, but stout Sir Andrew held on and laughed at Lord George. "Is the loon clean daft," he asked, "knocking down his ain brother's house?" and indeed Duke William, writing from Inverness, somewhat acidly

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reproached Lord George for his efforts, though he ended by declaring his readiness to sacrifice his ancestral home, in the interests of the Cause.

The garrison would probably have been starved out, but that on April the 2nd Lord George was recalled to join the Prince at Inverness. He therefore abandoned the siege, carrying back some 500 recruits from Atholl.

The battle of Culloden followed on the 16th of April, and then the ghastly *débâcle*. Prince Charles fled to Arisaig, and Lord George Murray took the remnant of the army to Ruthven in Badenoch, where, receiving a message from the Prince that each man must seek his own safety, the force simply dissolved. The last body to retain military formation was the MacGregor Regiment, which was in Sutherlandshire while Culloden was fought. The men marched with colours flying by Stratherrick to Ruthven; thence by Garvamor, Rannoch, and Glenlyon past Finlarig Castle, which was garrisoned by Argyll Militia, but the garrison "durst not move more than pussies." Then on to the Kirk of Balquhidder, where they dispersed. The village had been burned; "every man to his own house and did not know where it was," is the pathetic description of the chronicler.

Soon the Perthshire jails were full of prisoners and the Perthshire glens full of refugees; houses and hamlets were burned, yet there were few atrocities committed in the county such as disgraced the Government troops in Invernessshire. Perth and Atholl were garrisoned by the Hessians for a month after Culloden, and they were a gentle race.[1]

In the middle of May the Government army at Inverness dispersed. Brigadier Mordaunt was sent with three regiments to Perth; the Hessians were sent to Leith, and thence back to the Continent. The Duke of Cumberland went with eleven battalions and a regiment of cavalry to Fort Augustus, where he remained until the 18th of July, and on his way south he visited Sir Andrew Agnew at Blair. From Atholl he went to Perth, where the Town Council presented him with a loyal address, and, what was more tangible, made him a gift of the Gowrie House. This H.R.H. accepted, and then quitted Scotland for ever.

Lord Albemarle, who was left in chief command, broke up his camp at Fort Augustus on the 13th of August and brought his army south partly by Crieff and partly by Blair Atholl. By that time he had given up hope of capturing Prince Charles, though that unhappy fugitive did not make his escape from Scotland until September the 20th. The garrisons at Blair and Castle Menzies marched off with the army, but Regular troops were stationed for a time at Dunkeld, Perth, and other towns, while the posts in Rannoch and Dalnacardoch were thereafter held by detachments of Lord Loudoun's Highlanders.

The upland glens were for long the haunts of fugitives. John Murray of Broughton was in Glenlyon in June. Too ill to walk, he was kindly tended by

[1] It is interesting to know, as showing the state of education at the time, that when Lord George Murray, during the siege of Blair, had captured a Hessian trooper, he was obliged to converse with him in Latin—that being the only language they knew in common; and during the occupation of Perthshire the same classical tongue was the means of communication between the Hessian officers and the Atholl innkeepers.

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Captain Macnab of Inishewan and by John Macnaughton, who was afterwards captured. A little later than this a picturesque incident, which is worth recording, occurred in the same glen. Young Campbell of Glenlyon, an officer in Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment, was garrisoning the family mansion, along with some Englishmen on the look-out for fugitives. His younger brother, Archibald, who had led the Breadalbane contingent in the Rising, was hiding in the neighbourhood. One evening, being rather too venturesome, young Archibald was seen by his brother and the officers who were with him. The elder brother with great presence of mind shouted something to the younger in Gaelic, a language not understood by his companions, and then turned out his party. The glen was searched, but naturally the fugitive could not be found.

Many concealed themselves in the braes of Leny, but there ex-Lieutenant Fawlie, who had been broken for looting at Gask and had enlisted as a private, was very active, trying by his zeal to rewin his commission. In July he made a large capture of Jacobite officers, including Major David Stewart, brother of the Laird of Ardvorlich, who was taken to Stirling Castle, and who subsequently died of wounds received when taken.[1]

A dramatic occurrence happened at Perth in September. A certain Captain Crosbie of the French contingent had been made prisoner. He was discovered to be a deserter from Skelton's Regiment (the 12th), and it was determined to hang him. The Perth hangman, thinking it simple murder, refused to perform his office and ran away. The Stirling hangman was then sent for, but whether through fright or from natural causes he dropped down dead. At last a fellow prisoner was induced by a pardon and a reward to do the deed, and performed it amid universal execration.

During the campaign Perthshire lost few officers or men in battle until Culloden. Indeed the only officer who was killed in the earlier actions was David Threipland, who after Prestonpans, while endeavouring to intercept some flying troopers at Wallyford near Musselburgh, suffered the fate attributed to the Laird of Balmawhapple in Scott's romance of "Waverley."[2] But at Culloden the Perthshire regiments suffered terribly. There were naturally no statistics published of the losses among the rank and file, but it is generally estimated that one-half of the men of these regiments fell in the battle or in the slaughter thereafter. John Home in his "History of the Rebellion" says that the Atholl Brigade lost thirty-two officers, but this is contradicted by Stewart of Garth, who says that they had not so many officers in the field, and gives the numbers as nineteen killed and four wounded. The Duke of Atholl, however, gives a nominal list showing twenty-four officers killed and ten wounded from the Atholl property alone. The principal Perthshire officers killed were Lord Strathallan,

[1] MS. Notes on the Stewarts of Ardvorlich, compiled by the late J. R. Stewart. The Duke of Atholl, in a MS. Roll of those engaged in the 'Forty-five, states that David had a son, Major James Stewart, who also went "out," and was captured, but nothing is known of him by the family.

[2] Threipland had been captured in the 'Fifteen, and had escaped from Edinburgh Castle.

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Mercer of Aldie, Menzies of Shian, Stewart of Kynachan, and Alexander Macdonald of Dalchosnie, with his younger brother John.[1]

Several Perthshire men perished on the scaffold. At Carlisle, on October the 18th, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior and John Macnaughton were hanged, and at Penrith on the 28th, the Rev. Robert Lyon. John MacGregor of the Duke of Perth's Regiment, and James Thomson of Lord Ogilvy's, were executed at York on the 8th of November;[2] and on the 28th Sir John Wedderburn of Balindean, who had also served in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, was hanged at Kennington. Arnprior had not gone "out," but he was specially marked down by Government on account of his early plottings. On his way to the scaffold he declared on the word of a dying man that he had no hand in Glenbuckie's death.

John Macnaughton is an interesting personality, and he appears in the records of the Rising in a threefold capacity—as an old servant of Murray of Broughton, as a watchmaker in Edinburgh, and as a henchman of Menzies of Culdares.[3] It was he whom Murray had sent to France, and who had brought back the Prince's reply announcing his intention of landing. During the campaign he was quartermaster of the Perthshire Squadron, and after Culloden he had sheltered Murray's nephew, Sir David Murray of Stanhope, in his cottage in Glenlyon. Macnaughton was convicted on King's evidence of having killed Colonel Gardiner at Prestonpans. This was practically an impossibility, for Gardiner had been cut down by a Highlander armed with a scythe (supposed to be a Cameron), while Macnaughton was on horseback in another part of the field. Possibly the special charge was a pretext, and Macnaughton may have been condemned in the hope that he would give evidence, for he must have known much. His master, Culdares, had been out in the 'Fifteen, but having afterwards been pardoned, he considered it a point of honour to remain at home in the 'Forty-five. Still, to show his sympathy with the Cause, he sent Prince Charles the present of a handsome charger by the hands of John Macnaughton. Every effort was made to induce this man to betray his employers. Even on the way to the scaffold he was offered his life and an ample pension if he would give evidence; Macnaughton replied simply that Government had done him enough honour in ranking him with gentlemen, and he hoped they would leave him in quiet to suffer like a gentleman. I know of no nobler example of the innate gentle instincts of the Highland clansman.

Robert Lyon was a non-jurant Episcopal clergyman of Perth, who had gone with the army as chaplain to Lord Ogilvy's Forfarshire regiment. He was executed as a warning to his non-juring brethren.

Sir John Wedderburn, who was captured at Culloden, had incurred the special displeasure of the Government as collector of Excise in the counties of Forfar

[1] Dalchosnie's eldest son, Allan, also died of wounds received during the Rising.

[2] MS. Roll of those executed in the 'Forty-five, compiled by the Duke of Atholl. MacGregor was a labourer, and Thomson was the gardener at Fingask.

[3] This is not accepted by Mr. Lang (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 452), but a comparison of *The Lyon in Mourning*, vol. i. p. 246, Murray's *Memorials*, pp. 125, 204, 292, 294, and Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 53, will show that it is correct.

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and Perth, an office which he had most rigorously exercised. He wrote a touching letter to the Chevalier the day before his execution, recommending to his protection his nine children, whom he left in great poverty, and stating that he had given his wife a strict injunction that the children should be brought up in the principles of allegiance to the exiled Royal family.[1]

Another Perthshire laird, Laurence Mercer of Lethendy, who had served as a volunteer in the Perthshire Squadron and had eluded capture until June, was tried at Carlisle and condemned to death, but died in prison before the day fixed for his execution.

An Act to attaint the leaders of the Rising was passed in May 1746. In the list of the attainted are ten Perthshire names, all of which, with one exception, are those of near relations of old Lady Nairne and the Duchess of Perth. The one exception is William Fidler, whose only connection with the county was that he had been a volunteer in the Perthshire Squadron. He was a clerk in the Exchequer Office in Edinburgh, and the tradition in the family is that he obtained the honour of attainder for having transferred some public money from King George to King James. He escaped to France, and lived in great poverty at Dunkirk.[2]

Several of the Perthshire leaders were imprisoned but did not suffer death; they were acquitted or obtained their liberty on the passing of a general Act of Pardon in June 1747. Others too who escaped in 1746 returned later under the benefit of that Act.

James Stirling of Keir was imprisoned in Dumbarton Castle for a short time; one of his sons escaped abroad and one was confined in the Isle of Man. Sir Stuart Threipland, after wandering for some time in Lochaber and Badenoch, where he dressed Lochiel's wounds and visited Cluny's cage, escaped to Rouen. After the general pardon he returned to Edinburgh, practised as a doctor, and came to be president of the Royal College of Physicians.

Sir James Kinloch, along with two of his brothers and his brother-in-law, the younger Rattray of Rannagulzion, was taken at Rannagulzion House, and all were tried at Southwark. Sir James and his brothers were condemned to death but afterwards reprieved, and Rattray was acquitted. Lady Kinloch had been taken prisoner at Inverness on Culloden day, but was probably released early.

The case of John Rattray, the Prince's surgeon, brother of the Laird of Craighall, is interesting. He was captured at Inverness after Culloden, and was confined with a crowd of wounded prisoners in Inverness church. Now John Rattray was captain of the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, and

[1] Letter in the possession of his descendants.

[2] Fidler was in deep distress in 1757, when he wrote to young Gask imploring for assistance. The same year his daughter Marjorie was married to Charles Cowan, a prosperous merchant in Leith, afterwards a paper-maker at Penicuik; and it may be believed that the unfortunate exile no longer suffered actual want. This Mrs. Marjorie Cowan, of whom many stories showing her strong individuality still survive at Penicuik, was the grandmother of the late Sir John Cowan, of Beeslack, and of Mr. Charles Cowan and Mr. James Cowan, both of whom were members of Parliament for Edinburgh.

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Lord President Forbes of Culloden was secretary of that club. The President, remembering old fellowship, went to the Duke of Cumberland and begged the life of his golfing friend, which was grudgingly given. This life and that of George Lauder, another eminent Edinburgh surgeon, are said to have been the only recompense which Forbes of Culloden ever received for the unparalleled services he rendered to King George's Government in the 'Forty-five.

The last Perthshire Jacobite to suffer imprisonment was Robert Græme of Garvock, who had been a lieutenant in the Perthshire Squadron. In 1746 he escaped to Sweden, and wandered an exile on the Continent for some time, but in 1753 he was back in his own house, where he was made prisoner at the same time as Dr. Archibald Cameron—that last Jacobite martyr. Garvock was confined in the Perth Tolbooth, but was apparently released in 1754.

Several Perthshire leaders were specially excluded from the Act of Pardon. Among them were Robertson of Blairfettie, Robertson of Faskally, Robertson of Easter Bleaton, Spalding of Ashintully, and Steuart of Ballechin—all officers in the Atholl Brigade. Of the fate of these I have no knowledge.[1]

Other Perthshire names in the list are Alexander Robertson of Struan, who seems to have been left practically unmolested, and who died the following year when on the verge of eighty; the Haldanes of Lanrick, father and son, who escaped to France, but returned to Scotland in 1764 and died at home, the son the same year and the father in 1765; Blair of Glasclune, a lieutenant-colonel in the Atholl Brigade, who was arrested in Norway; and William MacGregor of Balhaldies, who was probably in France during the Rising. Young Balhaldies continued to reside at Paris, and it is from his house that David Balfour and Catriona MacGregor are represented as being married, in Robert Louis Stevenson's romance. He married a daughter of the elder Oliphant of Gask in 1758; she died within a year, leaving an infant son who became one of the original lieutenants in the battalion which was subsequently known as the 73rd Regiment. Robert MacGregor of Glencarnaig was also excluded from the Act. With his third brother, Evan, the Prince's aide-de-camp, he was in hiding until September 1746, when he gave himself up. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle for three years, and died in 1758, shortly after his only son, a lieutenant in Fraser's Highlanders, had been killed at the siege of Louisburg. Evan MacGregor managed to evade capture; lived to serve with Campbell's Highlanders (the 88th) in Germany during the Seven Years' War; and became the father of four sons [2] who rendered distinguished service in the army of the East India Company. Glencarnaig's second brother, Duncan, had been severely

[1] Another exemption from the Act was Gregor MacGregor of Glengyle (known as "Glun dubh" from a black mole on his knee), who died unmolested in his native glen in 1777. His estate had been saved owing to its having been vested in his son John, who took no part in the Rising.

[2] The eldest of these, Lieutenant-Colonel John MacGregor Murray, succeeded to the representation of the family on the death of his uncle Duncan in 1787; was recognised as chief of the clan; and was created a baronet in 1795. His second brother, Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray, raised and commanded the Clan Alpine Fencibles. See article on the Clan Alpine Fencibles, pp. 181–4, and biography of Sir Evan Murray MacGregor, p. 502 *et seq.*

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wounded at Prestonpans, but was eventually able to resume his profession as a lawyer in Edinburgh.

It remains to tell the fate of the members of the families of the two ladies with whom this story began.

The Duchess of Perth's elder son was wounded at Culloden, but managed to reach Arisaig, where he escaped on board the *Bellona*, one of the French ships which towards the end of April had landed 40,000 louis d'ors—the money afterwards known as Cluny's treasure. On the voyage to France fever broke out; sixty-seven of the passengers died, and among them was the chivalrous Duke of Perth, who was buried at sea. His brother Lord John Drummond left Arisaig in the *Bellona's* consort and reached France in safety, only to die of fever the following year at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. Both the brothers were attainted, but both were unmarried. The old Duchess, who had been sent prisoner to Edinburgh Castle in February 1746, was released on bail in November. This uncompromising Jacobite is said to have destroyed Drummond Castle lest it should be used as barracks for Government troops.[1] She survived the Rising for twenty-seven years, and died at Stobhall in 1773, aged about ninety.

The Perth estates, forfeited in 1746, were adjudged in 1785 to a distant relative, James Drummond, who was one of the original officers of the battalion of Highlanders which afterwards became the 73rd. He was subsequently created Lord Perth—not the old Scottish title which was attainted, but a new title created for him in the peerage of Great Britain.

Lady Nairne passed away in her seventy-eighth year, nineteen months after Culloden. Her eldest son, Lord Nairne, after some months of hiding, escaped to Sweden along with his son Harry, an officer in the French service, who had come over for the campaign. Another son of Lord Nairne, Thomas, an officer in Lord John Drummond's regiment, had been captured early in the war, on board one of the French transports, and was released in due course with the other French prisoners.[2] Lord Nairne was of course attainted: he remained an exile in France, and died at Sancerre in 1770.

[1] I give this statement for what it is worth, as I find it in most modern books that describe Drummond Castle, but personally I do not believe it. I first find it in Roger's *Beauties of Upper Strathearn*, from which subsequent writers seem to have copied it. The statement is probably a distortion of some traditional threat of the Duchess, and is only of value as showing the popular belief in the old lady's determination. I know of no contemporary indication that in the 'Forty-five the castle was dismantled. Prince Charles stayed there on February the 1st, and that night the Duchess gave a banquet in his honour. On the 5th the castle *did* actually become a barrack, for Cumberland then stationed a subaltern and twenty dragoons there to look after "this troublesome old woman," as he calls her Grace. On the 11th she was sent a prisoner to Edinburgh, and when she was released in November the castle had passed from her hands, being confiscated to Government by her sons' attainder. The minister of the parish, writing in 1793, states that the old castle was unroofed and demolished in 1689, and that in the new house, which was built on the same rock as the castle, the family had resided for a century bygone (*Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. viii. p. 496).

[2] It was probably this Thomas Nairne who, according to Chambers, attended Prince Charles in his last illness, and in whose arms the Prince expired, but I have failed to find corroborative evidence of this. See Chambers' *History of the Rebellion*, standard ed., n.d., p. 506.

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Lady Nairne's second son, Robert Mercer of Aldie, was killed at Culloden, and with him, it is said, there fell his son, who was a mere boy. In spite of his death Mercer's name was included in the list of the attainted.

Lady Nairne's son-in-law, Lord Strathallan, was also killed at Culloden and attainted after death. Lady Strathallan, who was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle at the same time as the Duchess of Perth, was, like her, released in November 1746. The Master of Strathallan was included in the attainder with his dead father. He escaped to France to live in exile until 1766, when he died at Sens in Champagne. His brother William (the "Willy" for whom Lady Strathallan tried to borrow a few guineas) escaped to Sweden with his uncle Nairne, but afterwards returned to Scotland. William's son eventually became head of the family, and the forfeited title was restored to him in 1824.

William Murray of Taymount, who took no leading part in the Rising but served as a simple volunteer, surrendered, was tried, and pled guilty. His life was spared, but although he was allowed to succeed to the title and estates on the death of his brother, the second Earl of Dunmore, in 1752, he was kept a prisoner in England for the rest of his life, and died at Lincoln in 1756.

Laurence Oliphant of Gask, after six months of concealment, escaped with his son Laurence by ship from Montrose to Sweden. Both were attainted, and for seventeen years they wandered abroad, weary exiles, as "Mr. Whytt" and "Mr. Brown," until 1763, when, in spite of the attainder, they went home to Gask, which had been bought for them by friends. There the exiles remained unmolested, though at the mercy of any informer—the only attainted Perthshire leaders who ever returned. The old Laird spent his last four years at Gask in adventureless peace, living long enough to see the grand-daughter[1] who was to become the pride and glory of his line—a "sturdy tod" of some six months old. He died in 1767 at the age of seventy-five. His widow survived him for seven years, and his son Laurence for twenty-five.

Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, afterwards of Struan, Lady Nairne's last son-in-law, who though not attainted was exempted from the general pardon, maintained himself in the wilds of Atholl for seven years. In 1747, on the death of the old poet, he became chief of Clan Donnachaidh, but the Struan estate was forfeited. He struggled on until 1753, when he had to fly; not, I gather, so much from fear of Government, as from the action of one of those pettifogging pests whose self-interest prompted an officious zeal in enforcing a law which men in power would willingly have winked at if only left alone. Robertson went to France, where he lived as "Mr. Lindsay," and died at Givet about 1780. The forfeited Jacobite estates were restored by Act of Parliament in 1784, and Robertson's widow, "Lady Struan," then came home after thirty-one years' exile. Her son, who had been serving in the Scots Brigade of the Dutch army, returned with her. In 1755, while in exile, Duncan Robertson's daughter Margaret had married young Oliphant of Gask at Versailles.

[1] *i.e.* Carolina Oliphant, afterwards Lady Nairne.

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Lady Lude, along with her mother, was marked down for punishment by Government, and long depositions were taken against the two ladies. Lady Nairne wrote a pathetic letter to her nephew, James, Duke of Atholl, imploring him by all ties of kinship to use his best endeavours to save her "daughter Lude," who was but "a weak, insignificant woman," from the miseries of threatened attainder, but not a word did the old lady say for herself. It may be believed that the Duke's influence was exerted, for nothing further was done. Lady Lude survived Culloden for forty-one years, and lived to see several of her grandsons enter King George's army.

Lady Nairne's younger nephew, Lord George Murray, escaped in safety to the Continent, as is told elsewhere, but the fate of his elder brother William, Duke of Atholl, was very pathetic. After Culloden he fled to the hills, intending to make for the Hebrides. Being too ill to ride he was placed in a pannier on horseback, and, conducted by a few faithful retainers through Badenoch, Rannoch, and Balquhidder, he reached the banks of Loch Lomond too ill to go further. Remembering that a daughter of Murray of Polmaise, a connection of his own, was married to William Buchanan, younger of Drummikill, whose father's house, Ross Priory, was on the shores of the lake, he determined to seek his hospitality. The children of the family were amazed at the party, and could not understand why the grim Highlanders were "greeting and roaring like women." Young Buchanan took the old man in, and as £1000 had been offered for his capture he sent word to Dumbarton Castle. A guard came next morning; its officer taunted Buchanan "in the bitterest manner," while the noble prisoner was treated with the utmost respect. The Duke was taken to Leith, and thence to London, where he was imprisoned in the Tower. There this faithful adherent of the House of Stuart died on July 9th, aged fifty-seven.

It is satisfactory to know the fate of the traitor William Buchanan. He claimed the reward, which was duly paid by the Government official with expressions of insulting contempt. On his next visit to Polmaise he was turned to the door by his father-in-law. His neighbours all shunned him, and he was shortly afterwards found dead in his bed. Even then his family "were literally considered by all the neighbourhood as caitiffs," and a "blasting influence of more than dramatic justice or of corroding infamy seem'd to reach every branch of this devoted family." [1]

The story of Perthshire in the 'Forty-five would not be complete without some reference to a descendant of old Lady Nairne, who bore the same title and made the name illustrious.

Laurence Oliphant the younger, as has been told, married when in exile Margaret Robertson, daughter of the laird of Struan—both bride and bridegroom being grandchildren of old Lady Nairne. To them a daughter was born at Gask three years after their return home, the "sturdy tod" who delighted the last

[1] *Letters written by Mrs. Grant of Laggan* (ed. J. R. N. Macphail), p. 283.

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days of the old Laird. She was named Carolina, after the King over-the-water, who six months before had succeeded his father in that throneless title.

Carolina grew up to be the pride of the countryside, and was known as "the Flower of Strathearn." A simple child of nature, she developed a genius for lyrical composition of wonderful charm. Her upbringing was in an atmosphere of the most uncompromising Jacobitism. She lived among relatives who had borne the stress of civil war, in the battlefield, the pillaged home, or in weary exile. Her father's unflinching loyalty to the old Royal family was carried to an extent that would have been ludicrous in any one less respected or of less transparent sincerity. It was the admiration of the county, and its fame even came to the knowledge, and won the approval, of King George III. "Give my compliments to Mr. Oliphant," he said to the county member—"not the compliments of the King of England, but those of the Elector of Hanover, and tell him how much I respect him for the steadiness of his principles."

Carolina Oliphant's verses naturally took the impress of her surroundings. Though she ever concealed their authorship, her delight was to compose Jacobite songs and to sing them to her old relations. Her Jacobite minstrelsy gradually became exceedingly popular, and her songs were sung all over Scotland.

Carolina came to know and to love a second cousin, William Nairne, then the last surviving member of old Lady Nairne's family who bore the name. To him she became engaged, but poverty long delayed their marriage, and Carolina was in her fortieth year when she became the wife of one who was heir to a title which had not been in use for two generations. But things were changing. Sir Walter Scott had come, and the wizardry of his Scottish romances and the fascination of Jacobite minstrelsy had caught the fancy of King George IV. When that sovereign came to Scotland in 1822 he was almost a Jacobite, and so full of enthusiasm was he for things Highland, that he appeared at Holyrood in kilt and sporran. He had read, it is said, a simple lyric of Mrs. Nairne's called "The Attainted Scottish Nobles," and was touched by it. Indeed, if rumour is to be believed, he actually hinted to Sir Walter Scott the possibility of the removal of the attainders. Sir Walter prepared a petition to crave that removal, and the King graciously accepted it. In 1824 Parliament passed an Act restoring all honours and titles which had been forfeited for fidelity to the old House of Stuart. That year Carolina's husband became Lord Nairne.

If then the stern devotion of the elder Lady Nairne was indirectly the cause of the loss of honours to many ancient families of Perthshire, it may well be claimed that the gentle genius of the younger Lady Nairne indirectly led to their restoration. But that genius is the heritage not of Perthshire only, but of all Scotland. As long as Scottish song endures, so long will the memory of the 'Forty-five be kept green in her Jacobite lays. The martial swing of "The Hundred Pipers" will ever recall the transient triumph, and the despairing wail of "Will ye no' come back again" the pitiful catastrophe, of that last romance of Scottish history.

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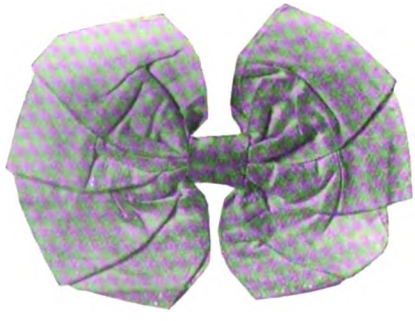
LORD GEORGE MURRAY

(*From a Portrait at Blair Castle*)



LORD GEORGE MURRAY'S WHITE COCKADE

(*Preserved at Blair Castle*)

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LORD GEORGE MURRAY[1]

1694–1760

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

LORD GEORGE MURRAY, who ranks with Montrose and Dundie as one of the great leaders of Highlanders, was born at Huntingtower, near Perth, on October the 4th, 1694. He was the fifth son of John, Lord Murray, afterwards first Duke of Atholl, by his first wife, Lady Katherine Hamilton, eldest daughter of William, third Duke of Hamilton. There is little recorded of Lord George's early years, but a letter preserved in the family archives shows how even as a boy the masterful, imperious spirit that accepted responsibility, detested injustice, and could not brook affront, had already developed. In 1710 he was at school in Perth and had risen to be "king" of the school, an office which carried the traditional privilege of protecting other boys from punishment under certain circumstances. In spite of his protestations a young friend was flogged for some fault by the master, who asserted that, as he had given the privilege of kingship, he had the power of withholding it. Lord George indignantly resigned the office and wrote to his father imploring him to remove him from the school, as after this affront it would be impossible to do any good there.

In December 1711 Lord George was sent to the University of Glasgow, but in the following June he joined the army in Flanders as ensign in the 1st Regiment—the Royals. His early days in the army were not happy. He fell into bad health, he gambled freely, and he contracted debt. According to his uncle, Lord Orkney, his spelling and writing were disgraceful, and these his uncle considers "more necessary than either his Latine or logicks which," he is told, "he is a little vaine of"—the result, no doubt, of a Scots education. "He is extremely headstrong and thinkes himself more capable of giving advice than tacking—he is given extreamly to gaming."

After the Peace of Utrecht the Royals returned to England, whence in March 1715 they were sent to Dublin. In July of that year Lord George was at Dunkeld with his father and step-mother, and in August he and his brother

[1] Principal authorities:—the *Atholl Chronicles;* the *Scots Magazine*, for 1745 and 1746; the Chevalier de Johnstone's *Memoirs of the Rebellion; The Lyon in Mourning; Memorials of John Murray of Broughton;* Maxwell of Kirkconnel's *Narrative;* Lord Elcho's *Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland*, edited by the Hon. Evan Charteris; Blaikie's *Itinerary of Prince Charles Edward;* Fraser's *Earls of Cromartie;* Michie's *Records of Invercauld;* Home's *History of the Rebellion; Captain Daniel's Progress* (MS.); Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs;* Lefèvre-Pontalis' *Mission du Marquis d'Eguilles en Ecosse* (*Annales de l'École libre des sciences politiques*, Paris, 1887–1888); and MS. monograph by the Rev. Andrew Meldrum, of Logierait.

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Tullibardine, in defiance of the Duke's wishes, joined the Earl of Mar. The brothers' share in the campaign which followed has been related elsewhere.[1] On the final dispersion of the Jacobite force they escaped to the Outer Hebrides and sailed for Brittany in April 1716. Tullibardine was attainted, but it was not until two years later that a bill for treason was found against Lord George at a court of Oyer and Terminer held in Cupar Fife.

After paying a short visit to the Chevalier at Avignon, Lord George vainly solicited military employment at various Italian courts. He was at this time receiving pecuniary assistance from James, but when in 1718 that unfortunate Prince was obliged to take refuge in Italy, Lord George was one of the numerous Scottish exiles who settled in Bordeaux, where he lived in great poverty. As already mentioned, he served in the Jacobite expedition of 1719, and was wounded while commanding the right wing at Glenshiel on the 10th of June.[2] Nothing is known of his movements for nine months after the battle, but a remarkable light is thrown on his life at this time. Wodrow, the ecclesiastical historian, writing in 1723, states that " with a servant he got away among the Highland mountains and lurked in a hut for some months, and saw nobody. It was a happy providence that either he or his servant had a Bible and no other books. For want of other business he carefully read that neglected book, and the Lord blessed it with his present hard circumstances to him." [3] Of this there is nothing among his own papers, but the complete absence from that time of the swaggering, roystering spirit so common among Cavaliers and Jacobites, and from which he had hitherto not been entirely free, gives an air of probability to the statement.

A memorandum in Lord George's handwriting, preserved at Blair, states that early in March 1720 he was at Inverghueseren in Inverness-shire, and that after successive wanderings in Strathspey, Strathbogie, Angus, and Mar, he sailed from Methil in Fife on the 19th of April and landed at Rotterdam at the end of the month.

His life during the next three years is obscure. It is generally stated that he entered the Sardinian army, and the " Dictionary of National Biography " goes so far as to say that he acquired a high reputation in that service, but for this there is not one tittle of evidence. No mention of Lord George is to be found in the Sardinian archives,[4] and the surprise expressed by the French officers in 1745 at the military genius of one who had had no military training, would have been uncalled for in the case of a man who had distinguished himself in an European army. In reality Lord George seems to have spent these three years in retirement in France, watching over the fortunes of his brother Tullibardine, to whom he was much attached.

Some time in 1723 Lord George wrote from Rouen to his father, expressing regret that in the past he had opposed his wishes, and desiring a reconciliation.

[1] See earlier articles on *Perthshire in the 'Fifteen* and *The Battle of Sheriffmuir.*

[2] See article on the 'Fifteen and Glenshiel already referred to.

[3] *Analecta*, vol. iii., p. 231.

[4] Nor in Galli's *Cariche del Piemonte* (Turin, 1798). So writes the National Librarian in Turin.

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The Duke, whose health was failing, at once opened negotiations with Government for his pardon, but months dragged on, and Lord George, by his father's desire, returned to Scotland, as yet unpardoned, in August 1724. He went to Huntingtower to see his father, but was obliged to remain in great privacy. Three months later the Duke died, and was succeeded by his second son, Lord James. In November 1725 Lord George's pardon passed the Great Seal, and he was once more a free man.

In 1728 Lord George was married at Edinburgh to Miss Amelia Murray, daughter and heiress of the late Dr. James Murray of Strowan and Glencarse, a cadet of the Ochtertyre family, who had practised as a physician in Perth. Miss Murray's mother opposed the union, and the young people were obliged to marry without her consent. Their early married life was chiefly passed at Mugdrum in Fife, but in 1734 Lord George leased from his brother, the Duke, the old house of Tullibardine in Strathearn, which remained his home during the years he was yet to spend in Scotland. After his marriage he settled down to country life. He had, says a contemporary, "an active turn and a strong bent to husbandry,"[1] and he was keenly interested in gardening. He did much to improve his farm and policies; and at Arnhall he laid out a garden for his mother-in-law, Lady Strowan, in which, for the first time in that part of the country, wall-trees were regularly trained and dressed. He delighted also in sport, particularly deer-stalking, to an extent uncommon in his day. On a memorable expedition to the Atholl and Invercauld forests in 1732 he was inspired with poetic ardour, but writing from Glen Tatnich he was obliged to confess to his wife that though he had perpetrated some "follys" of his "Idle houres," he was not "born for poetrie."

Always popular with Highlanders, Lord George gradually acquired an influence over the Highland chiefs, which he tried to utilise for their benefit and for the interest of the country at large.[2] He was friendly too with his Lowland neighbours, Whig and Jacobite, particularly so with Robert Craigie of Glendoick, afterwards lord advocate. His correspondence shows that he was on affectionate terms with the members of his own family, and that they highly valued his advice and help. When his brother, the Duke, projected improvements in the Isle of Man, he desired to have Lord George with him; when his half-brother, Lord John, the member of Parliament for Perthshire, compromised himself at a convivial meeting in London, it was to Lord George that he wrote, asking him to put him right with the county; when another half-brother, Lord Frederick, was in great trouble over a love affair, it was for his brother George that he sent.

During all these years Lord George entirely refrained from taking any part in Jacobite plot or intrigue, and the world came to believe that he had abandoned the cause of the exiled family. About the year 1739 the Jacobite association had been formed of which the Duke of Perth was local chief, but no overtures were made to Lord George until early in 1744, when the Duke, in two private interviews, endeavoured to gain his adherence. Lord George, it is said, suggested that the Athollmen should be raised as if for the Government and should after-

[1] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century*, vol. ii., p. 121. [2] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii., p. 448.

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wards be brought over to the Jacobites,[1] but it is evident that this was spoken in jest, and was so understood, for the proposal was never taken seriously by the conspirators. Lord George at this time believed " that the French wanted only to Imbroile Britain to gain their ends elsewhere." Lord Strathallan, when approached, took the same view as Lord George, whom he consulted on the matter.

In May 1745 came the battle of Fontenoy. A month later Lord George's eldest son, who, as eventual heir to the family title, was being educated at Eton by the Duke of Atholl, was given a commission in Lord Loudoun's new Highland regiment. By the end of July Prince Charles Edward had landed in Arisaig, accompanied by the Marquess of Tullibardine and six other followers of inferior rank.

For some time it seemed as if Lord George would remain loyal to the Government. He allowed himself to be nominated deputy-sheriff by his elder brother, who was sheriff of Perthshire, and he accompanied the Duke to Crieff on the 21st of August to pay his respects to Sir John Cope. The day before he had written two letters to Lord Advocate Craigie; in the first, which is chiefly occupied with private financial matters, he mentions the capture, near Fort William, of two companies of the Royals; in the second he gives further news from Lochaber but speaks rather lightly of the gathering. Relying on information obtained from Macdonnell of Glengarry, he evidently expected, as many others did, that the insurgents would be dispersed before they left Inverness-shire. For the next ten days he appears to have gone about his usual avocations, for on the 30th he wrote an ordinary letter on farming business to his neighbour, Oliphant of Gask. That day the Prince's army reached Dalnacardoch, and on the 31st James, Duke of Atholl, left Dunkeld for the south. On his way he committed his two young daughters to the care of his brother George at Tullibardine, requesting him to take them to Edinburgh. On the 2nd of September Lord George somewhat reluctantly escorted his nieces as far as Stirling; the following day he returned home.

Charles Edward reached Blair Castle on August the 31st; on September the 2nd young Oliphant of Gask bore a letter from the Prince to Lord George,[2] which he found awaiting him on his return from Stirling on the 3rd; that evening he wrote to his brother Duke James announcing that he had made up his mind to engage in the Stuart Cause. The letter is very pathetic; he knows, he says, that his conduct will be regarded as desperate; that interest, prudence, and domestic happiness should prevent his taking a step which " may very probably " end in his utter ruin; but he has always felt in his heart that the Cause was right and just, and the principles of honour and duty outweigh everything. To his brother only is he under any obligations; to Government he owes nothing. The letter characteristically ends with an explanation of the arrangements he has made to pay his rent and to discharge his debts.

It has of late become the fashion to charge Lord George with duplicity in joining the Prince after accepting the office of deputy-sheriff, and Mr. Lang goes so far as to say that his conduct in that respect " had not been much more straight-

[1] *Memorials of Murray of Broughton*, p. 64.

[2] *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, p. 105.

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forward" than that of Lord Lovat.[1] How such a statement can be maintained it is difficult to understand. Lord George had no wish to join the Rising—few indeed had. He believed at first that it would come to nothing; but when he learnt that the Prince was actually in Atholl, and that his eldest brother, after thirty years of exile, had returned home and was about to raise his men for the Cause,[2] he felt the call of honour, and threw prudence and interest to the winds. The office of deputy-sheriff was no gift of Government; it was taken to oblige his brother Duke James, whose right hand he had ever been, and to whom alone he felt himself responsible. His contemporaries never imputed blame to him for his action—indeed, those who knew him best appear to have regarded it as natural—almost inevitable. The Lord Advocate simply says: "Poor Lord George Murray has joined the Pretender." Lord President Forbes excuses, nay, almost applauds his action: "Lord George Murray," he writes to Lovat, "never had any place or pension from the public, and was, no doubt, drawn in by the influence of the Marquis of Tullibardin; perhaps, touch'd with pity and commiseration for his eldest brother, who has spent the best part of his life in exile." [3]

The young Chevalier entered Perth on the 4th of September, and the same day Lord George Murray joined the army. His advent gave an immense impetus to the Cause, and he received a commission as lieutenant-general, a rank also given to the Duke of Perth. There is a general impression that Lord George was made commander-in-chief, but this is quite a mistake. The Prince kept the chief command strictly in his own hand, and accepted as his chief military advisers two of the adventurers who had accompanied him from France, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been his tutor, and John O'Sullivan, an Irishman who had seen service under the French Marshal Maillebois. Sheridan acted as military secretary and O'Sullivan as adjutant- and quartermaster-general, while Sir John Macdonald, another Irishman, was made instructor of cavalry. In the inner circle there was also John Murray of Broughton, the Secretary of State, one of the few Scotsmen whom the Prince had known before the expedition.

From the first Lord George was received by the Prince with great coldness and suspicion, but in spite of much discouragement he at once set to work to put the little army in fighting trim. "As I had formerly known something of a Highland army," he writes, he knew what was wanted. His strong individuality at once asserted itself: "Homme d'un vrai génie," the French ambassador calls him, "l'âme et le conseil du parti." [4] In the six days spent at Perth he introduced discipline, he organised transport and commissariat, and he gained the confidence of his men. But his work at Perth was not all military. The adventurers who had accompanied the Prince egged him on to the exercise of arbitrary

[1] *Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iv., pp. 461, 462.

[2] The letter to Duke James shows that his resolution had been taken by the 1st of September, and that only the duty imposed on him with regard to his nieces had prevented his joining the Prince earlier.

[3] *Culloden Papers*, p. 437.

[4] Despatch of d'Éguilles to d'Argenson, quoted in *Annales de l'École libre des sciences politiques*, 1887, p. 429.

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power; Lord George stood ever for the rights of a free people, and he early came in conflict with the Prince's *entourage*. Perth had paid to the military chest the full contribution requisitioned—yet when the army marched out O'Sullivan carried off the Provost and another citizen as hostages for a trifling extra demand which was entirely unwarranted. At Tullibardine, where the Prince halted for dinner, Lord George interfered, and with much difficulty got the prisoners released. On the way there he had been grossly insulted by Sir John Macdonald, who had complained of the horse that had been provided for him, and had criticised the arrangements for the march. Lord George's reply was to obtain for him from a lady, probably his wife, the present of an excellent horse and horse furniture. This incident was very characteristic; he hated oppressing the poor people by seizing their horses except in cases of emergency for baggage; when it was for riding purposes he preferred giving up his own. Marching on foot at the head of the army, he bivouacked when necessary with his men, and slept without any covering but his plaid.

At the battle of Prestonpans Lord George was practically in command, and his gallantry while leading the attack on the left almost convinced the Prince of his integrity. The fighting over, he devoted himself to the care of the prisoners. Those of the officers who were able to walk he accompanied to Musselburgh, where he entertained them with his private stock of provisions and liquor, and, sleeping on the floor, spent that night with his prisoners, in order that his presence might protect them from possible insult or injury. Although incessantly engaged during the occupation of Edinburgh in organising the army, maintaining discipline, and attending the Prince's council, on which he began to find himself in a very difficult position, he yet found time to arrange for the prisoners' entertainment, and to look after his nieces.

The invasion of England was against Lord George's judgment, but finding himself over-ruled, he strongly opposed the Prince's desire to march on Newcastle, where an army was assembling under Field-Marshal Wade. His scheme was to go by Cumberland, which he knew to be well suited to Highland tactics.[1] To attack the Prince, Wade would have to make a long march through difficult country in the depth of winter, and the army could maintain itself in the western hills while awaiting a French landing, a rising of the English Jacobites, or the reinforcements expected from Scotland. If, on the other hand, Wade was met on his own ground, a single defeat would be fatal. At the last moment Lord George's counsel prevailed; the march began on November the 1st, and Carlisle was reached on the 9th. A report that Wade was advancing from Newcastle brought the army to Brampton, but the rumour proved unfounded, and on the 13th half the force was sent back to resume the interrupted blockade of Carlisle. The operations were entrusted to Lord George, whose dispositions excited the admiration of the French officers.[2] On the evening of the 14th the

[1] He owed his knowledge of Cumberland to the fact that his eldest son had been at a preparatory school at Lowther—close to the spot on which the rearguard action of Clifton was to be fought on the march from England.

[2] Murray's *Memorials*, p. 240.

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town surrendered, but meanwhile Lord George had resigned his command,[1] asking permission to serve merely as a volunteer. His authority had not been upheld; his proposal to relieve the overworked men in the trenches by detachments from the force at Brampton had been curtly dismissed; and he had been deeply wounded by the Prince's refusal to give him the slightest information as to the terms he would accept from Carlisle. He felt that he could better forward the interests of the Cause by serving in the ranks of the Athollmen than as a general without his master's confidence. The Prince accepted his resignation, and to the Duke of Perth, as sole remaining lieutenant-general, were entrusted the negotiations for the surrender of Carlisle. The army, however, took alarm. It had little faith in Perth's military capacity, and in a country in which the expedition was being denounced as a popish invasion, it was a gross political blunder to give the chief command to a man well known as a Roman Catholic. Pressure was therefore brought to bear on the Prince, and Lord George was reinstated in his commission, the Duke chivalrously consenting to serve during the remainder of the English campaign as colonel of his own regiment.

A council was held at Carlisle at which it was decided that, despite the 30,000 troops assembled to oppose it, the army should proceed on its march towards London. At Manchester a retreat was talked of, as hardly any English Jacobites had risen, and there was no news of a French landing. By Lord George's advice, however, the advance was continued to Derby, the General masking the Prince's objective by a feigned attack on the Duke of Cumberland, who was at Stafford with over 10,000 men. Derby was reached on the 4th of December, and early on the 5th a council was held. Charles was resolved to go on at all costs, but Lord George urged a retreat. There had been no French invasion, and no English person of importance had so much as sent them intelligence or promise of support, whereas reinforcements were awaiting them in Scotland. An army of 4500 Scots could never put a king by force upon the throne of England. The Prince was furious, but Lord George was supported by the great majority of the council. Nothing but retreat was possible, and retreat was resolved on.

The sycophants who surrounded the Prince, finding that he considered himself betrayed, attempted in the course of the day to ingratiate themselves with him by going back on the morning's decision. Murray of Broughton, who had strongly supported the retreat, now threw all the odium of it on Lord George. The malcontents, however, when challenged to do so, refused to put their opinions in writing and sign them. The retreat was therefore ordered, but Charles refused to have any more councils.

On Lord George, by his own desire, devolved the difficult and responsible task of commanding the rear-guard. Behind him Cumberland was in hot pursuit; Wade was threatening the right flank, and his cavalry was sent to cut off the retreat. Lord George, hurrying on to cross the Ribble before he could be overtaken, was hampered by the Prince, who, believing that no British troops would

[1] His letter is dated the 15th in Chambers' *Jacobite Memoirs*, but this must be an error, as the Prince's reply, dated the 14th, is in the Atholl charter-room.

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really oppose him, wished constantly to halt and fight. Once across the river, however, in compliance with the Prince's commands, he prepared to give battle near Lancaster, but the order was only due to the wish of his enemies to find some occasion to denounce him to the army, and Lord George's readiness to fight having foiled this manœuvre, the retreat was continued. Owing to O'Sullivan's neglect, Lord George had great trouble with the transport, and Charles' peremptory order that not so much as a cannon-ball must be left behind added much to his difficulties. When crossing a bridge between Kendal and Shap a gun and ammunition cart were overturned; the enemy's advanced-guard was close behind; but Lord George recovered everything—even to the cannon-balls, for which he gave a reward of sixpence each. The following day the Jacobite army was overtaken by Cumberland's cavalry at Clifton Moor, and Lord George, in spite of orders to the contrary, took upon himself to fight a rear-guard action. The engagement, though not the great victory claimed for it by the Jacobites, accomplished the desired end; it checked the pursuit for a couple of days and brought the Highland army safely to Carlisle.

At Carlisle Lord George once more got into trouble with the Prince and his counsellors by opposing the fatal resolution to leave a garrison behind. Unable to convince them, he volunteered to remain himself with the Atholl Brigade, but the offer was not accepted. Other troops were left—only to surrender ten days later. From Carlisle Lord George led a column by Lockerbie and Moffat to meet the Prince at Glasgow. Thence on the 3rd of January 1746 they marched to Stirling, where they were joined by the force which had been assembling at Perth under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond.

After successfully transporting the ordnance and stores across the Forth at Alloa in the teeth of a squadron of frigates, Lord George was sent to Linlithgow with a portion of the army to cover the Prince's operations before Stirling Castle. On January the 13th General Hawley approached Linlithgow, and Lord George fell back on the main body at Bannockburn. On the 16th Hawley reached Falkirk, and on the 17th the two armies met in battle. The promptitude of Lord George, to whom, as usual, the dispositions had been entrusted, enabled the Jacobites to gain possession of a hill to the west of the town, and within a few minutes the Jacobite General, at the head of the right wing, had put the enemy's left to flight. The left wing, however, after routing a regiment of dragoons, was obliged to fall back before an outflanking force of infantry; no reserves were brought up; and the Highlanders in Lord George's first line having gone off in pursuit, he was unable to come to the assistance of the left. A terrible storm of wind and rain was raging, and much confusion prevailed. Hawley had thus time to retreat to Linlithgow, and eventually to Edinburgh, when a vigorous pursuit might have annihilated him.

After the battle the Prince resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, while Lord George remained at Falkirk with the clans. On the 28th of January news was received that Cumberland was about to take command of the Government army, and the Prince resolved to attack him when he advanced to Falkirk. A scheme

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of battle was sent to Lord George, who approved of it, and returned it with suggested modifications. But suddenly the situation changed. The plan of battle was followed the same day by a letter in which Lord George and the principal Highland chiefs, while proclaiming their devotion to the Cause, urged the Prince, on account of the losses from sickness and desertion, and the improbability that Stirling Castle would fall as soon as expected, to retire to the Highlands and await a French landing. Charles was heart-broken; "he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray." But in a dignified letter he informed the chiefs that he acquiesced, though with the greatest reluctance, and that he washed his hands "of the fatal consequences which I foresee but cannot help." This sudden change of plan has been severely criticised, but the letter to the Prince states that the desertions are increasing hourly; that the signatories have only just been apprised of the numbers of Highlanders who have gone off; and Lord George was evidently convinced that the army was not fit to meet a general with Cumberland's reputation, and that it must be kept intact ready to co-operate with the reinforcements ever expected from France. He writes to his wife that he expects to make a winter campaign to the south of Atholl, and tells her that he has once more been able to render "essenciall service."[1] He probably felt that he had saved the army.

Crieff was reached on the 1st of February after a most disorderly retreat. Thence Lord George took the cavalry and the Lowland regiments by Montrose and Aberdeen to Inverness, leaving garrisons in Elgin and Nairn, and detachments under Lord John Drummond to guard the Spey. After some service against Loudoun in Ross-shire he gave over his command to the Duke of Perth, and in the middle of March made his marvellous raid into Atholl, where, as already related,[2] he captured all the enemy's fortified posts, and laid siege to Blair Castle, with, however, but little success. Meanwhile, at the Prince's headquarters, distrust of him was growing. His failure to capture Blair was ascribed to treason, and a letter which he wrote to the Prince of Hesse, proposing a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war,[3] was regarded with such suspicion, that two Irish officers were told off to watch him on his return and to shoot him if they saw any sign of treachery.

Lord George's recall to Inverness at the beginning of April put an end to these intrigues. Cumberland was approaching, and Charles, never dreaming that defeat was possible, determined to give him battle. Lord George wished to abandon the northern Highlands to the Duke, and to establish the Jacobite army in Perthshire, where it could hold its own in the hills and yet find provisions in plenty. But the Prince resolved to fight, and on the 15th of April the army was marched to Culloden Muir, and was drawn up in order of battle by O'Sullivan on the left bank of the Water of Nairn. Lord George strongly advised another position on the right bank, which would be almost impregnable to Regular

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii., p. 171.
[2] See article on *Perthshire in the 'Forty-five*, p. 328 *et seq.*
[3] The letter is printed by Mr. Charteris in his appendix to Lord Elcho's narrative.

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troops, and whence, in case of defeat, the army could retire into the hills.[1] But his opinion was over-ruled; the baggage and stores were at Inverness, and they must not be abandoned.

Cumberland was now at Nairn, only twelve miles away; it was his birthday; and in the expectation that his troops would be celebrating the occasion with a carouse, Charles proposed a night march to Nairn, to surprise the Duke at daybreak. Lord George cordially approved of the scheme, and the Prince, delighted with his ready concurrence, embraced him heartily as he stepped off at the head of the column. The details of this disastrous march are too well known to need repetition. The wretched boggy road delayed the troops. Day broke while they were still some miles from Nairn. Lord George, feeling that the project had failed, turned back with the van. The Prince, highly incensed, exclaimed that his General had betrayed him, but on the circumstances being explained to him he acquiesced in the retreat, and the army returned to its old position on Culloden Muir to await Cumberland's attack. Worn with hunger and fatigue, many of the men went to Inverness for food, while others lay down on the ground and never wakened till the fighting was over. The battle began at one o'clock. Lord George, charging with the right wing, broke through the enemy's first line, but the terrible flank fire of the infantry and the grape shot of the artillery cut the Highlanders to pieces. The Jacobite second line came up in good order, but it was too late; the retreat had begun; and in five and twenty minutes all was over. Prince Charles fled to Stratherrick, and thence to Arisaig. Lord George took a remnant of the army to Ruthven in Badenoch, where, receiving a message of dismissal from the Prince, the force quickly dispersed.

From Ruthven Lord George wrote a letter to Charles in which he poured out his wounded soul in language such as seldom reaches the ears of princes. He blamed him for having set up his standard without a positive assurance of substantial help from the French king, and he spoke in the strongest terms of the incapacity of Charles' trusted advisers, O'Sullivan and John Hay, who had taken Murray's place during his illness. It was not a generous letter to send to a fallen prince, but was it to be wondered at? From first to last he had been treated with a suspicion wholly unworthy in a prince who had himself invited his adherence. His great services had been powerless to remove this distrust, and only his strong sense of duty and the knowledge that he was implicitly trusted by the Highlanders had enabled him to go on. Charles' belief in his treachery is explained by Elcho and Maxwell of Kirkconnell as due to the jealousy of Murray of Broughton, but it is impossible to believe that jealousy alone would permit one whose whole soul was at that time loyal to the Cause to alienate a man like Lord George Murray. It seems far more likely that Broughton, at first at least, genuinely suspected him. Immediately after his interviews with Perth in 1744, Lord George had gone to Edinburgh, where he had somewhat ostentatiously frequented the society of Forbes of Culloden and Sir John Cope; the Lord Advocate, moreover, was well known to be his intimate and helpful friend. To Broughton, living in a con-

[1] Marshal Macdonald, visiting Culloden many years later, took the same view as Lord George.

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tinual atmosphere of conspiracy, nothing could have seemed more suspicious, and one can understand that he conscientiously believed that Lord George was a traitor and imbued his master with that belief. Had Lord George possessed a conciliatory nature his contact with the Prince would soon have removed all suspicion. But it was his fortune to have to oppose his master on countless occasions; he was no courtier;[1] and the "violent sallies" in which he occasionally indulged must have grated severely on one brought up in the extreme doctrine of divine right. That he was generally right, and that the Prince had to give in, would only make the situation more irksome.

The feelings of the Prince towards Lord George are rather remarkable. When in South Uist, he told Neil Maceachan that his General had forced him to fight at Culloden against his will. A few days later he assured Kingsburgh that he would never allow anything of treachery or villany to be laid to Lord George, though he had much to bear from his temper. To Malcolm Macleod, only two days after this, he said that for two or three days before Culloden Lord George scarce did any one thing he desired him to do. After escaping to France and meeting with his Irish courtiers the Prince's resentment increased, and it continued to the end.

But even among his brother officers Lord George's plain speaking could occasionally give offence. He could mete out a sharp reprimand to Cromarty, and he estranged Balmerino by his strictness of discipline. John Roy Stewart firmly believed in his treachery, and after Culloden attacked him in Gaelic verse of which the following translation is a specimen:—

"My seven curses on George [Murray]!
He got that day to his own undoing.
. . . . .
He deceived us with his advice,
We esteemed him too much in his time.

That is the great General,
The disgrace and curse of the people,
Sold his honour and right for wrong."

On the other hand the rank and file of the Highlanders adored him, and the clans followed him with complete confidence. He gained their hearts by wearing tartan and broadsword when his duties permitted; he was always attentive to their wants; and his justice in discipline won for him the name of *duine firinneach*, "the righteous man." He was ever the first to cross a dangerous river, and in battle, fighting usually on foot, he would say, "I do not ask you, lads, to go before, but merely to follow me." His indefatigable industry, his grasp of detail, and his instinctive knowledge of what his undisciplined army could or could not do, enabled him to accomplish the wonderful march to the heart of England, to

[1] He writes to his children many years later: "It is my fault if you do not make a curtsey or bow with a becoming grace."

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win two pitched battles over Regular armies, and to foil Cumberland himself in the masterly retreat to Carlisle. So much confidence did he inspire in those who immediately surrounded him, that some of them believed that he could do anything. His aide-de-camp, the Chevalier de Johnstone, thus sums up his belief in his General's capacity: "Had Prince Charles slept during the whole of the expedition, and allowed Lord George to act for him, according to his own judgment, there is every reason for supposing he would have found the crown of Great Britain on his head when he woke."

Immediately after Culloden it was rumoured in the English army that a copy of an order had been found signed by Lord George Murray forbidding quarter to the Government troops. Irresponsible newspapers purported to print this order verbatim, and its supposed existence was made the excuse for the terrible cruelties inflicted on the defeated Jacobites. The lying order appeared in Marchant's and Ray's contemporary histories of the Rising, and it is amazing to find it repeated to-day in the "Dictionary of National Biography." Although Cumberland, on the day after the battle, issued an order in which officers and men were desired to "take notice that the publick orders of ye Rebells yesterday was to give us no quarters,"[1] it is significant that no mention of this order was ever made in the Government Gazette, or in any official account of the battle; and it is practically certain that Cumberland must have known that no such order existed and suppressed the knowledge for his own justification. Four copies of Lord George's orders are known to be extant, all in his own handwriting. With the exception of trifling variations in spelling and diction, they are practically identical. Two are preserved at Blair Castle; one is among Cumberland's own papers;[2] the fourth, now in the British Museum, belonged to Lord Hardwicke, who, as Lord Chancellor, presided at the trial of the Jacobite peers in 1746. Lord Kilmarnock, on the eve of execution, sent a petition to the Duke of Cumberland, in which he protested that he had never heard of the "no quarter" order, and Balmerino on the scaffold emphatically corroborated this. Even a century and a half later it is painful to think that although both the Duke and the Lord Chancellor must have known that the order was a forgery, yet neither spoke out in response to these appeals of the men whom they had brought to the scaffold, but allowed this vile calumny to remain uncontradicted.

To refute the false charge once for all, one of the copies of the orders preserved at Blair is here given in facsimile, and from this it will be seen that the sentence "and to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops, on no Account whatsoever," which in the spurious version appears after the words "until the battle and pursuit be finally over," had no existence in fact.

After the dispersal of the Jacobite army Lord George concealed himself in the mountains. Nothing more is known than that he was at one time at Rannoch,

[1] MS. Order Book in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh.

[2] The text of this is printed by Mr. Charteris in the appendix to Lord Elcho's narrative.

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and that once at least he visited his family at Tullibardine. He escaped from Scotland in December, and landed in Holland on Christmas Day, 1746. Thence he went to Rome, where he was received with much distinction by the old Chevalier, who granted him a pension. He visited Paris in the spring of 1747 to pay his respects to Prince Charles, but the Prince not only refused to see him, but ordered him to leave Paris. After journeying to Poland, possibly in search of military employment, he settled down for a time at Cleves, towards the end of 1748. From Cleves he went to Utrecht, and thence to Emmerich, which was his home for some years. Anxious to efface himself so as not to prejudice the interests of his family, he assumed the name of "de Valignie," or, occasionally, the "Chevalier d'Atholl." Lady George was as often with him as the education of their children permitted. His politics had lost his son John his boy-commission in Loudoun's Highlanders,[1] and, deeply affectionate as the father was, it was a bitter grief that his son was forbidden by his uncle to hold any communication with him. As years went on, however, Lord George had the satisfaction of seeing his two younger sons enter the British service, in which both were to achieve distinguished careers.[2] In 1750 his eldest daughter had married his old antagonist the attainted Lord Sinclair,[3] who died within the year. Four years later Lady Sinclair married James Farquharson of Invercauld, who had been one of the prisoners taken at Prestonpans, and it is touching to read the exiled father's delight at his daughter becoming mistress of the scenes of his early sporting exploits. In 1753 Lord George's eldest son married his cousin, Lady Charlotte Murray, the only surviving child of his uncle Duke James, whom in 1764 he succeeded in the title.

For the last three years of his life Lord George resided in the Netherlands with his wife and his youngest daughter; and at Medemblik in North Holland he died on the 11th of October 1760, at the age of sixty-six.

[1] His commission as captain in Loudoun's Highlanders, granted in June 1745, while a boy at Eton, was cancelled in 1746. It is a mistake to suppose that he ever actually served against the cause in which his father was engaged.

[2] See later biographies of Lieut.-General James Murray and Vice-Admiral George Murray.

[3] See article on the 'Fifteen, p. 298.

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V.—PERTHSHIRE'S MEN OF ACTION

MONTROSE[1]

1612–50

BY GRAHAM HOPE

WHEN Cardinal de Retz wrote his reminiscences of the many strange things he had seen and the interesting people he had known in his eventful life, he deliberately recorded his opinion of the person who had impressed him most. "Montrose, a Scottish nobleman, head of the house of Graham—the only man that has ever realised to me the ideas of certain heroes whom we discover nowhere but in the 'Lives' of Plutarch—sustained in his own country the cause of the King, his master, with a greatness of soul that has not found its equal in our age." That this was no mere literary enthusiasm the impulsive Frenchman proved by exerting himself, during the troubles of the Fronde, to persuade the Queen Regent to write in the name of her son, Louis XIV., to the Scottish Estates. She pleaded that mercy might be shown to Montrose, who "hath done no more than devote himself in a most generous spirit to his paramount duty in fulfilling the commands of the King, his sovereign and yours."

These two sentences, written by impartial foreigners, give us the measure of the man. It matters little whether we think his cause right or wrong; still less that his efforts were not crowned with success. He did what he conceived to be his duty; and did it, moreover, in a way which commanded the admiration of Europe. Perthshire, in calling over the long muster-roll of her famous sons, must feel a thrill of pride as she comes to the name of James Graham, Marquess of Montrose. His country shares that pride.

He is more to us than the realisation of one of Plutarch's heroes. He is part of our great inheritance from a romantic past; and one of Scotland's noblest representatives before the world. He is a type of all that is best in the national character. His quick intolerance of oppression, his passionate loyalty, his undaunted courage, his patient perseverance, his flashes of gaiety under stress of difficulty, even his gift of verse, are alike found over and over again in our records, found among the mass of the people as well as in individual cases.

[1] The author makes no pretence to original research, but has consulted all the recognised authorities, and is specially indebted to Mr. Mowbray Morris' monograph, and to Mr. Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*.

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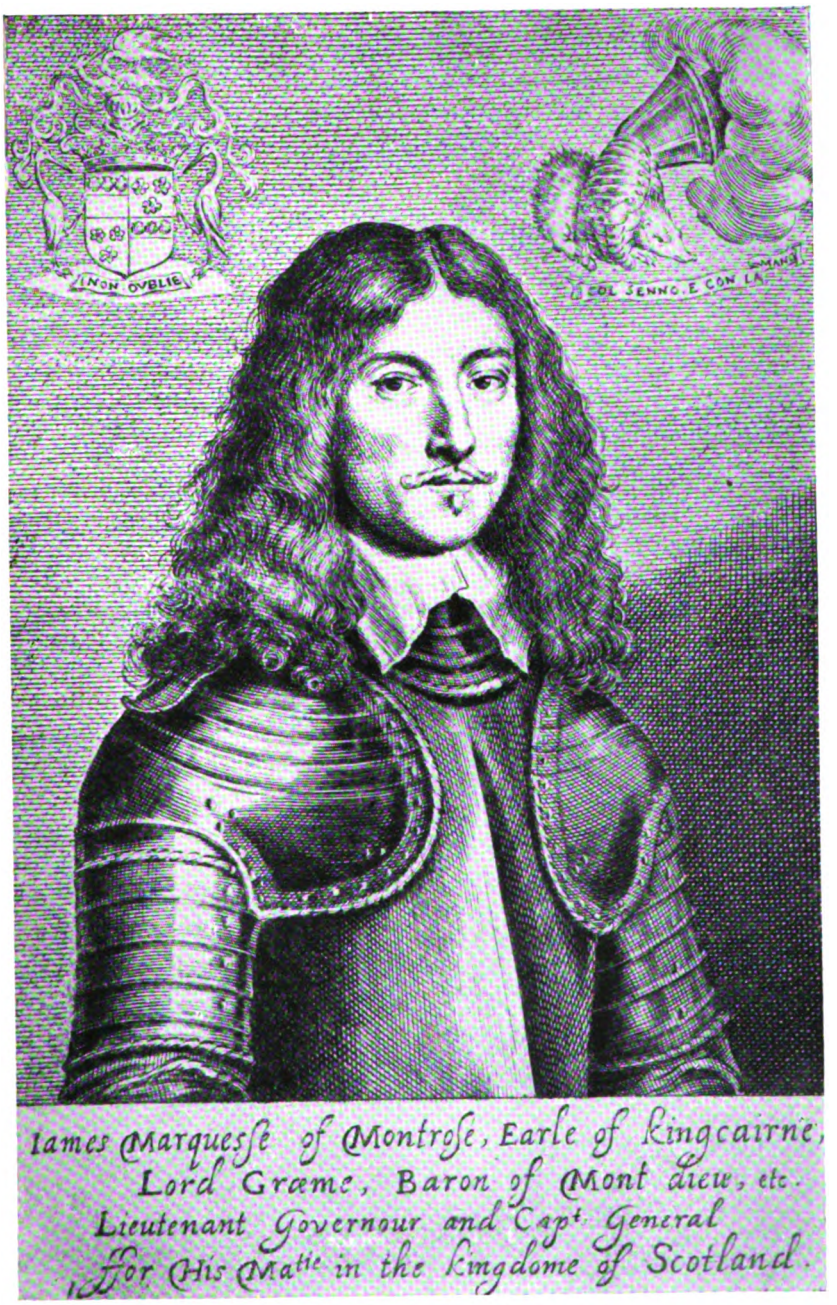
NON OVBLIE
SEMPER
Iames Marquesse of Montrose, Earle of Kingcairne,
Lord Græme, Baron of Mont dieu, etc.
Lieutenant Governour and Capt. General
for His Matie in the Kingdome of Scotland.

JAMES, FIRST MARQUESS OF MONTROSE

(*From an Engraving after a Portrait by Honthorst*)

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It was the same quickness to resent oppression that showed itself in Knox and the later Covenanters; the same sympathy for the weak which won Mary Stuart her most devoted adherents and displayed itself so often in favour of her descendants; the courage and perseverance of the nation need no proving; neither is the poetry of the Land of Ballads open to question. May Scotland long continue to be the mother of great sons.

Though the Earls of Montrose were descended from the Grahams of Dalkeith, who received their first grant of crown land in Forfarshire, yet for thirteen generations their chief residence had been Kincardine Castle in Perthshire, and it was probably there that our hero was born in 1612. This county was certainly the cradle of his race; and the families of Graham living within its borders were as numerous as they were powerful. He spent most of his childhood in Strathearn, to which fact he owed much of his later success. It was there that he became the hardy mountaineer he afterwards proved himself to be; there that he made acquaintance with the neighbouring Highland clans, despised and underrated by the Lowlanders; and it was there that he learnt their language—an acquisition destined to be of more importance than all his classical studies at St. Andrews.

Those peaceful, childish days, spent in riding about the country on his white pony, were the necessary prelude to his brief but brilliant period of military achievements. We know that he was filling his head with tales of the chivalry of "Sir Godfrey de Bulloyne," of the romantic tragedy of Mary, Queen of Scots, and with the "History of the World" by that most adventurous of philosophers, Sir Walter Raleigh. As he read of marches, battles, sieges, he had but to raise his eyes to behold the mountain rampart, behind which armies had lain in wait to pour down upon the dwellers in the plains. The Grampians had served as a bulwark against the Roman and the English alike; and the country at their feet had been the scene of most of the famous fights in Scottish story.

James Graham succeeded his father as Earl of Montrose in 1626; and then, as he was a minor, Kincardine was shut up, while he went to study at St. Andrews. He seems to have worked hard—if vicariously, for he kept a scholar to take notes for him at lectures—besides paying earnest attention to golf and archery. In 1628 he won the silver challenge arrow, which he held against all comers while he remained in residence. The next year he won the hand of Magdalen Carnegie, daughter of Lord Southesk.

He lived with the Carnegies at Kinnaird until he came of age, and then, after a short stay at Kincardine, he travelled abroad as befitted a young man of position. When he returned to Scotland (in 1636) he found the state of affairs already serious. Charles I., acting under the advice of the narrow-minded Archbishop of Canterbury, was attempting to reform abuses from London. The haughty independence of the Scots took alarm. They resented English interference, and refused to be coerced into accepting ecclesiastical innovations.

It was now proposed to revive the Covenant, which, while engaging its subscribers to take vigorous action for the redress of their grievances, bound them

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by most solemn oaths to respect the person of the King. More than that—"We shall," they swore, "to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, the King's majesty." Such was the spirit in which Montrose signed, and from that position he never swerved. With fiery zeal he upheld the Covenant at much cost to himself, subscribing largely to its funds, and risking his life more than once in its battles. By a strange chance the first meeting he addressed in its favour was near the Town Cross in Edinburgh. He stood on a high platform, raised above his colleagues, one of whom jestingly said: "You will never be at rest till you be lifted above us all by three fathoms of rope."

The religious difficulties did not last long. Charles sent for the leaders of the Covenant to meet him at Berwick in 1640. Six obeyed his summons, among them Montrose. No details have been preserved of the interview between the imaginative, poetical young man and his King. We can only guess from what we know of Montrose's subsequent fervour that he must have been conquered by the rare charm, which no Stuart possessed in a greater degree than Charles. He was already prepared to recognise that the tyranny of the people is the most fierce, insatiable, and insupportable in the world; and now to that negative position he added a positive belief in the personal goodness of the King. "Great, Good, and Just," he calls him in the elegy he wrote when the news of the execution reached him; and none can doubt his absolute sincerity.

The demands of the Covenanters were granted. Henceforth opposition to their sovereign was treasonable; but Montrose failed to convince Argyll and his other colleagues of that. They had reached the parting of their ways, and for the future Montrose and Argyll must remain enemies.

Montrose's attitude requires no apology to modern readers who see the record in his own words and know the end; but his contemporaries did not understand. The Covenanters imprisoned him for five months, releasing him at last without a trial because he had committed no legal offence. It was not yet possible to execute a man for loyalty. Then when the war began his advice was neglected and his services refused by the King, whose English counsellors were suspicious of the good faith of an ex-Covenanter. Thus much precious time was wasted; and it was not until 1643 that Charles became convinced that the Scottish Presbyterians were in league with the rebellious Puritans.

In that year Montrose had come to Oxford, not without some danger, to urge the King to let him raise the loyalists in the North. Still the English Cavaliers shook their heads. He might be well meaning, but he was obviously mad. Two hostile armies lay between the marshy banks of the Isis and the Tweed. Beyond that the whole country was hostile to the foot of the Grampians, and he was known to hundreds of the poorest people. Yet Montrose persisted in the face of such discouragement. If the King would give him a commission, he would do the rest with the help of God. Faith is infectious, so he had his way.

The story of his adventurous journey is too well known to be repeated. He

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at last reached Tulliebelton, the house of his kinsman, Græme of Inchbrakie; but there was no news yet of the Irish contingent promised by the King, and the Gordons had already failed in a premature rising. The Royal cause was supposed to be lost; its supporters were weak, disunited, and a prey to their enemies. Many were shot in cold blood. The news roused Montrose. It were far better that they should die like heroes on the field of battle than perish miserably like unresisting sheep. So he prayed for power to strike a blow in their defence, and, when his prayer was ended, he raised his eyes to see a man carrying the fiery cross. He asked its message, and the bearer answered that the Ulstermen were come to Atholl to fight for the King.

Macdonnell and his men were of Scottish extraction, sons of the colony planted in Ulster forty years before by King James; but they were looked upon with almost as much terror as if they had been the wild Irish. They met with small welcome and would have returned, had not Argyll imprudently ordered their boats to be burnt. Now they were waiting, some twenty miles away, for the promised general. When Montrose appeared in Atholl the Irish could scarcely be persuaded that this young man, who arrived on foot, dressed in Highland costume, with only a bunch of oats in his flat blue cap, was the great nobleman chosen by the King to command them. But the Highlanders, who knew him well, cheered him wildly, and straightway eight hundred of the trusty men of Atholl joined him.

Within a week Montrose had led his little army to victory at Tibbermuir (August 1644), and for twelve months the Athollmen and the Irish followed him through sunshine and storm, by day and night, often hungry, often weary, but always successful. The rest of his men came and went as fancy dictated. He rarely fought two successive battles with the same troops, and never once against equal numbers. The odds were always on the other side; yet he won six brilliant victories and a European reputation in the course of a single year.

The accounts of the battles are sufficiently exciting; but the records of the long marches beat them. Into the country of Argyll he penetrated in the depths of the winter of 1644–45 by difficult passes; and, when he was leaving a month later, he heard that he was between two armies. Seaforth had raised the Mackenzies in the North, the vengeful Campbells were behind him with some Lowland levies; and there was only one road. Then he performed a feat that no other man would have attempted. He led his army by a path, practicable in summer for deer and goats; waded waist-deep through the snow, clambered over bare peaks, ate a handful of meal moistened with cold water, and within forty-eight hours was on the skirts of Ben Nevis, ready to fall on Argyll's camp at daybreak. The Campbells could not believe it was he, until his bugles sounded the "Point of War" when they greeted the Royal standard in the early dawn at Inverlochy.

The other famous march was after the taking of Dundee a few weeks later. His men were scattered through the town, forgetful of such bonds of discipline as they recognised, when suddenly came the alarm that Baillie was upon them

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with an army. A brave man might well have been excused for losing heart in such a desperate strait; but Montrose seems to have been incapable of fear. He got his men together by a sort of miracle, and, sending the foot out of the town towards the east, covered their retreat in person with fifty horse. To Baillie the movement seemed madness; on the level he could speedily overtake the little force of six hundred men, so he encamped at dusk, looking forward to an easy victory. But he did not yet realise the skill of the commander opposed to him. Montrose doubled during the night, slipped past the Covenanting army, and was away to join hands with the Gordons.

Baillie caught him up at last on the slopes of Auldearn, where Macdonnell's rashness nearly lost the day. Montrose and the Gordons redeemed it amply, capturing ammunition, money, and General Hurry, the Second-in-Command. By this time the Estates were on their mettle. Four armies had been defeated; and sentences of outlawry and excommunication were powerless to stop the triumphant Royalists. In June 1645 the plague was raging in Edinburgh, so the Parliament had to take refuge at Perth. There they must daily have dreaded an attack. It was now that Argyll showed himself worthy of his rival. His nerves played strange tricks in actual physical danger; but, politically, he was undaunted. A fifth army was defeated at Alford on July the 2nd; and he raised another, which met Montrose at Kilsyth.

There they had him at a disadvantage. He was in a hollow; they were on the surrounding hills. It was the 15th of August and the sky was cloudless, but Montrose was as ready for heat as for cold. "Strip to your shirts," he ordered; and his men prepared to charge up the steep slopes under the broiling sun. The Covenanters saved them the trouble. They came down to take their last beating easily. The Irish had a heavy account to settle with them; so only one hundred were left alive by nightfall.

For one month Montrose was master of Scotland. Glasgow welcomed him, Edinburgh released his friends from prison, all the Lowland lords came to proffer men and money. Unfortunately, once more his army was melting. The Gordons were jealous of the Ogilvies; the Highlanders were aggrieved that they had not been allowed to plunder Glasgow; Macdonnell had been made a knight on the field of battle, so was content. Meantime, Digby was advancing to the Borders from the South to join hands with the Scottish Royalists in one last effort to save the King.

Is there any need to describe the rest? The story is as familiar as it is tragic. Montrose left Glasgow with a new army of sullen Lowlanders, led by half-hearted commanders. On September the 13th, 1645, they betrayed and deserted him on the field of Philiphaugh. The faithful remnant of the Irish fought gallantly. Montrose with his personal friends, the two Napiers, Crawford, Douglas, and Nathaniel Gordon, did all that men could do. Twice his one hundred and fifty horsemen drove back David Leslie and his four thousand cavalry; but it was all in vain. He wished to die on the field; but his friends urged him to save himself. While he lived the cause was not lost. Quarter

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was offered to his soldiers, and they surrendered, only to be shot next morning in cold blood.

Within four days Montrose, undaunted, was in Perthshire, once more appealing to the men of Atholl, who were loyal to the core. They answered his call as if he had returned from victory; and the Gordons rallied round him, penitent but self-willed. Huntly was willing to fight to the end, only it must be in protection of his own lands, not in an attempt to save the prisoners condemned to die at Glasgow. Montrose was powerless, and the time went by. Blow after blow fell. His eldest son had died of the hardships of the winter campaign. The second was a prisoner in the hands of the Covenanters. His wife, having accepted a warrant from her husband's enemies to bring up the younger boys in their principles, now died; and when her husband returned to Atholl, chased by troopers from her open grave, he found his brother-in-law, old Lord Napier, dead. A few weeks later his nephew, young Lord Napier, was besieged in Kincardine, and after holding out until the castle well failed, had to abandon it. Thus Montrose lost home, wife, friends, within six months of the battle which had apparently made him master of Scotland.

Yet he justified the war in May 1646, when the King sent orders to him to disband his men. Before the Royalists took up arms, they were being murdered in cold blood; now, the fear of Montrose was so great that he was able to make terms for his followers, except Crawford and Hurry, who had joined him after Auldearn. Charles was a prisoner in the hands of the Scots, so Montrose may well have thought that further resistance would only injure his master. His men implored on their knees with tears that he would take them with him even to the uttermost ends of the earth; but he had won them leave to return to their homes in peace, and he would not let them throw away their chance.

The next three years were probably the saddest in Montrose's life. Everywhere he was received with compliments by foreign Courts. Mazarin offered him employment and high pay. The Emperor Ferdinand made him a field-marshal. All the most distinguished people begged for an interview with the famous soldier. But, to adapt Aytoun's words,

> "He bore within his breast the grief
> That fame can never heal—
> That deep, unalterable woe
> Which none save exiles feel."

He was no "merchant of his faith," as he himself had said. His heart belonged too utterly to Charles to allow him to dream of serving any other sovereign. But the exiled English Cavaliers were none the less jealous. They held aloof, taking care, however, that his reception by Henrietta Maria should be chilling.

He was in the Low Countries when the news of the execution of Charles I. reached him, and the shock sent him into a swoon. When he returned to consciousness he declared that there was nothing left him in life. Wishart, his devoted chaplain, could only rouse him by reminding him that the King's

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murder should be avenged. It was with that object that he asked permission from young Charles to lead an expedition into Scotland.

With some six hundred German mercenaries and a few exiled Royalists he opened his campaign in 1650. Having reached the Orkneys, he recruited his little army from its population of fishermen, who were wholly indifferent to the cause of the Stuarts. He then proceeded to the mainland, where he found the people actively hostile. On April the 27th he met a Covenanting force under Strachan at Invercharron, in Ross-shire. The Germans retreated to a wood, where they surrendered. The Orkney men had no spirit for the fight. It was Philiphaugh over again, without the deliberate treachery.

Meantime the tide of Scottish feeling had turned. The Estates were furious at the death of the King; and Argyll in their name offered the Crown to the Prince of Wales. Charles saw that this might prove his best chance, and showed himself ready to disown the loyal servant who had sacrificed so much for his House. Fortunately, his messenger was delayed, and Montrose died in ignorance of his King's treachery.

He wandered for two days and two nights among the hills after the battle, taking refuge at last in the house of Macleod of Assynt, who is believed to have fought under him four years before. This man sold him to his enemies on May the 4th.[1] From that moment his fate was sealed. With his arch enemy, Argyll, at the head of affairs, Montrose could not hope for mercy. His execution was inevitable; but the outburst of feeling it evoked does credit to the race and was a magnificent tribute to his personality. It was Dundee that first gave evidence of respectful sympathy—Dundee, which he had sacked six years before. Then he was brought to Edinburgh, whose streets were crowded by the sufferers in the war. The fierce fanatics who ruled reckoned on the mob insulting their prisoner. "They set him high upon a cart" that all might see him, tying his hands behind his back so that he could not shield his face from stones. But none were thrown. Hatred died in the kindly Scottish hearts, and he passed through the three hours' ordeal unscathed.

[1] Mr. Charles Fraser Mackintosh has published an ingenious defence of Macleod of Assynt (*Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. xxiv. p. 374 *et seq.*). Macleod certainly tried to establish an alibi when times changed; but even if his wife were the actual betrayer of Montrose, there is no doubt that Assynt himself accepted the price of his blood.

(General Stewart of Garth (in some MS. notes belonging to Mr. James Mead-Sutherland) confirms the story of Macleod's innocence. He records as an "authentic fact" that "Assynt was not in the country at the time, being in Aberdeenshire," and goes on to relate that Macleod "on his way home was met at the ferry of Spey by Montrose, then under escort as a prisoner. Being well acquainted, they halted and spoke, when Montrose said he was afraid that Assynt and his people would be blamed for his capture, having been on his lands, but added, if he would return and follow him to his night's quarters, he would give him a written declaration, acknowledging that he had no concern in the matter." Macleod accordingly followed Montrose to Cullen (where, according to Garth, the captive General spent that night), but as the guards would permit no further communication, Montrose was unable to carry out his generous intention. Garth, however, gives no authorities, and Assynt's guilt seems clearly established by the evidence set forth by the late Canon Murdoch and Mr. Morland-Simpson (Wishart's *Memoirs*, 1893 ed., app. xiii.).—[Ed.])

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Montrose went to his trial two days later, on Monday, May the 20th, dressed in the brave suit of black and silver, with the scarlet cloak provided by his friends. He did not plead for mercy, only for justice. "Let me," he said, "be tried by the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, the laws of this land. If otherwise, I appeal from you to the righteous Judge of the world, who one day must be your judge and mine, and who always gives out righteous judgments." The Covenanting leaders were deaf to this remonstrance, and sentenced him to die with every circumstance of ignominy.

He heard the sentence unmoved. The next morning he curled his hair with his usual care, put on his best apparel, and walked to the foot of the gallows. There he spoke for a few minutes to the magistrates, reaffirming his belief that "the late King lived a saint and died a martyr." He added, "I leave my soul to God, my service to my Prince, my goodwill to my friends, my love and charity to you all." Then he mounted the long ladder with unshaken composure. It was the hangman who wept: Montrose died with a smile.

Eleven years later Argyll lay a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh, condemned to death, and listened to the ringing of bells and firing of cannon. All Scotland was met together to render the last honours to his rival. The fragments of Montrose's body had been collected from Perth, Stirling, and the other large towns, where they had so long borne witness to the malignant hatred of his enemies; and, after lying in state for three days, they were brought to St. Giles' for burial. The crowded streets were lined with troops. The Estates walked two and two, clad in deep mourning. The coffin was borne by fourteen earls, while twelve lesser peers carried the pall.

Scotland had rendered a tardy justice to her great son.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF CROMLIX,

FIRST VISCOUNT STRATHALLAN

1617 (?)–88

BY ANDREW ROSS, Ross Herald

Of the Perthshire men who have distinguished themselves as soldiers since the Restoration of King Charles II., the earliest in point of time is Lieutenant-General William Drummond of Cromlix, first Viscount Strathallan, second son of John, second Baron Maderty, by his wife Helen Lesley. An account of Lieutenant-General Drummond's services, scriptural in its brevity, is given in the warrant for his patent as a viscount, dated at Windsor the 16th of August 1686. "Our sovereigne lord, considering the great and faithfull services done and performed to his majestie's royall father King Charles the First, and to his dearest brother King Charles the Second of ever blessed memory, and to his majestie himself by Lievtenant Generall William Drummond of Cromlix, commander of all his majesties forces within his ancient kingdom of Scotland, and particularly his ready and chearfull joyning with the forces levied in the year 1648 for rescuing the sacred person of his Majesties royall father out of the hands of his rebellious English subjects, by whom he was then kept prisoner, and with the forces levied in Ireland for the service of the crown in the year 1649 under the command of the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and his resolute and chearfull concurring with the royall armys both in Scotland and England in the year 1651, which was the occasion of his suffering great loss and a greivous long imprisonment, and his courageous appearing in arms against the usurper in the year 1653 being cloathed with a commission of Major Generall, and considering also that after the hopes of the loyall party were absolutely cut off by the prevelancy of the usurpation the said Lieutenant General Drummond, having endured the greatest hardships and miserys under the influence of tirannicall powers, made a generous choice rather to undergo exile and banishment from his own native country than submitt upon any terms to or comply with an unlawfull and usurped authority: And that upon a call from his majesties royall brother after the Restoration he left a splendid and honourable employment under the Emperor of Russia to give obedience to his native prince. . . ." [1]

To this Royal appreciation of strenuous service may be added a short outline of his career in Scotland after his return from Russia in 1665.

[1] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

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In January 1666 he was appointed major-general of the forces in Scotland.[1] At that time the chief command in Scotland was held by John, Duke of Rothes, who was succeeded in 1667 by the Earl of Linlithgow. But the commissions held by these noblemen were merely honorary, the real command being in the hands of Lieutenant-General Thomas Dalziel of Binns, who held a commission as lieutenant-general of all the forces in Scotland. Drummond commanded as major-general under Dalziel. In official references he is usually referred to as lieutenant-general.

In August 1666 he raised a troop of horse, the muster-roll of which shows that it was chiefly recruited in his native county.[2] With this troop he was present when the Covenanters were defeated at Rullion Green on the 28th of November 1666, and for their conduct of the campaign General Dalziel and he received the special thanks of the King.[3] On the 30th of January 1667 he was made a member of the Privy Council.[4]

In 1668–69 he was actively engaged in the organisation of the Militia, and on June the 12th of the latter year he was appointed to a troop of the Perthshire Militia—a command which he held until the 29th of May 1676.

He was one of the representatives of Perthshire in Parliament, 1669–74; a member of the Convention of Estates, summoned by Lauderdale, which met at Edinburgh on the 26th of June 1678; a representative of the county in the last Parliament of Charles II., 1681–82, and in the only Parliament of James VII., which met on the 23rd of April 1685.[5]

On the 25th of August 1674 he was deprived of his command as major-general, and on the 22nd of September following he was directed to enter himself a prisoner in Dumbarton Castle.[6] Neither the Royal warrant ordering the incarceration, nor the minute of Privy Council of the 29th of September directing the Lord Lyon to put the order into execution, assign any cause for the proceeding. Wodrow's gossip is that he held converse with intercommuned persons; Burnet says, with some fugitives in Holland. He was released by Royal warrant of the 24th of February 1676, his Majesty expressing the hope that the General's "future carriage will be such as that thereby we shall have no cause to think this our royal favour ill bestowed."[7]

The General retained his command of the Perthshire troop of horse throughout the period of his disgrace. As few of his letters are extant, although he was a penman and wrote a history of his House, one to a Perthshire man on Militia business, dated from his prison, may be given :—

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[1] *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] See article entitled *The Earl of Atholl's and Major-General William Drummond's Troops of Horse*, pp. 1–7.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm., Report IX.*, app. p. 235.

[4] Royal Warrant.

[5] *Parliamentary Return of Members of Parliament for Scotland.*

[6] *Warrant Book, Scot.*

[7] Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 207; MSS., Advocates' Library, vol. xxxii. p. 152.

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"DUMBARTAN, *May* [1675].

"Sr

"I had a letter from Sr Johne Drumond[1] concerneinge the muster of the troop at Auchterardoar upon the 23 June and told him in answer all that wes then necessarie and what more wes needful I promysed it should meet him at the rendezvous. Therfor call yow to James Robtsone who will give you a perfyct muster roll which you may copie and prepar on for the muster master. If Sr John hes got a precept from Bulleachan for you to advance the money due to the troop out of the excyse for two years now resting, the account is yearly 30ss to each of three corporalls, yrself, Lawrie Grahame, and Alexr Glass, 25ss for a trumpeter each year. And for this muster let Sr Johne hyre on, or acquaint Barclay the trumpeter at Alaway and aggrie with him to attend that day. The way to advertise the horsmen to keep that day is, devyd the presbyteries, take yow Dunblane, give Laurie Auchterardoar, and Indermay all thes in Perth Presbytery, and Sr John himself may acquaint Strathord and Garntilly. The Standart needs not compear at this bout. I am wearied of that charge and shalbe God willing cleerd of it ere long. Now I am wearie also to wreat of it. Except to satisfie Sr Johne I had not taken this paines. I rest

"Your loving friend to serve yow

"W. DRUMOND.

[Addressed]

"For ROBERT DRUMOND

"At Kilbryd. Thes."

Shortly after his release he was restored to his command as major-general, and in 1678 he took part in the expedition against the south-western shires. For this he is duly remembered in the Covenanter's Inferno—"Lag's Elegy." Cleland, too, gives him a passing fling :—

> "It was not long from that time, when
> The chased and tossed Western-men
> Were dissipat at Pickland fells
> By Devils Drummonds and Dalzells,"

he sings in his introduction to the doings of the Highland Host.[2]

It should not be forgotten, however, that neither his imprisonment nor his subsequent restoration to office deterred General Drummond from accompanying the deputation which, led by the Duke of Hamilton, went up to London in March 1678—at a time when all heritors had been forbidden to leave Scotland without Royal permission—in order to plead against the severities practised by the Privy Council on the Covenanters. Although the mission was unsuccessful, Drummond did not suffer for his action.[3]

At Bothwell Brig, in 1679, Drummond, in Dalziel's absence, acted as second-

[1] Of Logiealmond, lieutenant of the troop.

[2] Cleland, *Poems*, p. 8.

[3] Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 449, 453.

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in-command of the Duke of Monmouth's army, but his chief expeditions against the Covenanters took place in the years 1682 and 1685.

On the 9th of August 1682 Drummond, then a knight,[1] was appointed one of the commissioners under the Great Seal for securing the peace of the Highlands,[2] and there are numerous testimonies in the Records to the energy and efficiency with which he discharged his duties under that commission.

On the 8th of September 1682 he was appointed master-general of the ordnance,[3] and from that period onwards he was busily occupied in organising and refitting the slender artillery train of which the Scottish Army could then boast. During his time old and useless pieces of artillery—including, no doubt, many specimens of antique workmanship—were sent to Holland, and cannon of the latest pattern mounted in the fortresses. But his zeal brought him into conflict with those nobles who were then keepers of the national strongholds, and they were influential enough to procure a Royal warrant prohibiting him from interfering with their charges.

The legend that the thumbkins were introduced into Scotland from Russia by Generals Dalziel and Drummond may be briefly referred to here. The first reference we have to the implement in Scotland appears to be in the Privy Council Record of the 23rd of July 1684, which mentions "a new invention and ingyne called the thumbekins."

Both generals were undoubtedly members of the Privy Council at that period,[4] but neither of them had been in Russia for some twenty years, and Dalziel, then an octogenarian, took little or no active share in Privy Council business, except in so far as he could thwart his fellow councillors. It is therefore to be supposed that he and Drummond had kept the secret of their knowledge locked in their breasts for two decades—an idea which seems highly improbable. More likely than not, the thumbkins owed their introduction to the officiousness of Johnnie Callendar, the Treasury blacksmith, who got his account of £6, 12s. scots "for thumbkins and ironwork furnished about the Exchequer and Treasury," paid him on the 14th of August 1685.

On the death of Lieutenant-General Dalziel in 1685, Drummond was appointed lieutenant-general of the forces (commission dated October the 7th of that year). His salary was £800 per annum, with £100 for a secretary and £100 for procuring intelligence.

On the 7th of January 1686 he was readmitted a member of the Privy Council, and in March he was summoned to London by the King to confer on the question of religious toleration. To Drummond's lasting honour be it recorded that he refused his consent to James' proposal to grant full liberty of conscience to the Roman Catholics in Scotland while persecuting the Covenanters as before, and this attitude he openly maintained after his return to Edinburgh.

[1] He was knighted at some period between 1678 and 1681; the exact date is unknown. *Dict. of National Biography.*

[2] *Privy Council Reg.*

[3] *Paper Register of the Great Seal.*

[4] Commission for the Privy Council, 13th June 1684. *Privy Council Reg.*, 15th July 1684.

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He did not, however, lose his favour at Court, for on the 16th of August following he was created Viscount Strathallan, and on the 25th of September he was appointed commissioner of Justiciary for the settlement of the shire of Argyll,[1] of which the Marquess of Atholl had been lord-lieutenant. On the 16th of May 1687 he was given his last appointment, that of governor and keeper of the castle of Inveraray, a post in which he was succeeded by Sir John Drummond of Machany. On the 15th of August 1687 he had a tack of the Parks of Inveraray, in which he is designed "commander-in-chief in Scotland," a rank he had held since General Dalziel's death. On the 3rd of March 1688 he received a refund of £800—the sum he had expended on fortifications at Inveraray.[2]

Lord Strathallan died on March the 23rd 1688, and was buried at Innerpeffray on April the 3rd.[3] His wife—Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, and widow of Thomas Hepburn of Humbie, Haddingtonshire—had predeceased him in 1679, but he left a daughter Elizabeth, married to Thomas, sixth Earl of Kinnoull, and a son, William, who succeeded as second Viscount Strathallan.

[1] *Warrant Books, Scot.* A supplementary commission as commissioner of Justiciary and Sheriffship in the same shire was granted on the 25th of February 1687. The *Warrant Books* also contain a letter from the King to the Duke of Hamilton, dated the 2nd of March 1686, desiring him to furnish Lieutenant-General Drummond with apartments in Holyrood House.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Errol Papers.*

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE PRESTON

(From a Portrait at Broom Hall)

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GEORGE PRESTON
1659–1748

BY THE EDITOR

IT can have fallen to the lot of few men to render such conspicuous services to their Sovereign at the close of a long life, as did Lieutenant-General George Preston, second son of Sir George Preston, first baronet of Valleyfield,[1] by his wife Marian, only child of the fifth Lord Sempill.

Born on Christmas Day in the year 1659,[2] George Preston at an early age entered the service of the States-General and was a captain in one of the regiments which accompanied the Prince of Orange to England in 1688.[3] It is unknown, however, in which of those regiments he served, and his career does not emerge from obscurity until September 1692, when he was appointed captain in the Royal Scots Dragoons[4] (now Scots Greys).

With the Dragoons Preston served under William III. in Flanders, probably from 1694 until the conclusion of the Peace of Ryswick in 1697.[5]

In 1702 Preston found himself once more in the Low Countries with his regiment—this time as a brevet-lieutenant-colonel[6]—and for the next eleven years

[1] Valleyfield was in Perthshire until 1891, when it was transferred to Fife under the Boundary Commissioners' Order, No. 119.

[2] MS. Pedigree in Lyon Office.

[3] Letter from Lieutenant-General Preston to the Marquess of Tweeddale, dated "Wallie-field, Jun. the 3rd, 1745." *Home Office, Scotland*, vol. xxvi. The *Scots Magazine* for 1748, p. 353, says that he was a captain in the service of the States-General in the year 1688.

[4] *English Army Lists*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 24, *note*. Mr. James Ferguson in his *Scots Brigade in Holland* (vol. ii. p. 18, *note* 4) states that Sir George Preston's son was appointed captain in Lauder's Regiment on the 23rd of May 1692, and that he left the Dutch service as a lieutenant-colonel in 1707, though on p. 41 of the same volume he is shown as still serving in Lauder's Regiment in 1708. He is also mentioned by Mr. Ferguson (*Ibid.* p. 18, *note* 4) as succeeding Lord Stair in the command of the Cameronians, an appointment which had been shown by Mr. John Murray Graham, in his *Annals of the First and Second Earls of Stair* (vol. i. pp. 229 and 230), to have been relinquished by Lord Dalrymple (afterwards second Earl of Stair) before November 1706. George Preston's commissions as major and lieutenant-colonel in the Scots Dragoons, and as colonel of the Cameronians (the latter dated 24th August 1706) are preserved in the Valleyfield charter-chest, and I therefore think there can be no question that Mr. Dalton is right in stating that it was he who was appointed captain in the Scots Dragoons on the 8th of September 1692, and that he was not the George Preston of Lauder's Regiment. He may have been the George Preston who was appointed captain in Mar's Regiment in April 1689 (*English Army Lists*, vol. iii. p. 95).

[5] The period during which the Dragoons were in Flanders. Cannon, *Historical Record of the 2nd Dragoons*, pp. 35 and 36.

[6] Commission (dated 1st August 1702) in Valleyfield charter-chest.

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he took a continuous part in the campaigns of the great Duke of Marlborough. He was major of the Scots Dragoons before August 1703,[1] and in 1704—a year in which he obtained his promotion as lieutenant-colonel[2]—his regiment shared in the famous march to the Danube, and fought at Schellenberg and Blenheim. Two years later, as brevet-colonel,[3] Preston was severely wounded at Ramillies,[4] and was shortly afterwards appointed colonel of the Cameronians (afterwards the 26th Foot[5]). He commanded this regiment at Malplaquet[6] and remained its colonel for fourteen years.[7] In 1711 he became a brigadier-general,[8] and in 1713 governor of Nieuport.[9]

Preston by that time was an old and experienced soldier who had shown his worth on many a hard-won field, and of whose loyalty to Whig principles, bred up as he had been in the school of William of Orange, there could never have been any room for doubt. That his character and military capacity were realised by some at least of George I.'s advisers, was shown two years later by his appointment as lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh Castle at a most critical moment, just after the failure of the Jacobite attempt upon the Castle. The loyalty of the existing deputy-governor was called in question, and Preston was despatched on the 15th of September 1715[10] to take over what was then one of the most responsible positions he could have been called upon to fill. No further attempt was made on the Castle, but thirty years later, as an octogenarian, Preston was to amply justify the trust that had been reposed in him when in the prime of life.

In the interval, however, ill-health occasioned by the wounds he had received at Ramillies was to prove a blight on an otherwise promising military career. In September 1719, indeed, he was appointed to command the troops in Scotland in the absence of General Wightman, and he appears to have acted in this capacity for some time; but he never received any actual commission as commander-in-

[1] In *English Army Lists* (vol. v. pt. i. p. 35) he is shown as major in a list of officers of his regiment whose commissions were renewed on the 16th August 1703. The commission granted to him on that date is preserved in the Valleyfield charter-chest.

[2] Commission dated at the Hague on the 25th April 1704. *Ibid.*

[3] Commission dated 1st January 1706 (in Valleyfield charter-chest).

[4] In the *Scots Magazine* of 1748, p. 353, it is stated that "some bullets lodged in his body and could not be extracted."

[5] Commission (dated at Helchin, 24th August 1706) in Valleyfield charter-chest. He had evidently hoped for the colonelcy of the Dragoons (*Annals of the First and Second Earls of Stair*, vol. i. p. 229), and it was no doubt a severe blow that it was not conferred upon him.

[6] *English Army Lists*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 25, *note*.

[7] In 1820, Preston, acting under regulations published in that year, retired by the sale of the colonelcy. Thomas Carter, *Historical Record of the 26th or Cameronian Regiment*, p. 21.

[8] Commission dated 12th February 1711 (*English Army Lists*, vol. vi. p. 19).

[9] Commission (dated at Whitehall, 23rd April 1713) in Valleyfield charter-chest. Mr. Dalton gives the date as the 19th May 1713. *English Army Lists*, vol. v. pt. ii. p. 25, *note*.

[10] *Historical MSS. Commission* (*Townshend MSS.*), *Report XI.*, app. pt. iv. p. 171. His commission as lieutenant-governor (dated 17th September 1715) is in the Valleyfield charter-chest.

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chief,[1] and by the year 1727 the state of his health was such that General Wade, who had by that time been appointed to the Scottish command,[2] was advising the Government to appoint a deputy-lieutenant-governor.[3] It is probable, therefore, that from that date onwards Preston was not able to be much at the Castle.[4] In 1735 he was promoted major-general, and in 1739 lieutenant-general,[5] but no doubt he owed it to his ill-health that, after 1725, officers junior to him were at different times appointed to the chief command of the forces in Scotland.[6]

[1] No commission is to be found in the *War Office Registers* or Valleyfield charter-chest, and James Grant, in his *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, makes no mention of Preston having been commander-in-chief. Certainly in the first instance he was only appointed to command in Wightman's absence (*Home Office, Scotland*, September 1719); but Wightman was still on leave in March 1720 (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 309). Preston is referred to as commander-in-chief in the following October (*Treasury Papers*, vol. ccxxix., No. 4), and appears to have been still commanding in 1721 (see article entitled *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, p. 48). Finally, Wightman died in 1722 (*Historical Records of the 17th Foot*), and it appears probable that Preston remained in command until General Wade's arrival (see below). According to the *Scots Magazine* of 1748, p. 353, Preston was for many years commander-in-chief in Scotland.

[2] Major-General (afterwards Field-Marshal) George Wade was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland in December 1725 (*War Office Registers Various*, No. 16), but he appears to have been acting as such as early as the previous June (*Culloden Papers*, p. 82).

[3] *Historical MSS. Commission, Report XI.*, app. pt. iv. p. 198.

[4] James Grant, in his *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 219, states that Preston was in the Castle at the time of the Porteous Riots in 1736, and that a message was sent to him to ask for troops to disperse the mob which was killing Porteous—a request to which he refused to accede without a written order from the magistrates. A good deal of Grant's narrative with regard to Preston is founded on a MS. Memorandum of the General's services (which unfortunately I have not been able to trace), but as he does not quote the memorandum in connection with this statement; as I can discover no allusion to Preston in any contemporary account of the riots; and as the official papers of that date do not contain any report from him on the Porteous affair, I am not inclined to believe this statement. On the other hand, among the Scottish State Papers (*Home Office, Scot.*, vol. xxxvi.) there is a letter from Major-General John Moyle (who was commanding the troops in the suburbs), to the Duke of Newcastle, describing how a request similar to that mentioned by Grant was taken to him at his house at Abbey-Hill, and stating that he had refused to force the city gates without an order from the Lord Justice Clerk, or some other lord of the Justiciary. This was probably the original of Grant's story. I may also point out that Grant refers to Moyle as colonel commanding the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, then quartered in the Canongate, but that Moyle himself in the letter quoted, states that Lieut.-General Sabine's Regiment (*i.e.* the 23rd) was commanded at that time by "Colonel Pears"—no doubt the Lieut.-Colonel Newsham Peers of the 23rd, who in 1739 succeeded General Sabine as colonel of the regiment. Moyle's own position is clearly indicated in the papers above referred to. It may be added that he had been appointed major-general on the 5th of November 1735 (MS. *Army List*, No. 8, at the Record Office), whereas Preston had been promoted to the same rank ten days earlier, *i.e.* on the 26th of October). This circumstance, coupled with the fact that Preston sent in no report on the Riots, makes it more than ever improbable that he was in the Castle at the time, for as the senior officer, and close to the scene of action, it would have fallen to him, not to Moyle, to inform the Government of the proceedings of the mob.

[5] Commissions (dated respectively 26th October 1735 and 2nd July 1739) in Valleyfield charter-chest.

[6] Wade was senior to Preston, and so was General Clayton, who succeeded Wade in 1739; but Preston was senior both to Sir John Cope, who was appointed commander-in-chief early

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The outbreak of the last Jacobite rising found Preston in somewhat better health than usual. During the six months which preceded Prince Charles' landing in Arisaig, he had been able to pay two or three visits to Edinburgh, and when early in July the first hint of the intended rising reached the capital, Preston was ordered by Sir John Cope to take up his residence in the Castle.[1] His presence there, we are told, inspired great confidence among the supporters of the Hanoverian Government.[2]

When Cope marched north on the 14th of August to meet the Jacobite forces, General Joshua Guest was left in command of the troops "in the south country,"[3] and by the time the Prince's army was nearing Edinburgh, he had left his house in the Canongate[4] for safer, if possibly less comfortable quarters in the Castle. It is evident that Guest was both physically and mentally quite unfitted for the post assigned to him. He was eighty-three years of age,[5] and very infirm,[6] and a letter written by him on the approach of the Highland army[7] reveals a most unworthy state of terror. Moreover, from the evidence given at the second trial of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, who was charged with complicity in the rebellion, it appears that there was some foundation for Grant's assertion

in 1744, and to General Joshua Guest (see text below), who apparently held temporary command in Scotland for a short while prior to Cope's appointment (*Culloden Papers*, p. 364).

[1] *Report of the Proceedings and Opinion of the Board of General Officers on their Examination into the Conduct, Behaviour, and Proceedings of Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope* (London, 1749), p. 117.

[2] Letter (dated at Edinburgh, 13th August 1745) from Robert Craigie of Glendoick, lord advocate, to the Marquess of Tweeddale. *Home Office, Scot.*, vol. xxvi.

[3] *Report of the Proceedings . . . of . . . Sir John Cope*, p. 16. Some uncertainty has prevailed with regard to the relative positions of Guest and Preston, but the evidence of Sir John Cope, quoted here, leaves no room for doubt. Mahon and Chambers both allude to Guest as "governor of the Castle," and Chambers also elsewhere says that he was sent from London to replace Preston as deputy-governor, Preston remaining on in the Castle as a volunteer. Grant, in his *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, and *Old and New Edinburgh*, repeats this, adding that the Government distrusted Preston because he was a Scot. He also tells us that, by Cope's directions, Preston "mustered the out-pensioners of Chelsea, officered them from the half-pay list, and retaining a certain number to increase his strength, marched the rest to Stirling" (*Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 222). That the out-pensioners were early in August required to present themselves before General Guest at Edinburgh, and that on appearance they were either joined to the garrison of the Castle or sent to Stirling, we read in the *Scots Magazine* for 1745 (p. 397), but it is most unlikely that Preston conducted in person those who went to Stirling. His post was at Edinburgh Castle, and Grant himself tells us that at that time he was so infirm that he could not even walk round the ramparts (see text below). Grant may have meant that Preston despatched them to Stirling, or he may have confused the General with his grand-nephew, Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, who was appointed captain of one of the Volunteer companies raised in Edinburgh at that time.

[4] From a contemporary letter printed in the *Atholl Chronicles* (vol. iii. p. 46), it appears that Guest lived in part of Queensberry House.

[5] On Guest's monument in Westminster Abbey, he is stated to have died on the 14th of October 1747, aged 85. In the *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuick* (ed. J. M. Gray, p. 182) he is spoken of as being "above eighty-six years of age" in 1745.

[6] "He cou'd scarsely stir out of his room." *Ibid.*

[7] Quoted in the *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 225.

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that Guest proved himself a staunch Jacobite. One witness deponed that, after the Edinburgh Volunteers had delivered up their arms, an officer's party was sent down from the Castle by General Preston, with orders either to bring up the cannon on the city walls, or to spike them, lest they should prove of use to the Highland army. Guest, hearing of this, despatched a messenger after the party, with directions that the cannon were not to be touched without the Lord Provost's leave. The Lord Provost, declining responsibility, said that the military authorities might do what they liked with the cannon "without his liberty." The matter was then referred back to Guest, who refused to take any further action, excusing himself by saying that "the proper time was over for effectuating such work, as darkness had come on," and that the detachment, if detained longer in the town, might "fall into the hands of some flying party of the enemy." The guns therefore remained uninjured on the city walls.[1] On another occasion we hear of Guest playing into the hands of the Jacobites by declining to fetch up the arms which had been laid down by the Train Bands of the city, unless he should receive a written order from the Lord Provost to that effect. The arms were thus allowed to remain an easy prey to the Highland army.[2]

These incidents certainly lend colour to Grant's assertion, that, had it not been for Preston, Guest would have delivered over the Castle to Prince Charles when he returned to Edinburgh after the defeat of the Government forces at Prestonpans. He tells us that Guest called a council of war in order to discuss the question of surrender, but that this idea was vehemently opposed by Preston. The gallant old man threatened, if such a course were pursued, to send off an express that night to the King with his resignation, and his protests resulted in Guest then and there resigning the command of the Castle into his hands.[3] Preston at once "put in hand the most vigorous measures for resistance," and though he was so "enfeebled by the inroads of time and wounds" that he could not walk, "every two hours a party of soldiers wheeled him in an arm-chair round the guards, that he might personally see if all were on the alert.[4] Grant also states that it was by his orders that the Highlanders who were blockading the Castle were fired upon,[5] and there is no doubt that the measures adopted

[1] *Proceedings in the Second Trial of Archibald Stewart, Esq., late Lord Provost of Edinburgh* (1747), pp. 99–100 and 103–4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 196.

[3] *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 230. I am inclined to believe Grant (1) because he quotes the MS. Memorandum already mentioned; (2) because, as pointed out in the text below, the shelling of the Highlanders in the town after Prestonpans was in such marked contrast to the policy pursued by General Guest before the first arrival of the Highland army; and (3) because General Handasyde, in a letter to Lord Tweeddale, dated at Edinburgh on the 19th November 1745, mentions that Guest had resigned, but that Lieutenant-General Preston, deputy-governor of the Castle, was refusing to give out stores without Guest's counter-signature. *Home Office, Scot.*, vol. xxvii. On the other hand, Chambers, Mahon, and Home refer to Guest as writing the letter to the magistrates of Edinburgh, stating that the blockading parties of Highlanders would be fired upon unless free communication with the Castle were allowed.

[4] *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 231.

[5] So says Lord Elcho. *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland* (ed. Hon. E. Charteris, 1907).

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by the defenders of the Castle after the battle of Prestonpans were in such striking contrast to the policy pursued by Guest beforehand,[1] as to show that the command was no longer in his hands. It is well known that the bombardment caused so much consternation in the town that Prince Charles raised the blockade, and no further attempt was made against the Castle of Edinburgh.

It was therefore owing to Preston that the Prince's army met with its first check. The tide of Jacobite feeling had flowed down from the West Highlands, gathering volume and force as it went. It had struck terror into the hearts of the Volunteer forces of Edinburgh; it had overthrown the Commander-in-Chief and his army—but it was flung back from the Castle rock by the valour of an old man of eighty-six, who, as he had himself written a few months before, had ever steadfastly pursued the principles of the Revolution, and though grown old in the service of his King and country, could not yield to any one in his zeal for his Sovereign.[2]

Preston's services were acknowledged by the contemporary historian, Henderson,[3] but, according to Grant, who again quotes the MS. Memorandum above referred to,[4] Guest was rewarded by a grateful Government, and Preston was not. The first part of this statement is borne out by the fact that when Guest died two years later, his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey, and that succeeding generations have read on his tomb that he "closed a service of sixty years by faithfully defending Edinburgh Castle against the rebels in 1745." As to the second assertion, there is a tradition in the Preston family that the General received £100,000 as a reward for his defence of the Castle, and that it was with this money that he paid off the debts on Valleyfield and entailed the property on the descendants of his nephew, Sir George Preston. But from deeds preserved in the Register House, it appears that the entail was executed on the 30th of December 1736,[5] prior to which date he had purchased the debts on the estate. If therefore he received any money from Government, it was not given in recognition of the part he played during the last Jacobite Rising. In June 1745 he vainly petitioned to be appointed governor of Edinburgh Castle in succession to Sir James Campbell,[6] and it seems probable

[1] As Sir Robert Cadell observes in his *Sir John Cope* (p. 197), although the Highland troops which had occupied the city of Edinburgh were withdrawn before the battle of Prestonpans, Guest "did not consider it to be his duty to re-occupy the city, spike the cannon on the walls, or do any other action to render difficult or unpleasant the Prince's return to Holyrood and the capital."

[2] Letter already referred to from Preston to Tweeddale, dated June 3rd, 1745. *Home Office, Scot.*, vol. xxvi.

[3] *History of the Rebellion* (5th edition, London, 1753), p. 153.

[4] *Memorials of the Castle of Edinburgh*, p. 239.

[5] In the entail the General designs himself "heritable proprietor" of the estate. Having bought up the debts he had evidently taken the title in his own name.

[6] Letter to Lord Tweeddale of June 3rd, 1745. *Home Office, Scotland*, vol. xxvi. From another letter already quoted (from the Lord Advocate to Tweeddale, dated Edinburgh, August 13th, 1745) it appears that Preston's pay as lieutenant-governor was only 10s. a day "without any perquisites," and that he complained "greatly of his appointment." (*Ibid.*) It would be interesting to know how he acquired the money to clear Valleyfield.

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that his services remained to the last unacknowledged and unrequited by the Government of George II.

He died "at his seat of Valleyfield" on the 7th of July 1748,[1] in the eighty-ninth year of his age, while still holding the post which he had filled for thirty-three years with so much benefit to his country and so much honour to himself.

[1] *Scots Magazine*, 1748, p. 353.

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL OF FONAB[1]

1660 (?)–1724

BY THE EDITOR

A MAN well known to all Scotsmen of his time, and whose name has not been forgotten by posterity, was Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab, eldest son of Robert Campbell of Fonab by his wife Jean, second daughter of Duncan Menzies of Weem. Robert Campbell's father, Archibald Campbell of Lagvinshoch and Monzie, was the fifth son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, but probably owing to the influence of his mother (Christina, fifth daughter of Alexander Robertson of Inchmagrannoch, and sister to Alexander Robertson of Inchmagrannoch and Lude),[2] Robert became parish minister of Moulin, and established his family in Atholl by purchasing the estate of Fonab. He married Jean Menzies in 1659.

An inscription on Colonel Alexander Campbell's tomb at Edinample records that he went to Belgium in 1690, and as this statement precedes the mention of his military career, it may have been in Flanders that he joined the Earl of Argyll's Regiment of Foot. On the other hand, the name of a Lieutenant Alexander Campbell appears in a roll of the Argyll Regiment dated January the 23rd, 1690[3] (before the regiment was sent abroad), but as there is no further designation it is impossible to say who this was. In any case Fonab received a captain's commission in Argyll's Regiment on the 1st of August 1693[4]—a short time after the regiment had so signally distinguished itself at the forcing of the French lines at D'Ottignies—and he appears to have been on active service from the date of his commission until the Peace of Ryswick. He is known to have been in Flanders in 1695,[5] a year in which his regiment signalised itself by its strenuous opposition to the capitulation of Dixmude by a Danish governor after a siege of less than twenty-four hours' duration. The Highlanders tore up their colours rather than let them fall into the hands of the French, and it may well be imagined, from Alexander Campbell's subsequent career, that he would feel the disgrace no less keenly than they did.

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, this paper has been compiled from an inscription on Colonel Campbell's tomb at Edinample, Nisbet's *Heraldry* (1816 edition), notes supplied from the Monzie charter-chest by Colonel Campbell's great-great-granddaughter and representative, Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage, and Rae's *History of the Late Rebellion* (second edition, with Original Letters, London, 1746).

[2] MS. genealogical tree of the Robertsons of Lude (in the possession of the Rev. A. Meldrum).

[3] Muster-roll in H.M. Gen. Reg. House.

[4] Commission dated at Eppeyen. *English Army Lists*, vol. iii. p. 337.

[5] *Ibid.*, *note* 4.

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL OF FONAB

(*From a Portrait at Inveraive*)

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Argyll's Regiment was disbanded in Holland in 1697, and Campbell then appears to have served for a time in Lord Portmore's Regiment, while it was on the Scots establishment.[1]

In December 1699 the African and Indian Company of Scotland sent him out to Darien with the title of "Counsellor" to regulate the affairs of that ill-fated colony. On his arrival there—on the 2nd of February 1700—he found disease raging among the colonists, and the settlement threatened by the Spaniards both by sea and land. The danger was so pressing that Campbell was unanimously chosen to command the forces of the colony, and he determined to strike the first blow. He accordingly set out on the 5th of February with some 40 Indians and 200 colonists—the latter being all the white men who were fit to accompany him—and after a three days' march over a mountain range and through virgin forests came upon the enemy, some 1600 strong, at a place called Toubocanti. He attacked them so vigorously that, although in a strongly fortified camp, they were completely defeated and put to flight with a loss (it is said) of about 200 killed, including their leader. The Scots had some 20 killed and 40 wounded, Campbell himself being hit in one shoulder.[2] He marched his victorious little force straight back to Darien, but on his return found five Spanish war-ships in the harbour and the colonists paralysed with terror. They called a council of war, and in spite of all he could say or do, determined to capitulate. The Spaniards granted honourable terms to all except Campbell, but he succeeded in escaping with a few followers to New York, whence he returned to Scotland. He was presented by the Company with a gold medal[3] specially struck in his honour, and he became known as the "Hero of the Darien Expedition," his conduct being the one redeeming feature of that otherwise disastrous enterprise.

In June 1701 he was appointed captain of a company added to Colonel Ferguson's Regiment of Foot for the purpose of "securing the peace of the Highlands";[4] on the 29th of March 1703 he became a brevet lieutenant-colonel;[5] and he was nominated a commissioner of Supply for Perthshire both in 1702 and 1704.[6] He spent all the rest of his soldiering days in command of his Independent Company, and probably no better man could have been found to assist in carrying out the difficult task of keeping order in the Highlands.

Fonab took an active part in the 'Fifteen. He was in command at Inveraray during the first few weeks of the rising, and, acting under the Duke of Argyll's orders, he called out the county Militia, took measures to arm such of the Argyllshire men as could be trusted to support the Government,[7] and did his utmost

[1] Petition by Colonel Alexander Campbell. *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. xi. p. 174.

[2] Nisbet's *Heraldry* (1816 ed.), pp. 196–7.

[3] Now in the possession of Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage. Mrs. Campbell also has a gold box which bears a label to the effect that it was "picket oot o' the Spanish general's pocket after he was dead."

[4] See *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, p. 43 *et seq.*

[5] *English Army Lists*, vol. v. p. 228.

[6] *Acts of Parl. Scot.*, vol. xi. pp. 22, 145.

[7] The Breadalbane men in Fonab's Company promptly deserted. Rae, *History* (Original Letters), p. 440.

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—though in most cases without success—to prevent the western chiefs from joining Mar.[1] About the 6th of October the Earl of Islay arrived at Inveraray and took over the command of the forces in the county, but Fonab had done his work well, and when, a fortnight later, General Alexander Gordon, with a force of Macdonalds, MacGregors, Macleans, Breadalbane men, and others, arrived before Inveraray, he found the place well garrisoned and supplied. After wasting three days in fruitless negotiations the Jacobites marched off to Strathfillan, and Fonab was directed to follow them up with some 800 men, in order, if possible, to prevent reinforcements reaching them. He had not been gone a day when he received news that another detachment of men from Breadalbane, 400 strong, commanded by John Campbell of Glenlyon, was advancing into Lorn. He at once retraced his steps, and by dint of forced marches came up with Glenlyon's force "at Glenscheluch, a small village situate at the one end of the lake called Lochnell."[2] The two forces were making ready for battle when suddenly a parley was suggested. Whether or not Fonab were responsible for the proposal, it is evident that he felt a natural aversion to shedding the blood of his clansmen, and, though his force was much the stronger of the two, he allowed the Breadalbane men to return to their homes unmolested, on condition that they laid down their arms and took no further part in hostilities.[3] This arrangement by no means met with Islay's approval, and it is sad to have to relate that Glenlyon, oblivious of his word, afterwards joined in the Rising and fought at Sheriffmuir.[4] But though this negotiation ended in failure, one cannot but admire

[1] Fonab was ultimately unable to prevent Lochiel and Stewart of Appin from taking up arms for the Chevalier, but his negotiations delayed their junction with General Gordon, and it is evident from Rae's Original Letters (*History*, second edition), that the tardy appearance of those chiefs contributed largely to the failure of the Jacobite expedition into Argyllshire. It was also owing to this delay that Gordon was unable to attempt a junction with Mar when the latter first advanced towards Stirling in October (see article on the 'Fifteen, p. 297).

[2] Robert Campbell, *Life of John, Duke of Argyle* (Lond. 1743), p. 183. The place referred to is probably Glen-Shelloch, some two miles north-west of Loch Nell. From Rae's Original Letters, and the *Stuart Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, it appears that the Chevalier was then expected to land on the west coast, and Glenlyon was making for Dunstaffnage, the possession of which was, under the circumstances, of the greatest importance.

[3] Rae, *History*, pp. 288–90, and *The Life of John, Duke of Argyle*, pp. 183–4. Glenlyon's father, well known for his share in the Glencoe massacre, had been a brother officer of Fonab's in the Argyll Regiment, and Fonab had been a generous friend in time of need to his son. *The Lairds of Glenlyon*, p. 229.

[4] Rae says that Glenlyon and his men kept their engagement, but Glenlyon is mentioned in the official Jacobite account (Patten's *History*, 1745 ed., p. 166) as having taken part in the charge of the clans at Sheriffmuir; although, as only one Breadalbane battalion is therein referred to, it seems probable that his men had returned to their homes. Possibly Glenlyon himself was not included in the agreement. Elsewhere (p. 219) Rae says that Glenlyon joined Mar at Dunkeld with 500 of Breadalbane's men, and in *The Lairds of Glenlyon*, p. 232, he is said to have joined him at Logierait. Mr. Lang, too, says that the Breadalbane men, 2000 strong, under Glendaruel and Glenlyon, came up with Mar at Dunkeld (*Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iv. p. 185). Lord Breadalbane himself certainly met Mar at Logierait, but the Duke of Atholl, writing on the day on which the Jacobites reached Perth, stated that Breadalbane's men had not yet joined them (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 196). Moreover, on the 7th of October

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the humanity and moderation—rare for that time—which made Fonab do his utmost to avert the horrors of civil war. In December, by Lady Glenorchy's request, he marched to Finlarig with his Independent Company and 400 of the Argyllshire Militia, to prevent the Breadalbane men from being coerced into joining Mar. He remained for a time in garrison at Finlarig, keeping the surrounding country quiet, and towards the end of January 1716, marched south to join Argyll on his advance from Stirling.[1] Fonab reached Perth before the Duke; captured some Jacobites "who, being unwilling to part with the Brandy, had staid behind the rest";[2] and commanded the advanced-guard in the subsequent pursuit of the Chevalier's army along the north-eastern coast. A contemporary describes him and his men as marching a day ahead of the rest of the Duke's forces, and "plundering heartily" as they went.[3]

After the dispersion of the fugitives Fonab returned to Inveraray, but towards the end of March he and his company joined General Cadogan at Blair Atholl, and accompanied him on his march to Inverness to receive the submission of the clans.[4] By May the old Colonel was again commanding at Inveraray, and in the following winter he appears to have taken part in the vain attempts to capture Rob Roy.[5]

Fonab's days of service ended in 1717 with the disbandment of his Independent Company, when he was placed on half-pay.[6] He has, however, been universally credited, on the authority of General Stewart of Garth, with having commanded one of the six Independent Companies raised in 1725, which fourteen years later formed the nucleus of the Highland Regiment or Black Watch. But his name does not appear in the list of officers reproduced on pages 49 and 50 of this volume, and the Edinample epitaph states that he died on the 16th of September 1724. Garth must have been misled by the fact that Campbell had commanded an earlier Independent Company, although, as shown in the article on the "Historic Succession" of the Black Watch, he mentions no companies as having existed before 1729.

Colonel Alexander Campbell's first wife was his cousin Susanna, daughter of Sir Alexander Menzies, first baronet of Weem, and widow of Lord Neil Campbell.

the two battalions, while on their way to Perth, were sent instead to reinforce Gordon (Rae, Original Letters, pp. 434–5). Sinclair corroborates this (*Memoirs*, p. 185).

[1] *Treasury Papers*, cxciv. *Stuart Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vol. i. pp. 491, 498.

[2] Rae, p. 368.

[3] *Hist. MSS. Comm.* (*Montrose MSS.*), *Report III.*, app. p. 377.

[4] Rae, p. 374.

[5] *Montrose MSS.*, p. 383. Rob Roy and forty-five of his men about the month of May had gone to Inveraray and had made what their inveterate enemy, the Duke of Montrose, described as a "sham surrender" to Fonab. The old soldier, who evidently was of a kindly disposition, had accepted their surrender, and, notwithstanding the fact that Rob was then under attainder, had given him and his party a "particular protection," and had entertained them heartily. This laxity brought the Duke's wrath upon him, and some months later he was sent for to Edinburgh, where General Carpenter impressed upon him the necessity for capturing the outlaw—a view in which Fonab was apparently brought to concur.

[6] Monzie charter-chest, now at Inverawe.

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The only child of this marriage was a daughter named Jean. She married Major Duncan Campbell of Inverawe, who in 1758 was killed at Ticonderoga, while serving in the Black Watch.[1]

Later in life Colonel Campbell married Mary, daughter of Sir John Home of Blackadder, and by her had three children, the eldest of whom—John Campbell,—survived his father barely four years.[2] On his death the younger son, Robert, succeeded to Fonab.

Colonel Campbell was first buried at Kilmun in Argyllshire, but at some period during the life-time of his son Robert his remains were transferred to the burying-ground at Edinample on Loch Earn-side, where they rest to this day.

[1] The sons of this marriage died without issue, and Inverawe passed to a daughter of Major Duncan Campbell, who married a Dr. Pitman. Mrs. Pitman sold the estate to her uncle, Robert, son of Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab, and it has remained in that family ever since, being now in the possession of Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage.

[2] He died on the 17th of April 1728. Monzie charter-chest.

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JOHN, MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE[1]

1684–1709

BY THE EDITOR

A PERTHSHIRE man who fought under Marlborough, but whose short career was one more of promise than achievement, was John, Marquess of Tullibardine, born on the 6th of May 1684, eldest son of John, first Duke of Atholl, by his first wife, Lady Katherine Hamilton.

Though brought up in a somewhat stern and puritanical fashion, Tullibardine was a fine spirited lad, full of courage and enterprise, if a trifle hot-tempered. He early showed his mettle, for when barely twenty years of age he took to task the first Earl of Stair (who was then rising sixty) for having accused his father of treason, and the incident would probably have ended in a duel had not Queen Anne intervened.

The Duke of Atholl had not destined his eldest son for the Army, and apparently wished to keep him at home without any particular outlet for his energies. Tullibardine, however, had seen something of Marlborough's camp when travelling abroad with his tutor in 1703, and wearying of inaction and doubtless stirred by the news of the Duke's great victories, he left home secretly in November 1704, but was overtaken and induced to return. For another year he remained at home in a very unsettled state, but eventually, having gone abroad to study at the Hague, the glamour of a soldier's life proved too strong for him, and much against his father's wish he joined Marlborough's headquarters in 1706, shortly after the battle of Ramillies.

The Duke forthwith gave him a brevet of colonel,[2] and made him one of his aides-de-camp—"the first Scotte man that had that favor," wrote his uncle Lord Edward Murray, who was also serving with the army in the Netherlands. Lord Edward added that his nephew was "mightily estemd by all the generals."[3]

As Marlborough's aide-de-camp Tullibardine was soon under fire, for he was in the trenches the night before Ostend surrendered, and he saw something of the siege of Menin, but a regiment was what he desired, and he early applied for the command of one. Partly owing to the favour shown him by Marlborough, who seems to have thought well of him, and partly owing to the exertions of his

[1] From the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, collected and arranged by John, seventh Duke of Atholl. For a portrait of John, Marquess of Tullibardine, see illustration opposite p. 379.

[2] "From the time he came into the field." *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 76.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

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maternal uncle, Lieutenant-General Lord Orkney, he was a few months later given a Scots regiment of foot in the Dutch service, formerly commanded by the Duke of Argyll,[1] and by the summer of 1707 his father was sending him recruits.

Tullibardine served throughout the campaigns of 1707 and 1708, and in July of the latter year commanded his regiment at the battle of Oudenarde, where—as he wrote to the Duke of Atholl—he "had the honnour to begin ye attack on ye left, being commanded with 500 granadders to take post of a very close ground and keep the ennimie off till all the cavellrie came up."[2] In the following winter he paid a flying visit to Scotland, by his father's wish, and all differences between them seem then to have been made up, but he had seen his home for the last time.

At the battle of Malplaquet, on the 31st of August 1709, his regiment formed part of the division commanded by the Prince of Orange, whose impatience converted what Marlborough had intended only as a feint, into a real attack on the heavily-entrenched French right. Tullibardine's regiment was cut to pieces and he himself killed. "Shott thurrow the thigh but woud not come off," wrote Lord Orkney to the unhappy father, and it may fairly be said that his life, short though it was, justified the assertion of another uncle that if he had lived he "wold have proved an honour to his countrie and family."[3] He had many of the fine qualities which in later years were to be conspicuous in his younger brother Lord George, the Jacobite general, and it is interesting to speculate on the part which, had his life been spared, he might have played in the eventful risings of 1715 and 1745.

[1] Mr. Dalton, in his *English Army Lists* (vol. vi. p. 201, *note* 33), and Mr. Ferguson in *The Scots Brigade in Holland* (vol. ii. p. 42, *note* 1) say that Tullibardine succeeded the Duke of Argyll in the command of the regiment on the 27th November 1708, but letters from him reproduced in the *Atholl Chronicles* show that he must have been appointed about February or March 1707.

[2] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 100.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

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BRIGADIER-GENERAL LORD ROLLO

(From a Portrait at Duncrub Park)

COLONEL THE MARQUESS OF TULLIBARDINE

(From a Portrait in the possession of W. H. G. Bagshawe, Esq., of Ford Hall)

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ANDREW, FIFTH LORD ROLLO[1]

1704(?)–65

BY THE EDITOR

THE career of Andrew, fifth Lord Rollo, eldest son of the fourth Lord Rollo by Mary, daughter of Sir Harry Rollo of Woodside, is interesting as being that of a man who distinguished himself as a soldier, although he appears not to have entered the Army until later than most of his contemporaries. Perhaps the share taken by his father in the Rising of 1715[2] may have prevented his obtaining a commission at an earlier age, but, be that as it may, the fact remains that although he was born in 1704 or 1705,[3] it was not until the summer of 1743 that the Master of Rollo (as he then was) obtained his promotion as captain in O'Farrell's Regiment (the 22nd),[4] then at Minorca. In 1750 he became major in the same regiment, and in 1756 lieutenant-colonel-commandant.

At the end of 1756 Rollo embarked with his regiment for America, where he was destined to take a distinguished part in the great war which, broadly speaking, effected the conquest of the French possessions in the new continent and in India. The year 1757 was one of wearisome delays and inaction, but in 1758 Lord Rollo (he had by that time succeeded to the title) commanded his regiment at the capture of Louisburg by General Amherst—a brilliant operation which resulted in the acquisition both of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and which turned the tide of ill-luck that had hitherto beset the British in America. Louisburg taken, Lord Rollo was sent in command of a small force to assist in the final subjugation of Prince Edward Island, the Bay of Fundy,

[1] Except where otherwise stated, the authorities for this paper have been an inscription on Lord Rollo's tomb at Leicester, Douglas's *Peerage* (1764 and 1813 eds.), and the *Army Lists*.

[2] The fourth Lord Rollo had commanded the Perthshire troop of horse in Lord Mar's army. See article on the 'Fifteen, p. 294.

[3] Douglas's *Peerage* (1813 ed.), followed by the article on Lord Rollo in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that he entered the Army at the age of forty, and as the same authority alleges that he was at the battle of Dettingen (June 1743), he could not, according to this, have been born later than 1703. But the inscription on his tomb records that he died on the 2nd of June 1765 "in the 61st year of his age."

[4] *Scots Magazine*, August 1743, p. 387. His promotion was one of a series announced as being given "soon after the battle of Dettingen," an ambiguous phrase which I think is responsible for the statement in Douglas (1813 ed.) to the effect that he was present at Dettingen, and that he was promoted to a company in O'Farrell's for his gallantry on that occasion. But it is clear from the list in the *Scots Magazine* that Rollo was promoted by seniority, and the *Army List* for 1743 shows that his regiment was serving at Minorca in that year. Rollo is not mentioned as having been at Dettingen in the 1764 edition of Douglas's *Peerage* (which was published during his lifetime), nor in the inscription on his tomb, which gives an account of his military services. The writer of the article in the *Dictionary* has on this point also followed the later edition of Douglas's work.

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and the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He then returned to Louisburg, where he remained with his regiment until the summer of 1760, when he was sent up to Quebec in command of the 22nd and 40th Regiments, to reinforce the British garrison there. But on arrival at Quebec he found orders awaiting him to join in the concentration of troops which was taking place further up the St. Lawrence, and in September he was present at the surrender of Montreal, which completed the overthrow of the French in North America.

In the following year Lord Rollo was placed in command of a force some three or four battalions strong[1] intended for the capture of Dominica, and escorted by a squadron under Commodore Sir James Douglas, he arrived on the 6th of June before the strongly fortified town of Roseau, the principal place on the island. The garrison having refused to surrender, Lord Rollo landed his men under the enemy's batteries, and although it was then late in the day, proceeded at once to attack the town, as he had reason to fear that the French might be reinforced in the night. The attack was made with such vigour that the enemy were driven from their entrenchments, and their two senior officers being made prisoners, the next day the whole island surrendered.

For some months no further operations were undertaken in the West Indies, but in December 1761 Lord Rollo joined General Monckton's force at Barbados, and in command of a brigade took part in the capture of Martinique in January and February 1762, being mentioned in despatches, along with the rest of Monckton's officers, for his "animated and soldier-like conduct."[2] He was given a brevet of colonel and local rank of brigadier-general,[3] but the Martinique campaign was a sad one for him, for his only surviving son, "a youth of great hopes and spirit," who had been serving as brigade-major with the force, died of fever on January the 24th.[4] In April 1762—war having been declared with Spain—Lord Rollo joined the army assembling under Lord Albemarle for the reduction of Cuba. He was present at the commencement of the operations against Havana, but was not destined to see the end of them. The fatigues of the campaigns, the loss of his son, and the fatal West Indian climate, had all told on him, and a few days before the capture of Fort Moro, one of the principal defences of Havana, he was obliged to leave for England on account of ill-health. Three years later, on the 2nd of June 1765, he died at Leicester while on his way to drink the waters at Bristol, leaving a widow—Elizabeth, daughter of James Moray of Abercairny—whom he had married only four months

[1] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. ii. p. 538. Douglas's *Peerage* (1813 ed.) says "2600 troops," which the author of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* transforms into "twenty-six thousand"!

[2] Douglas (1813 ed.).

[3] His commission as colonel was dated 19th February 1762 (*Army Lists*). In the *Dictionary* the date is given as 1760.

[4] Date given in Douglas (1813 ed.). In the *Dictionary* it is said to have been 24th July. Douglas's date is confirmed by a letter from an officer serving in Martinique who, writing on the 2nd of February 1762, mentions that Captain Rollo had died a few days before, "much regretted" (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 492).

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previously. His first wife, the elder daughter and co-heiress of Lord James Murray of Dowally,[1] had died some years before, after bringing him seven children,[2] all of whom died before their father. Lord Rollo was accordingly succeeded by his brother John.

Dominica was one of the few British conquests in the West Indies which was not restored at the peace of 1763, and with the exception of a period of two years during the American War of Independence, when it again passed into French hands, it has remained under British supremacy ever since. To Lord Rollo therefore is due the honour of having added this, the largest of the Leeward Islands, to the dominions of the United Kingdom.

[1] Third son of the first Marquess of Atholl. [2] Note supplied by Lord Rollo.

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GENERAL LORD JOHN MURRAY[1]

1711–87

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL Lord John Murray, born on the 14th of April 1711, was the eldest son of John, first Duke of Atholl, by his second wife the Hon. Mary Ross, and was thus a half-brother of two men whose biographies have already been given in this volume—John, Marquess of Tullibardine, and Lord George Murray.

The Duke of Atholl, who had felt keenly the defection of his elder sons in 1715,[2] was careful to bring up his younger children as Whigs, and Lord John accordingly spent all his days in the service of George II. and George III. He became an ensign in the 3rd Foot Guards (now the Scots Guards) in 1727, and a captain in the same regiment in 1738; but it is with the 42nd or Black Watch that his name is chiefly associated. Immediately after the mutiny of the regiment in 1743,[3] on the first hint that Lord Sempill was about to resign, he applied for the colonelcy,[4] but he did not obtain the appointment he so greatly desired until two years later.

In July 1743 he was appointed first aide-de-camp to George II., and was in attendance on the King in Germany at the close of the Dettingen campaign, but returned to England without having taken part in any engagements. In April 1745, when at last gazetted colonel of the Black Watch, he proceeded to join his regiment in Flanders, but arrived too late for Fontenoy. He distinguished himself, however, during the subsequent retreat of the British army to Brussels, by his defence of a pass between Lessines and Grammont which the French attacked by night. For this service he was publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland.

In 1745, owing to the Jacobite Rising, Lord John returned home with his regiment, but he commanded it next year on an abortive expedition to Brittany, and in 1747 he was once more with the Black Watch in the Netherlands, taking part in the attempted relief of Hulst. After the surrender of the town by the Dutch Governor, Lord John commanded the rearguard in the retreat to Welsharden, and shortly afterwards, having been ordered to take part in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, he was placed in command of the British troops in the lines

[1] The materials for this paper have been chiefly taken from a MS. Memorandum of Lord John's services, drawn up by himself (in the possession of Mr. Bagshawe of Ford Hall), supplemented by Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, the *Atholl Chronicles*, and the *Army Lists*.

[2] See article on "Perthshire in the 'Fifteen," p. 290 *et seq.*

[3] See article on the Black Watch, pp. 56, 57.

[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. ii. p. 463.

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GENERAL LORD JOHN MURRAY

(From a Portrait by Allan Ramsay in the possession of W. H. G. Bagshawe, Esq., of Ford Hall)

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there.[1] At the close of operations Lord John received a message of approbation from the King, forwarded by the Secretary-at-War.[2]

In 1755 he was promoted major-general, and in 1758 lieutenant-general, but although he offered his services more than once, he was not employed abroad during the Seven Years' War. He took the keenest interest, however, in all the exploits of his regiment, and worked hard to raise a second battalion in 1758. Stewart of Garth tells us that when the men who had been disabled at Ticonderoga appeared before the Board at Chelsea to claim their pensions, Lord John went with them and explained their case in such a manner to the commissioners that they were all successful. He gave them money, got them a free passage to Perth, and offered a house and garden to all who chose to settle on his estate. General Stewart also describes how, when the 42nd at last returned from America in 1767, Lord John, who had been for weeks at Cork awaiting its arrival, marched into that town at its head.

Lord John was a great deal with the regiment while it was quartered in Ireland, and, according to Stewart of Garth, was "ever attentive to the interest of the officers and vigilant that their promotion should not be interrupted by ministerial or other influence." He was also "unremitting in his exertions to procure the appointment of good officers, and of officers who understood perfectly the peculiar dispositions and character of the men." For this reason he strenuously endeavoured to exclude all but members of Scots—and more especially Highland—families, and Garth tells us that his attitude on this point caused considerable friction with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland while the regiment was on the establishment of that country. He was equally particular that only Gaelic-speaking men and Protestants should be recruited for the ranks.[3] Most of the nominations to the 2nd Battalion of 1758 were made by him or his half-brother, James Duke of Atholl,[4] and it is therefore not surprising to find a great many Perthshire men among the officers appointed; but many were the ties that linked the Black Watch to Perthshire throughout the forty-two years of Lord John's colonelcy.

In spite of his military duties Lord John resided a good deal in the county,—and not only at the home of his boyhood—for early in life he bought Pitnacree in Strathtay, and in later years he had also a house in Perth. He represented Perthshire in Parliament from 1734 to 1761. In 1758 he married Miss Dalton of Bannercross—a Derbyshire heiress, by whom he had one daughter—and in 1770 he became full general. His last military achievement was the raising in 1779 and 1780 (at his own expense[5]) of another second battalion to the 42nd.

[1] MS. Memorandum above referred to. It appears from *The Scots Brigade in Holland* (vol. ii. p. 362) that Lord John's regiment also served in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, though General Stewart of Garth says that it remained in South Beveland during this siege. (*Sketches*, 1st ed., vol. i. p. 273.)

[2] MS. Memorandum.

[3] *The Bagshawes of Ford*, p. 541, *note*.

[4] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 442.

[5] Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, vol. iii. p. 290.

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This battalion so distinguished itself in India that in 1786 it was placed permanently on the establishment under the title of the 73rd Regiment.[1] The veteran to whose patriotism it owed its existence died on the 26th of May 1787, at the age of seventy-six, the senior officer in the Army.

Enough has been said to show that Lord John made the most of such chances as occurred of distinguishing himself in the field, but those opportunities were small, for he never served in any war but that of the Austrian Succession, in which the British troops fought under great disadvantages, and he was never engaged in any but minor or unsuccessful operations. It is therefore as the Colonel of the Black Watch that his name has survived—as the man who understood the Highland soldiers well enough to wish to command them at a time when to many that might have seemed a task of great difficulty—and who, having at last obtained the post which he desired, completely identified himself with the interests of his men, and for upwards of half a century was the "friend and supporter of every deserving officer and soldier in the regiment."[2]

[1] See article on this regiment, pp. 79–85.

[2] Stewart, *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. i. p. 389, *note*.

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MAJOR-GENERAL ARCHIBALD McNAB

BY THE EDITOR

THE earliest recorded incident in the career of Major-General Archibald McNab, younger son of the tenth laird of McNab, is his appointment to the Black Watch as ensign in 1739.[2] He was thus one of the original officers of that afterwards famous regiment.

In 1745, having recruited men from Breadalbane for the Earl of Loudoun's new regiment of Highlanders, he was appointed captain-lieutenant, but his services with this corps began rather unfortunately, for his company was one of three which were with General Cope at Prestonpans, and he was taken prisoner by the Jacobites.

Two years later his regiment was sent abroad to the Low Countries, where it served in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom. It was reduced at the peace of 1748, and in the following year McNab became a captain in the 32nd Regiment.

In 1759 he was nominated by the Earl of Breadalbane to a majority in Campbell's Highlanders (numbered the 88th of the Line), which, along with Keith's Highlanders (the 87th), was then being raised for service abroad, these being two of the many regiments raised in the course of the Seven Years' War. Both the 87th and 88th were partly recruited in Perthshire,[3] and it may be supposed that McNab brought with him a good many men from his own part of the county. In the summer of 1760 Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders were sent over to Germany and took part in three of the campaigns so ably conducted by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick against French forces numerically much superior to his own. The Highland regiments were placed in the Grenadier Brigade and were generally in the forefront of the battle.

McNab was first under fire at the successful action of Warburg in July 1760, where the Highlanders — to quote Prince Ferdinand's own words[4] — "did wonders," and in the following month he took part in the capture of Zierenberg, on which occasion his brigade led the attack. He was probably also present at

[1] Except where otherwise stated, from *A History of the Services of the 41st (the Welsh) Regiment* by D. A. N. Lomax, Stewart's *Sketches*, the *Army Lists*, and the *History of the British Army*.

[2] See article entitled *The Historic Succession of the Black Watch*, p. 51.

[3] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. pp. 453, 454. The nucleus of Keith's Regiment had been formed earlier in that year from three companies which had been raised for the Black Watch. These companies had been increased to five and had served under Major Murray Keith in Germany in the campaign of 1759. They rendered such good service there that orders were issued to augment them to a regiment of 800 men, and to raise another similar corps. Mrs. Gillespie Smith, *Life of Sir R. Murray Keith*, p. 99. Stewart, *Sketches*, 1st ed., vol. ii. p. 70.

[4] Letter to King George II., *Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 72.

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the defeat of the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick at Kloster Kampen in October of the same year.

In July 1761 he was wounded in the great victory at Vellinghausen, where his regiment was once more in the thick of the fighting, and in June 1762 he took part in the action of Wilhelmsthal (or Gröbenstein), in which the Allied forces defeated a French army of nearly twice their number. The Highlanders again distinguished themselves in the hard-won success at the Brücke Mühle three months later, and at the close of the campaign of 1762 McNab was appointed an additional lieutenant-colonel for his services.

At the peace of 1763 the 87th and 88th were reduced and McNab was consequently placed on half-pay, but in 1767 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 41st (Invalids) Regiment. He was given a brevet of colonel in 1777; was promoted major-general in 1781; and in 1784 he became colonel of the 41st Foot, after having served as lieutenant-colonel of the regiment for upwards of seventeen years.

General McNab died unmarried on January the 7th, 1790, at his house in St. James's Square, Edinburgh,[1] and was interred at the burying-place of his family near Killin.

[1] *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 11th January 1790.

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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SMALL

(From a Medallion in the possession of Mrs. Small of Dirnanean)

GENERAL SIR THOMAS STIRLING OF ARDOCH AND STROWAN, BART.

(From a Miniature in the possession of Captain Graham Stirling of Strowan)

GENERAL JOHN REID

(From a Portrait in the Music Class-room of Edinburgh University)

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GENERAL JOHN REID

1721–1807

BY THE EDITOR

ONE of the many Perthshire names which are to be found in the list of officers of the Black Watch during Lord John Murray's colonelcy is that of John Reid. Like three other distinguished soldiers whose biographies follow this,[1] he served with the regiment in the war which gained for us the Dominion of Canada, but long and honourable as was his military career, it is as the founder of the Musical Chair of Edinburgh University that his name is best known to posterity.

General Reid was really a member of the Clan Donnachaidh, for he was the eldest son of Alexander Robertson of Straloch; but the head of his family had always been known as "Baron Reid," and the General and his younger brother, Alexander (who was also an officer in the 42nd), adopted the more distinctive surname early in life.[2]

General Reid was born at Inverchroskie,[3] in Strathardle, on the 13th of February 1721, and received his early education at Perth.[4] Being destined for the law, he was afterwards sent to Edinburgh University, where, according to his father, he "made uncommon progress,"[5] and, as he himself has placed on record, spent the happiest days of his life.[6] Nature, however, had intended him for a soldier, and in June 1745, having recruited the necessary quota of men, he obtained a commission as lieutenant in Loudoun's Highlanders. Like M^cNab, he was taken prisoner at Prestonpans in the following September.

[1] *i.e.* General John Small, General Sir Thomas Stirling, and General James Murray.

[2] From Sir Alexander Grant's *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 384, we learn that he is entered in the Matriculation Album of the University as having attended lectures under the name of "John Reid," 1743–1744, and he signs his name so in letters printed in the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vol. iii. On the other hand, it appears from papers in the possession of Miss J. L. Small, and from letters printed in the *Culloden Papers* and *Atholl Chronicles*, that his father, although habitually alluded to as "Baron Reid," signed himself "Alexander Robertson." The designation "Reid" (*i.e.* "Red," or, in Gaelic, "Ruadh"), owed its origin to the red hair of the founder of the family—Alexander, younger son of Patrick, first [Robertson] of Lude. Alexander's wife, Matilda, daughter of Thomas Duncanson of Struan, in 1451 received a Crown charter for some of the lands afterwards held by her descendants (J. A. Robertson, *The Earldom of Atholl*, p. 57); but as Straloch in later days was held off the Earls of Atholl, the title of "baron" was, latterly at least, only complimentary (see *note* 3, p. 496). The surname Robertson was not adopted by the Straloch family until 1567.

[3] Appendix to the Rev. James Robertson's *Reid-Robertsons of Straloch*, p. 55. Inverchroskie is now known as Balvarran.

[4] "Memorial for Baron Reid," in the possession of Miss J. L. Small.

[5] *Ibid.* [6] General Reid's Will.

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The Jacobites, however, were unable to retain their prisoners long, and by the following spring Reid had rejoined his regiment and was able to render important service to the Government. From a memorial presented by him years afterwards to Lord Amherst, then acting commander-in-chief, it appears that it was mainly owing to him that the men and treasure landed from the *Prince Charles* sloop (formerly named the *Hazard*) were captured in Tongue Bay on the 25th of March 1746. According to the account published at the time, this important capture was made by Lord Reay and his son, Captain Alexander Mackay[1] of Loudoun's Highlanders, with some other officers and about eighty men of the same regiment, but Reid tells us that the officer commanding the party, "despairing of success against the enemy, who were superior in number, had retired before the action commenced," and that he ordered Reid to follow him under penalty of a court-martial. Reid, however, evidently seeing a chance of success, remained behind, though at the risk of his commission, and prevailed on an ensign and some fifty men to stay with him. The Jacobites, about two hundred in number, had already commenced their march from the coast, but Reid, seizing his opportunity, followed them up, and attacking them in "Front, Flanks and Rear, according as the Ground favoured," obliged them at last to lay down their arms. According to his account, "Thirty French Officers, with about two hundred Soldiers, exclusive of Sailors," were taken. The specie captured amounted to £12,000, and its loss was severely felt by the Jacobite army, which was then very short of money. Reid further tells us that his senior officers claimed all the credit of the success, and "openly threatened the lives" of himself and his party if they "did not agree to such distribution of the Prize Money as they thought proper to make."[2]

[1] Mr. Angus Mackay, in his *Book of Mackay* (p. 190), says that it was Captain the Hon. George Mackay who was responsible for the capture, but the contemporary account published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1746 expressly mentions that the Captain Mackay concerned was an officer in Loudoun's Highlanders, and the only member of Lord Reay's family who served in that regiment was the fourth son, Alexander.

[2] Memorial to Lord Amherst (acting commander-in-chief), dated at London the 23rd July 1794. The Memorial was accompanied by the depositions (dated 8th October 1777) of two of the men who had remained behind with him. These depositions confirmed Reid's statements in detail, and the Memorial was further substantiated by an accompanying memorandum (dated 30th April 1778) drawn up by Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, who had commanded a battalion in Prince Charles' army. Monaltrie gave it as his opinion that Reid by his capture of the men and money so urgently needed did "more real prejudice to the cause . . . than any one man in Scotland, the Lord President Forbes excepted." (I am indebted to Professor Niecks (the present Reid Professor at Edinburgh University) for letting me see copies of these papers, which he has obtained from the War Office.) Colour, I think, is also, to a certain extent, lent to Reid's story by the fact that Lord Reay and his son hastened to report in person on the affair to Cumberland and the civil authorities. Captain Mackay and Sir Henry Munro were sent to the Duke at Aberdeen, and Lord Reay paid a visit to the Lord Justice Clerk at Leith. The version of the story which appeared in the contemporary Press was an almost verbatim copy of the account sent by Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, written on the 6th of April 1746, just after he had seen Mackay. The only persons he mentioned by name were Lord Reay, Captain Mackay, Sir Henry Munro, Lord Charles Gordon, and Captain Macleod—the last four being officers in Loudoun's Regiment (*Home Office, Scotland*, vol. xxxi. No. 6). These, therefore, are the only names which

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From 1747 to 1748 Reid served in Flanders with Loudoun's Highlanders and took part in the defence of Bergen-op-Zoom, but on the reduction of his regiment at the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle he was placed on half-pay. In 1751 he bought a captain-lieutenant's commission in the Black Watch (the 42nd), and in 1752 a commission as captain in the same regiment.

Four years later, on the outbreak of war with France, he sailed with his regiment for America, where he was destined to see much fighting. He was not present, however, at the first attack on Ticonderoga, as he had been left behind sick at Albany, and his company was commanded in that desperate engagement by Captain James Murray,[1] of whom more hereafter. In 1759 Reid, by that time a major,[2] took part in the second advance to Lake Champlain, which resulted in the surrender of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and on him devolved the command of the 42nd during the greater part of the campaign of 1760,[3] which ended with the capture of Montreal and the expulsion of the French from Canada. In that year Reid, being anxious to get his promotion as lieutenant-colonel, wrote to his father expressing a wish to raise a "battalion of real hardy Highlanders" for His Majesty's service, and desiring him to solicit the help of the Duke of Atholl to obtain the necessary permission from Government.[4] The offer, if it was ever made, must have been refused, for nothing came of it.

Reid remained in America with the 42nd (by that time the "Royal Highland" Regiment), until December 1761, when he accompanied it to the West Indies. He served in the capture of Martinique, and at the storming of Morne Tortenson, on January the 24th, 1762, was in command of the 1st Battalion of his regiment. On that occasion he rendered good service by leading his men to the assistance of some detached companies of grenadiers "who were hard pressed by the enemy." His battalion suffered heavy loss in consequence, and Reid himself was wounded in two places.[5] He was rewarded with a brevet of lieutenant-colonel, and recovered from his wounds in time to take part in the expedition against Havana, in June and July of the same year. After the surrender of Cuba the 42nd returned to America.

Peace with France and Spain was concluded early in the following year, but Reid was again on active service in 1764, when he acted as second-in-command of Colonel Bouquet's arduous but successful expedition against the Indians on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers. In the following year we hear of him fitting out an expedition which was to be sent to the Illinois country under the command of Captain Thomas Stirling, of the 42nd.[6]

appear in the Press accounts, and the official version has, I believe, been universally adopted by historians.

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 440 *et seq.*

[2] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 479.

[3] Commission dated 1st August 1759.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 475 *et seq.*

[5] Memorial to Lord Amherst. He relates that one of his wounds was "a violent contusion on one Thigh which for several days threaten'd a mortification," and that he believes he was "saved from perhaps a mortal wound by a bunch of keyes and some Spanish Dollars" which he happened to have in his pocket.

[6] Memorial aforesaid.

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Meantime Reid had some years before[1] married an American lady of Scots descent—Susanna Alexander, daughter of James Alexander, who had held the office of surveyor-general in the States of New York and New Jersey, and sister of William Alexander,[2] who claimed the earldom of Stirling as male representative of his cousin, the last holder of that title.[3]

Mrs. Reid owned property in the State of New York,[4] which was added to and improved by her husband, with the result that at the end of ten years Reid owned "about thirty-five thousand acres[5] of very valuable land" near Crown Point on Lake Champlain, and had "obtained from the Governor and Council of New York a warrant of survey for fifteen thousand . . . more," which he intended to "erect" into a manor.[6]

Meanwhile, in 1767, the Royal Highland Regiment had left America for Ireland, and Reid presumably accompanied it.[7] We have it on the authority

[1] He probably married about 1760, as in 1775 his only daughter is described by her grandfather, Baron Reid, as going fourteen years of age.—Letter in the possession of Miss Small.

[2] According to Douglas's *Peerage* (1764 ed.) Reid married one of William Alexander's daughters, but in the 1813 edition of the same work William Alexander is shown to have been too young to have been the grandfather of a girl who, as we have seen, must have been born about 1761. In a memorandum (unsigned and undated) in the possession of Miss Small, Reid's wife is said to have been daughter of James Alexander, and the General in his first will left money to the children of William Alexander and of the husbands of three of his (Alexander's) sisters. This, I think, points to Mrs. Reid having belonged to the same generation as William Alexander and his sisters.

[3] His claim was rejected by the House of Lords in 1762, apparently on technical grounds, or because he was not there to press it (he had to return to America in 1761 on account of his mother's death)—not because he had taken part in the Jacobite Rising, as stated by Sir Alexander Grant in his *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 382. According to Douglas he could not have been more than nine years old in 1745, and he lived in America until 1756, when, having come to England, he was advised to claim the family title, the last earl having died in 1739. His father, James Alexander, however, had been "out" in the 'Fifteen, and had fled to America in consequence.—Memorandum above quoted.

[4] General Reid in his Will refers to the fortune which he acquired by marriage, and in his Memorial to Lord Amherst he speaks of his property as having been chiefly obtained by purchase. The Memorial (which apparently enumerates all his American estates) only mentions property in New York State.

[5] Reid's father, writing on the 25th December 1775, states that he has been informed "by gentlemen who know it" that his son's estate is "larger than all Perthshire," but this of course is an exaggeration.—Letter in the possession of Miss Small.

[6] Memorial to Lord Amherst.

[7] Reid's father in a Memorial probably drawn up in 1775 (in the possession of Miss Small), speaks of his son as then residing in America, and says that he had been there since 1755; but other letters show that Reid was at home during part at least of the year 1775, and it seems impossible that he could have remained behind when the regiment left America. His father must have been a very old man in 1775 (he states in this Memorial that he was married in 1718), and his memory was probably failing—for example, 1756, not 1755, was the year in which the 42nd went to America. A lady who knew him has left it on record that he was "very much in his dotage" by the time she made his acquaintance, and two letters of his written respectively in 1778 and 1781 certainly bear this out. Reid probably returned to America for a time after he was placed on half-pay in 1770.

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of a brother officer that the men "were much attached to Colonel Reid for his poetry, his music, and his bravery as a soldier," and Stewart of Garth tells us that he was "one of the most accomplished flute players of the age." Mrs. Cockburn, authoress of "The Flowers of the Forest," also bore witness to the charm of his playing,[1] but he was a composer as well as performer. As early as 1756 a composition of his entitled "The Highland March," and written for two violins or flutes and a violoncello, had appeared in a "Collection of Airs and Marches," published by Robert Bremner.[2] After the return of the Black Watch from America, he was probably able to give more time than formerly to his favourite pursuit, with the result that in 1770[3] he published "A Sett of Minuets and Marches,"[4] among which reappeared "The Highland March" under the title of "The March of the 42, or Old Highland Regt.," written for two violins, a violoncello, and two horns. It was not long before this composition was adapted to some verses beginning "In the Garb of Old Gaul," which had appeared anonymously in a recent edition[5] of a collection of Scots and English songs entitled "The Lark."[6] Reid's music, joined to these words, has attained a wide celebrity, and is to this day the Regimental Slow March of the Black Watch. His first publication was followed by a set of Marches for wind instruments,[7] dedicated to Lady Amherst, and by two sets of solos "for German flute or violin."[8] His music, though simple, is melodious, often expressive, and sometimes forcible. His compositions, as already mentioned, are usually in three, four, or more parts for different instruments, and if he himself were responsible for the part-writing, it seems wonderful that, living at the time he did, and spending so many years of his life on active service, he should have acquired the necessary musical knowledge to write them so correctly.[9]

[1] Mrs. Cockburn says of Reid: "He is a gentle, melancholy, tall, well-bred, lean man; and for his flute, it speaks all languages . . . it thrills to your very heart. He plays in any taste you please, and composes what he plays."—Miss Tytler, *Songstresses of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 130.

[2] The late Mr. Glen (*Early Scottish Melodies*, p. 129) believed this publication of Bremner's to be the earliest in which Reid's march appeared.

[3] Date assigned by Stenhouse, in his *Introduction* to *The Scots Musical Museum* (1853 ed.).

[4] "Inscribed to the Rt Honble Lady Catharine Murray By I.[John] R.[eid], Esqr. Printed and sold by R. Bremner in the Strand."

[5] Published in 1765.

[6] See note on "The Garb of Old Gaul" at the end of this paper.

[7] "A Set of Marches for two Clarinets, Hautboys, or German Flutes, Two Horns and a Bassoon: Inscribed to The Rt. Honble. Lady Amherst By I. R. Esq . . . Printed and sold by R. Bremner in the Strand." In this collection was a march for the 77th or Atholl Highlanders, but it is doubtful if it were Reid who wrote either of the well-known pipe marches for that regiment. So far as the writer is aware, there is no evidence of his having written any pipe music.

[8] According to Stenhouse these solos were announced as being "by J. R. Esq., a member of the Temple of Apollo."

[9] Professor Niecks thinks that Reid must have had a good deal of professional help with the part-writing and accompaniments of the compositions assigned to him. He believes that Reid furnished only the melodies—"often only the germs, and that trained musicians shaped, elaborated, harmonised, and instrumented them;" but as no autograph MSS. are in existence, and as nothing is known as to Reid's opportunities for studying the theory of music, he admits that it is impossible to speak authoritatively on the subject.

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Reid retired on half-pay in 1770, intending no doubt to settle down to the enjoyment and improvement of his American estates. But fate had a cruel blow in store for him. Four years later armed banditti from New England "forcibly dispossessed" his settlers "on the pretence of having claim to that country under the Government of New Hampshire, notwithstanding that the King in Council had, ten years before, decreed Connecticut River to be the Eastern Boundary of New York."[1] At another time he would probably have obtained redress, but in the following year war broke out with the American colonists, and though his case finally came before the Commissioners for American Claims, the only compensation awarded to him was a trifling allowance for mills which he had erected, and for the fees which he had paid for surveys.[2]

Reid's misfortune occurred at a most unpropitious moment, for his father was then on the verge of ruin. Following the tradition of his family,[3] he had been a staunch Whig, and heavy contributions had in consequence been exacted from his estate by the Jacobites in the '45.[4] He had received no compensation from the Government he had faithfully served,[5] and in the years which followed he had added to rather than diminished his difficulties by considerable purchases of land. Letters written by him from 1775 to 1778 show a pitiful struggle to save an old estate from being sold by unscrupulous trustees to whom he had mortgaged it, but his efforts were in vain; his son could give him no help; and in May 1778 Straloch passed under the hammer.[6]

Reid, however, notwithstanding that he was now a comparatively poor man,[7] in 1779–1780 raised at his own expense a regiment of foot, of which he was appointed colonel[8]—this regiment (the 95th) being one of many called into existence by the fact that in June 1779 Spain had made common cause with France and the American colonists.[9] To the 95th, as already related,[10] is due the honour of having in January 1781 helped to save Jersey from falling into the hands of the French, after the Lieutenant-Governor had surrendered the

[1] Memorial to Lord Amherst.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] According to a letter written by Baron Reid on the 25th December 1775 (in the possession of Miss Small), his grandfather and great-grandfather had been "immersed and fined for themselves and wives being at Conventicle preachings."

[4] Reid's Memorial.

[5] Reid, in his Memorial to Lord Amherst, states that his father, by his "Influence and Authority," had prevented "at least one Thousand Men" from joining Prince Charles. *The Culloden Papers* (p. 412), and papers in the possession of Miss Small, also bear witness to his zeal for the Government during the Rising.

[6] Letters in the possession of Miss Small.

[7] From the Memorial to Lord Amherst it appears that he had some property in America which had not been encroached upon.

[8] He had been made a brevet-colonel in 1777.

[9] The writer of the article on Reid in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that the 95th was one of the regiments raised on account of French intervention. But we had been at war with France since 1778.

[10] See note on the 95th Regiment of Foot, pp. 87, 88.

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island. Reid, however, was not present on that occasion, as he had quitted his regiment some months previously, on its being sent into winter-quarters.[1] The 95th was disbanded in 1783.

In 1781 Reid was promoted major-general, and in 1793 a lieutenant-general. He was appointed colonel of the 88th Regiment (Connaught Rangers) in November 1794,[2] and became a general in 1798. In 1803, when an invasion was hourly expected, Reid, in response to an order that all general officers not employed on the staff should transmit their addresses to the Adjutant-General, wrote that though in the eighty-second year of his age, "and very deaf and infirm," he was still ready to use his feeble arm in defence of his country.[3] He died in the Haymarket on the 6th of February 1807, and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, near the remains of his "intimate friend and physician," Dr. Elwick Saunders.

The General would probably have had but little property to dispose of at his death, had he not in 1796 succeeded to a valuable estate of some four or five thousand acres in Nova Scotia, which was left to him by his first cousin, Major-General John Small,[4] "as a mark of . . . respect . . . and attachment to the preservation of his name and representation for succeeding ages." General Small left instructions in his Will that this property should be "erected into a free barony by the name and description of the Barony of Straloch," and that it should be settled in succession on General Reid's only daughter and her heirs, on condition that any one enjoying the property should bear the name of Reid of Straloch. It seems curious that General Reid should have felt no wish to perpetuate his family name, but his daughter had made a marriage of which he disapproved;[5] she had no children; and his only brother had died in 1762, during the siege of Havana.[6] It was probably these circumstances which induced him to realise the property in Nova Scotia. It must have fully justified Small's opinion of it, for his cousin died worth some £52,000. In a Will dated the 19th of April 1803, Reid left £1400 in three per cent. Consols[7] to his daughter and her heirs, or failing her heirs, to the children of William Alexander and three of his sisters. The rest of his fortune he bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh, with the proviso that part of it should go to found a Musical Professorship, and that additions should be made to the Library. The balance was to be spent in "promoting the general interest and advantages of the University"

[1] *Société Jersiaise, Septième Bulletin Annuel*, p. 323.

[2] This appointment was evidently conferred on him in response to the Memorial of July 1794, already quoted. He asks for the "command of a Regiment, not liable to be reduced after the War . . . to convince my Friends and the World in general that my long and faithful services and particularly the great Losses which I have sustained by the Independence which, unfortunately for me, has been granted to America, have not been passed altogether unnoticed and disregarded by our most gracious Sovereign."

[3] Cannon, *Historical Record of the 88th or Connaught Rangers*, p. 6.

[4] General Small's mother was Magdalen Robertson, sister of General Reid's father. See General Small's biography, p. 396.

[5] She married her cousin, Dr. Stark Robertson, to whom the General habitually alluded as "a vile apothecary."

[6] Letter in the possession of Miss Small.

[7] "Being part of the fortune which I acquired by marriage."

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as the Principal and Professors should think fit. By a codicil dated the 4th of March 1806, the entire fortune was left to his daughter and her children, whom failing, to the University of Edinburgh, to be applied in the manner above described. He also left directions that a concert should be given annually on or about his birthday, at which should be performed "one solo for the German flute, hautboi, or clarionet, also one march, and one minuet, with accompaniments by a select band, in order to show the taste of music about the middle of the last century, when they were by me composed, and with a view also to keep my memory in remembrance."

Mrs. Stark Robertson died childless, and the General's fortune was therefore devoted to the foundation of a musical professorship, which, through the medium of the "Reid" lectures and concerts, has done much for the musical life of the university and city of Edinburgh. A concert is held every year on or about the 13th of February, at which is performed a MS. composition of General Reid's, consisting of an Introduction, Pastorale, Minuet, and March ("In the Garb of Old Gaul"), and it may safely be predicted that as long as the University exists, this old Perthshire soldier of the eighteenth century will be remembered as one of its benefactors.

Note on "The Garb of Old Gaul."

The well-known verses beginning "In the Garb of Old Gaul" have generally been ascribed (and I think with good reason) to Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Erskine of Alva; but Stewart of Garth (vol. i. p. 246, *note*) states that they were originally written in Gaelic by a soldier of the 42nd, about the time the regiment returned from America (*i.e.* in 1767), and that they were afterwards translated by some of the officers. The late Mr. P. R. Drummond, F.S.A. Scot., in his *Perthshire in Bygone Days*, pp. 469–472, took some pains to prove Garth's statement, and, misled by Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, which ascribed the words to "Captain, afterwards Sir Harry Erskine," assumed that because Erskine could not have been serving in the 42nd when the verses first appeared (*i.e.* in 1765), they could not have been written by him. Erskine was certainly not serving in the 42nd in 1765, as in that year (which was the year of his death), he was a lieutenant-general and colonel of the 1st Royals; but Mr. Drummond presupposed that the words must have been written by some one serving in the 42nd, and, with all due deference to General Stewart, I do not think they were. There would be very few facilities for publishing poems in Scotland before the return of the regiment in 1767, and it seems unlikely that, if any officer or man of the 42nd wished to celebrate the successes gained by Highlanders in America, he should specially mention the capture of Quebec and Cape Breton—exploits in which Fraser's Highlanders had distinguished themselves, but in which his own regiment had had no share. Though the poem appeared anonymously in 1765 and in Herd's *Collection* of 1769, it was given under Sir Harry Erskine's name in the 1776 edition of Herd's book, and in 1790 words and music appeared in vol. iii. of *The Scots Musical Museum*, under the title of "The Highland Character," as the joint production of Erskine and Reid. Reid was living in 1790, and it may be assumed that he would not have let the words be ascribed to Erskine if they had been written by a soldier of his late regiment. On the other hand, Stewart of Garth's book did not appear until 1821, by which time Reid had been dead some years.

The early date (1756) of the first publication of Reid's March precludes the idea that it was written expressly for words commemorating the Seven Years' War, and though verses other than those mentioned might have been written by some one in the 42nd at the close

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of the war, I am inclined to believe that the March in question was wedded to no words until after its appearance in Reid's *Sett of Minuets and Marches*, to which Stenhouse ascribed the date 1770. Both in 1756 and in the *Sett of Minuets* it appears in a purely instrumental and (except for the addition of the horns in the latter), practically identical form, and it required alteration and transposition before it could be adapted to Erskine's poem or the compass of the human voice. Moreover, whereas in *The Lark*, published in 1765, the last line of the chorus runs, " And defy the French and Spaniards to alter our laws," in Herd's *Collection* of 1769 and 1776 it appears as " defy the French, with all their arts," and this is the version given in a leaflet printed by Bremner, entitled " The Highland Character For the Highland March Composed by J. R. Esqr.", which I believe to be the earliest extant version of the complete song. On the other hand, the adaptation probably took place before 1776 (*i.e.* the date of publication of the second edition of Herd's *Collection*), as Erskine's name is not mentioned in the leaflet, and during the War of Independence (1775–1783) an allusion to the Americans was introduced into the last line of the chorus (MS., dated 1798, in Atholl charter-room).

Bremner's leaflet is dated " 1780 (?) " in the British Museum Catalogue, but for the reasons above given I am inclined to think that it dates from between 1769 and 1776 (or, if Stenhouse's date is correct, from 1770–1776), and that it was during that period that Reid's music was adapted to Erskine's words. On the other hand it should be noted that, whereas the verses had appeared in *The Lark* without any title, in Herd's *Collection* of 1769 they are given under the title of the " Highland March," which suggests the possibility of an earlier connection with Reid's composition.

Except for the harmonies of two bars, and the omission of Erskine's name, the leaflet corresponds in the minutest respect with the version in the *Scots Museum*, and I do not doubt that Johnson, when compiling the third volume of his collection, which was published in 1790, copied the song from Bremner's publication, changed the harmonies in the bars referred to, and, in consequence of the information contained in the 1776 edition of Herd's *Collection*, added Sir Harry Erskine's name. The version of the chorus which he gives is the same that we find in Bremner's leaflet.

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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SMALL,[1] 1730–96

BY THE EDITOR

SERVING in the 42nd Regiment at the same time as John Reid was another Strathardle man—John Small, third son of Patrick Small, who received the lands of Leanoch (near the Spital of Glenshee) from his father, Patrick, fourth laird of Dirnanean. Patrick Small of Leanoch married Magdalen Robertson, sister of Alexander Robertson ("Baron Reid") of Straloch, the father of General John Reid. Reid and Small were thus not only neighbours and brother-officers, but first cousins; and, as has already been shown, they were evidently on terms of close friendship.

Born in Strathardle in 1730,[2] Small, like many of his countrymen of that date, began his military career with the Scots Brigade in Holland, being appointed a 2nd lieutenant in the Earl of Drumlanrig's Regiment when it was raised for the service of the States-General in 1747.[3] How long he remained abroad is unknown; in 1750 he was still a "sous-lieutenant" in Drumlanrig's,[4] but it is probable that he returned to England when the regiment was reduced in 1752. He did not, however, obtain a commission in the British Army until four years later, when he was appointed lieutenant in the 42nd, just prior to its departure for America.[5]

[1] From the *Army Lists*, Stewart's *Sketches*, and the various other authorities quoted below, many of which have been placed at my disposal by Major Peter Chalmers, of Blairgowrie, a great-great-grandnephew of General Small. For a portrait of the General see illustration opposite p. 387.

[2] From the Kirkmichael Parish Register it appears that he was baptized on the 21st of December 1730. The writer of the article on Small in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, following Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, vol. v. and *Notes and Queries* (8th series, vol. iv. p. 98), says that he was born in 1726. Curiously enough, a memorial tablet in the church in Guernsey in which Small was buried states that he died in 1796, aged 63, but this is probably an error. The date of his birth is not mentioned on the tablet.

[3] *Scots Magazine*, July 1747.

[4] *Scots Brigade in Holland*, vol. ii. p. 413.

[5] The *Dictionary of National Biography*, again following Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, says that Small, after serving in the Scots Brigade in the Dutch service, obtained a commission as ensign in the 42nd on the 29th of August 1747. Stewart of Garth's narrative (*Sketches*, 1st ed. vol. ii. p. 186) is to the same effect, though he only mentions that the commission was granted in 1747. He adds, however, that in the same year Small, with the rank of lieutenant, was commanding a detachment of the 42nd in Glenelg (vol. i. p. 267, *note*), and that in 1756 he was taken on to the strength of his regiment from the half-pay list (vol. i.

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So far as is known, Small took part in all the campaigns in which his regiment was engaged from 1756 onwards to 1763. He fought at Ticonderoga in 1758, served with General Amherst's successful expedition to Lake Champlain in the following year, and took part in the operations which completed the conquest of Canada in 1760. After the surrender of Montreal he was sent in charge of French prisoners to New York, and we learn from a brother-officer that General Amherst had great confidence in him, and frequently employed him "on particular services."[1] Two years later he served in the capture of Martinique and Havana, and obtained his promotion as captain.

At the peace of 1763 Small was placed on half-pay, but, according to General Stewart, he was almost immediately put on the full-pay list of the North British Fusiliers (21st),[2] and when in 1767 the Black Watch left for Europe, most of the men of that regiment who had volunteered to stay in America joined the Fusiliers in order to serve under Small, who, he says, was "deservedly popular" with them. Small, however, cannot have served long with the 21st, for in the same year in which the Black Watch left America he was appointed "major of brigade" to the forces in North America.[3] It was probably during the interval of peace between the Seven Years' War and the war with the Americans that he began to acquire the property in Nova Scotia, part of which he afterwards bequeathed to his cousin John Reid. We have some indication that during this period he interested himself in local politics,[4] and from what follows it is evident that he formed a friendship with at least one American colonist, which was of value to him at a critical moment.

Small served throughout the War of Independence, though but rare glimpses are obtained of him during its course. He was present as a brigade-major at the battle of Bunker's Hill on the 17th of June 1775, and is described as landing some 400 marines to take part in the action.[5] It is interesting to know that in the course of that day his life was saved by his friend the American General

p. 279). Neither *Army Lists* nor *War Office Registers Various* contain any mention of John Small prior to 1756, and a paper at the War Office, a copy of which is in the possession of Major Chalmers, expressly states that he was appointed to the 42nd in 1756 "from the Dutch Service." The *War Office Registers*, however, record that "— Small, gent," was appointed ensign in Lord John Murray's Regiment (*i.e.* the 42 d) on the 27th of May 1747, and that on April the 20th, 1748, an Ensign *James* Small of the same regiment was transferred to Loudoun's Highlanders. An Ensign James Small also appears on the half-pay list of two additional companies of the 42nd in 1754, and I think it may be concluded that all three entries refer to the same officer, and that he has been confused with John Small both in 1747 and 1756. The officer in question may have been John Small's elder brother, James, who is said to have served in the Army.

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 478.

[2] His commission as captain in the 21st was dated the 30th April 1765.

[3] *London Gazette*, 24th to 27th October 1767.

[4] Richard Frothingham, *Life and Times of Joseph Warren* (Boston, 1865), p. 341. According to Mr. Winsor, the American historian, Small was town-major of Boston about the time of the outbreak of the War of Independence. (Letter in the possession of Major Chalmers.)

[5] Winsor, *History of America*, vol. vi. p. 138.

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Putnam, who, seeing Small standing alone at a time when all around him had fallen, struck up the barrels of his men's muskets to save his life.[1]

Shortly after this, as already related,[2] Small raised the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment,[3] and was appointed major-commandant. In 1778 the regiment was numbered the 84th,[4] and in 1780 Small was promoted lieutenant-colonel-commandant of his battalion.

What part Small and his men took in the war has already been shown to be conjectural. He is said to have joined Sir Henry Clinton at New York in 1779,[5] but the War Office Papers preserved at the Record Office show one company only of his battalion as being in garrison at New York in that year, and it is more probable that he was stationed for the most part in Nova Scotia. Be that as it may, in March 1783, after the close of hostilities, Small and the headquarters of his battalion were at Fort Edward, south of Lake Champlain, and in the following autumn the battalion was disbanded at Windsor, in Nova Scotia.[6] It has already been mentioned that some of the men were given grants of land in that colony, where they subsequently founded the township of Douglas.

Small himself, now once more on half-pay, returned home. In 1790 he was promoted colonel, and three years later he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Guernsey—an important post, seeing that Great Britain was by that time once more at war with France. It was in June 1794, during the period of Small's governorship, that Sir James de Saumarez, though engaged by a French squadron, brought the *Crescent* and the *Druid* into safe anchorage off Guernsey, through a narrow and difficult channel previously supposed impassable for a warship, the manœuvre being watched with breathless excitement by all on the island. Small presented a medal to John Breton, the Guernsey pilot who brought in the *Crescent*, and not only published a general order expressing his appreciation of the masterly skill and seamanship of Sir James de Saumarez

[1] Small is a prominent figure in Colonel Trumbull's well-known picture of the battle, and he is therein depicted as staying the hand of a British soldier who is about to bayonet the American General Warren, who had already been wounded; but from a statement made by Small himself, quoted in the *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*, pp. 517–18, *note*, it appears that Warren had been killed before Small saw him.

[2] See note on this battalion, pp. 68, 69.

[3] His commission was dated the 13th June 1775—four days prior to the battle—but Winsor talks of the regiment as being raised towards the end of 1775, and from this, coupled with the fact that Small is not mentioned as commanding his battalion at Bunker's Hill, I conclude that his commission was antedated. In the Staff Return of the 25th June 1778 he is shown as still holding the appointment of brigade-major, but his name is not included in the Staff Return, 25th June to 24th December 1780. (Copy of War Office papers, in the possession of Major Chalmers.)

[4] The writer of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, again misled by Appleton's *Cyclopædia*, alludes to this regiment as the 84th Royal *Engineers*—a mistake which may be pardonable in an American work, but which a British author could have rectified by a single reference to a contemporary *Army List*. The *Dictionary* writer also transforms Sir Henry Clinton's surname into "Clintock," but this may be a printer's error.

[5] Appleton's *Cyclopædia*.

[6] Lieut.-Colonel Holden's MS. Notes from War Office Papers.

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and his men, but with characteristic kindness also wrote off at once to bring their services before the notice of the Admiralty.[1]

In October 1794 Small became a major-general, and on the 17th of March 1796 he died in Guernsey, and was buried in the church of St. Peter Port. His Will, dated at London on the 13th of January 1793, is an interesting one, and may be briefly referred to. As related elsewhere,[2] a valuable property in Nova Scotia, of four or five thousand acres in extent,[3] was left to General Reid, with remainder to his daughter and her heirs, Small directing that the same should be "erected into a free barony by the name and description of the barony of Straloch" and that the owner thereof should bear the name of Reid of Straloch. In like manner another, but smaller, property in Nova Scotia was left to a cousin, Patrick Small (whom the General declared his intention of adopting),[4] on the understanding that a house should be built upon the estate, and that it should be named "Dirnanean," with a view also to perpetuating the name of the head of his family. His other lands and estates (including a tract purchased at Douglas) were left to his "beloved and best of brothers," Alexander Small, to be divided at his death between his only surviving sister, and the children and grandchildren of his deceased brother and sisters.[5] The Will shows throughout a touching affection for relations and friends, to many of whom, besides those above-mentioned, there are small legacies and bequests.

General Stewart of Garth wrote of General John Small that "No chief of former days ever more firmly secured the attachment of his clan, and no chief, certainly, ever deserved it better. With an enthusiastic, and almost romantic love of his country and countrymen, it seemed as if the principal object of his life had been to serve them, and promote their prosperity. Equally brave in leading them in the field, and kind, just, and conciliating in quarters, they would have indeed been ungrateful, if they had regarded him otherwise than as they did." An actor whom Small befriended in Guernsey also tells us of the General's kindness to him and to various French emigrants, adding that "his heart was an unfathomed depth of benevolence," and that he was so beloved in Guernsey, that when he died many of the inhabitants of the island went into mourning.[6]

An inscription on the back of the medallion of General Small, which is reproduced opposite page 387, also bears a quaint little tribute to his character, for it records that the portrait is "a very strong likeness of as worthy a man as ever was born."

[1] *Memoirs and Correspondence of Admiral Lord de Saumarez*, by Sir John Ross, C.B. (London, 1838), vol. i. p. 135. [2] See General Reid's biography, p. 393.

[3] "Near the embouchure and on the banks" of a river "now styled upper and lower Sehwah."

[4] The General's eldest brother Alexander, a physician, was unmarried, and in frail health, and his other brother, James, had died without leaving male issue.

[5] Small had three sisters, all married to Glenshee or Blackwater lairds:—Margaret, wife of James Rattray of Persie and Kingseat; Susan, who married (1) John Robertson of Cray, and (2) John Spalding, inventor of a diving bell; and Jean, wife of Colin Mackenzie of Finegand. All three left issue.—Note supplied by Major Chalmers.

[6] John Bernard, *Retrospections of the Stage* (London, 1830), pp. 308–16.

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ADMIRAL VISCOUNT DUNCAN[1]

1731–1804

BY ELEANOR C. SELLAR

"LORD SPENCER'S naval administration has witnessed . . . three victories which since naval records have been kept in this or any other country are not to be equalled. Your magnificent achievement saved this country, Lord Duncan's saved Ireland; and I must hope Lord Nelson's saves India." So wrote Lady Spencer, wife of the First Lord of the Admiralty, to Lord St. Vincent in October 1798, immediately after the news of the Battle of the Nile had reached England. This enthusiastic verdict, written in a moment of national elation, has been confirmed by the deliberate judgment of posterity. The perspective of history has in no respect minimised the dangers which these three victories averted. The battles of Cape St. Vincent and of the Nile, associated as they are with the name and fame of the greatest of British seamen, may count for greater naval achievements in popular estimation, but in order to measure the sense of national relief caused by the victory off Camperdown, it is necessary to realise the hour of peril in which it was fought and won. The confidence of the country in its sea power had been shaken to its foundations by the mutinies at Spithead, at the Nore, and at Yarmouth. Admiral Duncan's defeat of the Dutch not only broke the strength of a fleet which for two years had threatened the invasion of Ireland, but it restored the prestige of the British Navy, and gave back self-respect to our seamen.

Adam Duncan was born on July the 1st, 1731. He was the third son of Alexander Duncan of Lundie, in the county of Forfar, and of Helen, daughter of John Haldane of Gleneagles in Perthshire. At the age of fifteen he entered the Navy, his first years at sea being passed under the care of his cousin, Captain Robert Haldane. But his real professional education was learnt in the school of Captain the Hon. Augustus Keppel, with whom he became acquainted in 1749, and under whom he served successively as midshipman, as 3rd, 2nd, and 1st lieutenant, and as flag- and post-captain. Those were days of stirring adventure and incessant action, and officers who had the good fortune to sail under that most dashing commodore, Captain Keppel, were not behindhand in the capture of prizes, and in minor engagements with French ships.

In 1757 Duncan served as 2nd lieutenant under Captain Keppel on the *Torbay*, and took part in the expedition to Basque Roads. In 1758 an expedition was planned by Pitt against the French settlements on the West Coast of Africa, and to Captain Keppel was appointed the task of capturing Goree, a small island to the south of Cape Verd. With him sailed Lieutenant Duncan.

[1] Except where otherwise stated, from the Earl of Camperdown's *Admiral Duncan*.

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ADMIRAL VISCOUNT DUNCAN

(From an Engraving by J. Ward, after a Portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A., in the Guildhall)

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to the *Blenheim*, of ninety guns, which he commanded during the final relief of Gibraltar under Lord Howe.

In 1787 he became rear-admiral, but following this promotion came a second long spell of inactivity, spent by Duncan and his family in Scotland, much of his time being passed in Edinburgh with his wife's relations. It was not until 1795 that his chance came to him, when Lord Spencer appointed him commander-in-chief in the North Sea.

The duty assigned to him was to blockade and, if possible, destroy, the Dutch fleet, whose presence in the Texel was an active menace to England. The hour was one full of danger. From France, from Spain, from Holland, our coasts were threatened with invasion. Trouble was brewing in Ireland. To secure the safety of our shores it was necessary to blockade the French and Spanish ports, and to keep the Dutch fleet shut up in the Texel. On this port for two years Admiral Duncan never relaxed his grip. His squadron cruised ceaselessly off the Dutch coast. When it was necessary to return to Yarmouth to re-victual, light frigates remained behind, watching the enemy's movements, ready to report any change. The fleet under Duncan was not one to inspire its commander with confidence. In quantity the vessels were few, in quality they were inferior. The better ships were required in the Mediterranean, and the North Sea fleet had to be supplemented with captured prizes, and with merchantmen converted into men-of-war. On more than one occasion ships and crews had to be hastily got together to take the place of better vessels that had been removed from the command in order to make up for shortage at other points of danger. But if the *personnel* of the North Sea fleet left much to be desired, it had one factor of incalculable strength—the personality of its Admiral.

Until the spring of 1797 the situation was not one to call out more than the characteristics which are looked for in a British seaman of high rank—unceasing vigilance, courage tempered with caution, and an ardent desire to come to close quarters with the enemy. But in May of that year a crisis arose calling for exceptional qualities. The outbreak of the mutiny at the Nore and at Yarmouth signalises one of England's darkest hours. It is difficult to overstate the danger of the situation. All along the coast the fleet was in open revolt, and nowhere was sedition more rife than at Yarmouth, the headquarters of the North Sea squadron. In the Texel was a powerful Dutch fleet, waiting its opportunity to convoy a large French force, commanded by General Hoche, to the shores of Ireland. In this emergency the moral greatness of Admiral Duncan's character rose to its full height, and proved itself on a level with his majestic frame and noble appearance. Wherever he appeared his personal magnetism seemed to control the mutinous crews, and on his flag-ship the *Venerable* revolt was speedily converted into a spirit of unwavering loyalty. His attitude to those under his command had always been that of a father, and the sailors who had come beneath the immediate spell of his character and experienced the influence of his simple unaffected piety were not slow to express their contrition, and to claim once more their Admiral's confidence.

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About a week after the spirit of mutiny first appeared in his fleet, he mustered the crew of the *Venerable*, and addressed them. Having pointed out to them in simple manly language the gravity of their offence and the danger of the situation, he continued :—

" You see me, now grown grey with fifty-one years' service. In every ship I had the honour to command I have endeavoured to do justice both to the public and the men I commanded, and have often been flattered with particular marks of their regard ; and I still hope, in spite of all that has happened, this ship's company have not lost their confidence in me. Both my officers and me are always ready to redress any supposed grievances when asked in a proper manner.

" In all my service I have maintained my authority, which I will not easily part with. I shall take this opportunity of mentioning a thing that has too often offended my ears in this ship : I mean the profane oaths and . . . blasphemy, that too much prevails, and, I really believe, often without meaning. But if there is a God—and everything round us shows it—we ought to pay Him more respect. In the day of trouble the most abandoned are generally the first to cry for assistance and relief from that God whose name they are daily taking in vain. With what confidence they expect it they know best. I am always happy to see you cheerful and at play, but the noise and tumult that seems at that time to prevail amongst you looks more like a lawless set of men than a well-disposed ship's company.

" I hope you will attend to this, and if what I have said makes any impression I shall expect to see it by much alertness in doing your duty and in obedience to your officers. God bless you all, and may He always have us under His gracious protection and make us better men."

Small wonder that in the reply of the ship's company, they spoke of him with much good feeling, if in indifferent grammar, as " the wortheyest of commanders who has proved a father to us, and as such we shall allways honour you."

From one mutinous ship to another the Admiral went, addressing the crews, and on one occasion bringing the force of his great physical strength to support the weight of his words, as when one of the ringleaders on the *Adamant* disputed his authority, he caught him by the collar, and holding him suspended over the ship's side, called the attention of his fellow-sailors to the " fellow . . . who dares to deprive me of the command of the fleet." But great as was the weight of his influence, it was beyond the power of any one man to extinguish the flames of mutiny, that like a prairie fire broke out continually at fresh points. And all the time the danger from the Dutch fleet was growing more acute.

On May the 21st Duncan received secret information from the Admiralty that a descent on this country was in contemplation, and on the 24th of May he received orders to sail for the Texel.

By May the 29th, his whole fleet, with the exception of the *Venerable*, the *Adamant*, and two or three frigates, had mutinied and deserted him. Some eighteen Dutch ships of war and a large number of other vessels lay inside Texel roads ; and outside—two British men-of-war, and an admiral with an undauntde

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heart, with confidence born of high courage, and fortitude rooted in firm faith. In the whole annals of seamanship there is no more impressive spectacle than the figure of the great Scottish sailor with his fifty-one years of service, resolutely facing a hostile fleet with a navy in mutiny in his rear.

Well might he say to the crew of his own ship, " To be deserted by my fleet in the face of an enemy is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks."

The situation was as critical a one as a commander ever had to face, but Duncan was prepared to meet it. He had received orders to lock up the Dutch fleet in the Texel, and if it could be done no other way than by sinking the two battle-ships still true to his command, " the soundings," he said, " were such that his flag would continue to fly above the shoal water after the ship and company had disappeared." Should the enemy's fleet come out he was prepared with the *Venerable* and the *Adamant* to fight her till they sank.

Added to his high courage was a dash of Scottish " pawkiness," which was to prove more than a match for the more slow-moving wits of the enemy.

Moored at the mouth of the Texel, Duncan kept up a series of signals to an imaginary fleet in the offing. So effectual was this manœuvre that the Dutch never doubted that the two British men-of-war had come in to the Texel as a decoy, and that the whole of Duncan's fleet was lying outside. Strong in this belief they never ventured out.

By the middle of June the mutiny had been suppressed, and the Admiral's ships had rejoined him. In his dealings with the mutineers Duncan had shown that he could combine discipline and firmness with a spirit of large-hearted sympathy, and an earnest desire to remove such hardships from the sailors' lot as in his opinion constituted a legitimate grievance. As early as 1795 he had made representations to the Admiralty on behalf of the sailors, and had drawn up a paper embodying suggestions for their material comfort and spiritual improvement. In Pitt's opinion his action in connection with the mutiny was the greatest service he rendered to the country.

With his fleet brought up at length to its full strength Duncan continued the blockade of the Texel for nineteen weeks. Of the mingled hopes and fears which sustained the spirits of the enemy, of the winds blowing from the wrong quarter, of the lost opportunity—the result of lack of information and dearth of imagination—we may read in Wolfe Tone's journal, who on board one of the Dutch ships was eagerly awaiting the chance of the fleet convoying a French invading army to Ireland.

By the beginning of October the Dutch Government had abandoned the idea of a joint military and naval expedition, and had decided that the fleet should put out to sea and engage Admiral Duncan. It was with dismay that the gallant commander of the Dutch fleet received these orders, and acting on

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them left the Texel on the morning of the 7th of October. Duncan was re-victualling at Yarmouth, when a frigate arrived bringing him word that the enemy's ships had been seen getting under weigh. Without waiting for the officers and men on leave, and with several of his ships still refitting at the Nore, Duncan put to sea with eleven sail of the line.

Early on the morning of the 11th of October the two fleets were within striking distance of one another some eight miles from Camperdown, and at 3 P.M. of the same day Duncan was able to send the following despatch by the cutter *Rose* to the Admiralty :—

" SIR,—I have the pleasure to acquaint you for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that at Nine o'clock this morning I got sight of the Dutch Fleet ; at half past twelve I passed through their Line, and the Action commenced which has been very severe. The Admiral's Ship is dismasted and has struck, as have several others, and one is on fire.

" I shall send Captain Fairfax with particulars the moment I can spare him.—I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, " ADAM DUNCAN."

" I passed through their line." In that terse sentence is the key to Duncan's great victory. With unerring instinct he realised the necessity for immediate action, otherwise the enemy's fleet would put back and win the security of shoal water where action would be impossible. Without taking time to draw up his ships in regular formation, he broke through the enemy's line with the *Venerable*, his second-in-command, Vice-Admiral Onslow, leading the larboard division in an attack on the Dutch rear. The other ships followed, obeying the signal from the flag-ship :—" to pass through the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward."

The spirit that animated the whole fleet may be discerned in the anecdote cited by Admiral Sir C. Elkins of a Scotsman, Captain Inglis, the commander of the *Belliguany*. Puzzled by the signals, and in the stress of the moment unable to master the intricacies of the signal book, he flung it on the deck, exclaiming, " D—— ! Up wi' the hel-lem and gang into the middle o't ! "

By the afternoon the battle of Camperdown was fought and won, and Admiral de Winter was the prisoner of the British. Admiral Duncan's first action was to call his officers and men together and return thanks to God for their victory. In the same spirit of unaffected piety he had a few minutes before going into action stood among his officers with uncovered head on the quarter-deck of the *Venerable*, and offered up a brief and simple prayer.

The tactics of the battle of Camperdown have been adversely criticised as being scientifically deficient, but courage and a bold course of action have a convincing logic of their own. Not only did the result justify the method of attack, but there are two testimonials which may not easily be set aside. Admiral de Winter himself said to Duncan, " Your not waiting to form line ruined me," and so great an authority as Sir Charles Napier was wont to quote the battle of Camperdown as the only instance of a battle fought by a man of

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between sixty and seventy years of age which would not have been fought better by a young one.

No account of Admiral Duncan would be complete that did not allude to the chivalrous relations, deepening into a very real friendship, which from the first existed between him and his prisoner, the courageous, gallant-hearted Admiral de Winter. From the moment of his stepping on the deck of the *Venerable* he was treated with the utmost courtesy and consideration, Admiral Duncan putting aside the sword that his prisoner tendered him, with the words " I would rather take a brave man's hand than his sword."

Two years later, at the close of a correspondence which does infinite honour to both writers, Admiral de Winter wrote to Lord Duncan from Amsterdam :—

" I desire most ardently that an honourable and lasting peace between the English and Dutch nations shall put an end to the scourge of War, and shall allow me to cultivate more closely the friendship with which you have honoured me—which is founded on mutual esteem—and which neither the circumstances of war, nor the state of political relations can disturb." [1]

The news of the victory off Camperdown was celebrated in England and in Scotland with the utmost rejoicing and enthusiasm. The Admiral, who had previously been offered a peerage for his services in connection with the mutiny, was created Baron Duncan of Lundie and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown.

No further opportunity of active service presented itself, though for some years he continued in command of the North Sea fleet.

In February 1799 he became admiral of the white, and in the following October,[2] on the death of the young son of his cousin George Haldane, who had died some months before, Duncan succeeded to the property of Gleneagles,[3] which had been in the possession of his mother's family for some six centuries. He had succeeded to the paternal estate of Lundie (now known as Camperdown) in 1796.

For some time past the Admiral's health had not been very good, and it was partly on this account, and partly owing to his new responsibilities at home, that in 1800 he hauled down his flag. The few years of life that remained to him were spent in retirement in Scotland, though on two occasions of great national danger—in 1801 and 1804—we again hear of him as offering his services to the Admiralty. In July 1804, while on a visit to London for this purpose, he had a severe, though short, attack of illness. He recovered sufficiently to undertake the journey to Scotland, but was taken ill on the way, and died on the 4th of August at Cornhill, near Coldstream, after a few hours' illness. He was succeeded by his third and eldest surviving son, Robert, who in 1831 was created Earl of Camperdown, of Lundie, in the county of Forfar, and of Gleneagles, in the county of Perth.

[1] The original letter was written in French. The above is the translation given in Lord Camperdown's *Admiral Duncan*.

[2] Date given in Burke's *Landed Gentry*.

[3] *Lives of Robert Haldane*, &c., p. 10.

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GENERAL SIR THOMAS STIRLING OF ARDOCH AND STROWAN[1]

1731–1808

BY THE EDITOR

Of the Perthshire men who served with the Black Watch in America during the Seven Years' War, the one who was destined to gain most distinction as a soldier was undoubtedly Thomas Stirling, second son of Sir Henry Stirling of Ardoch by his wife Anne Gordon, whose father had been one of Peter the Great's admirals and a great personal friend of that monarch. Thomas Stirling was born on the 8th of October 1731,[2] and, like John Small, began his military career in the Dutch service, being given a commission as ensign in the 1st Battalion of Colonel Marjoribanks' Regiment on the 30th of September 1747.[3] He was probably placed on half-pay when the establishment of the Scots Brigade was reduced in 1752,[4] for on the 31st of October 1756 an order was signed to the effect that "Pensioned Ensign Thomas Stirling" should be ensign "by replacement" in Marjoribanks' 1st Battalion.[5] But if Stirling availed himself of this re-appointment it cannot have been for long. By that time war had been declared between Great Britain and France, and there was more chance of promotion at home than in the service of the States-General. By the following summer he was in Scotland, and on the 24th of July[6] 1757, having been nominated by James, Duke of Atholl, and having raised the requisite number of men, he was gazetted captain of one of the three companies added to the 42nd in that year.

In November 1757 he sailed for America, where he served with his regiment in the campaigns of the ensuing years, though he was not present at the first attack on Ticonderoga, owing to the fact that the new companies had been left

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, from the *Army Lists*, Cannon's *Historical Record of the 42nd*, Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, and an MS. Memorandum of Sir Thomas Stirling's services, drawn up by himself and preserved in the Strowan charter-chest. A portrait of Sir Thomas will be found opposite p. 387.

[2] The article on Sir Thomas in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says 1732; the date in the text is from the Strowan charter-chest.

[3] The *Dictionary* gives the date as the 11th of October, which was the day on which Ensign Stirling took the oaths. The commission, which is preserved in the Strowan charter-chest, was signed on the 30th of September.

[4] From the date of commission given he must have been the "Ensign Sterling" who was serving in Marjoribanks' Regiment in 1750. (*Scots Brigade*, vol. ii. p. 407.)

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 422.

[6] Date in *Army Lists*. The *Dictionary* gives it as the 24th of March.

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behind to garrison Fort Edward.[1] He took part in the capture of Martinique in 1762,[2] and, like John Reid, was wounded, but he was able to serve in the capture of Havana later in that year.

Captain Stirling returned with his regiment to America at the close of hostilities, and in August 1765 was sent in command of a company to take possession of Fort de Chartres on the Mississippi—an expedition which must have been attended with many difficulties, involving as it did a journey of altogether some 5000[3] miles through Indian territory to the country inhabited by the Illinois. Stirling reached the fort in October, and after holding it throughout the following winter and spring rejoined his regiment at Philadelphia in June 1766, bringing back every man of his detachment without accident and in good health. He and his men received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief in America for their services.

The 42nd left the New World in 1767, and for upwards of eight years was quartered in Ireland, after which it was for a short while in Scotland. In 1770 Stirling was gazetted major in the regiment, and in 1771 lieutenant-colonel-commandant. Hostilities broke out with the Americans in 1775, and Stirling, having in five months raised the strength of his regiment from 350 men to 1200,[4] returned with it in the following spring to America, where he commanded it continuously for three years during the war.

The Black Watch arrived just as General Howe was about to begin his operations against New York, and during the short interval which elapsed before the regiment was in action Colonel Stirling was indefatigable in training his men to bush-fighting, the value of which he had learnt in his previous American campaign. The 42nd took part in the successful attack on the enemy's position at Brooklyn in August 1776, and some three weeks later distinguished itself in a sharp affair of outposts near Bloomingdale, during the retreat of the Americans from New York. But it was at the attack on Fort Washington on the 16th of November that the regiment especially covered itself with glory. The capture by the Highlanders of a steep wooded promontory crowned by a redoubt was the turning-point of the day,[5] and assured the fall of a fortress supposed impregnable by the American generals. Colonel Stirling and his regiment took two hundred prisoners, and received the thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for their gallantry.

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 444. See also biography of General James Murray, p. 412, *note*.

[2] The *Dictionary* says that he took part in the capture of Martinique in 1759, but this must be a confusion with the unsuccessful attack on the island made in that year, in which seven companies of the newly-raised 2nd Battalion of the 42nd were engaged. The three companies raised in 1757, of which Stirling commanded one, were considered as part of the 2nd Battalion, but in 1759 they were in America with the 1st Battalion.

[3] General Stewart (*Sketches*, 1st ed., vol. i. p. 341, *note*) gives the distance as "more than 3000 miles," but 5000 is the number mentioned in the Memorial already referred to, which was presented by General Stirling to the Secretary of State for War in 1784.

[4] Memorial aforesaid.

[5] *History of the British Army*, vol. iii. p. 192.

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The British army having driven Washington beyond the Delaware went into winter-quarters in New Jersey, and the Black Watch was quartered at Pisquatua, on the line of communications. There the Highlanders were attacked in May 1777 by a much superior force of the enemy under Generals Maxwell and Stephens, but led by their Commanding Officer they drove the Americans off with heavy loss, and once more Stirling and his men were thanked in General Orders by Sir William Howe.

In the following August Colonel Stirling and the 42nd accompanied the expedition to Pennsylvania. The regiment as a whole was not seriously engaged at the battle of Brandywine, but a few days later it took part in the brilliant night attack in which General Grey surprised and defeated some 1500 of the enemy under General Wayne, with a loss to his own force of only eight casualties. Stirling was not present at the action at Germantown, as after General Howe's occupation of Philadelphia in September he was sent over to New Jersey in command of the Black Watch and the 10th Regiment to dismantle the stronghold of Billingspost, in order that the Delaware River might be opened for the British fleet.

The 42nd spent the winter of 1777 to 1778 in Pennsylvania, and in the following summer returned to New York with Sir Henry Clinton, taking part on the way in the action at Freehold (or Monmouth), which was fought on a day of terrible heat and was in consequence a very trying one for the British troops.

During the remainder of the time Colonel Stirling was in America he was stationed at or near New York, where, owing to enterprises in other quarters, there were not sufficient troops for operations on a large scale. On the other hand he and his regiment were constantly employed—and with unvarying success—on small expeditions intended for the destruction of the enemy's shipping and stores. One such expedition took place in February 1779, when Colonel Stirling was sent with the 42nd and the light infantry of the Foot Guards to capture an American post at Elizabethtown in New Jersey. For its services on this occasion his little force was thanked in General Orders. Stirling shortly afterwards received a brevet of colonel, was appointed aide-de-camp to the King, and a few months later relinquished the command of the Black Watch on his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general.

In July 1779, with a force consisting of the 42nd and some light infantry, he was sent up from New York to the relief of Verplanks Point, a fort on the east bank of the Hudson River, which was besieged by the Americans. The enemy having withdrawn, he was placed in command of Stony Point—a post on the west bank of the river, the possession of which was of importance to Sir Henry Clinton's force at New York.

In December 1779 Clinton departed on his expedition against Charleston, taking the Black Watch with him, but Stirling presumably remained in the neighbourhood of New York until the following June, as in that month we find him in command of a brigade, accompanying a force under General Mathews which had been sent over to New Jersey on an ill-advised attempt to rally the

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supposed loyalists of that state. The inhabitants, far from receiving the British as friends, turned out everywhere to oppose them, and it soon became evident that the expedition could effect nothing. Before re-embarking, however, it was decided to destroy the town of Springfield, which was strongly held by General Greene. This was successfully carried out on the 23rd of June, and the British force embarked on the same evening. But General Stirling had been so severely wounded while leading the attack that he could take no further part in the war.[1] His thigh was broken, and fearing to be rendered incapable of further service he refused to have it amputated—thus greatly endangering his life. He recovered, however, and was invalided home, but he does not appear after this to have been ever again fit for active duty, and the remaining years of his life were chiefly spent in Perthshire.

In 1782 Stirling was promoted major-general and appointed colonel of the 71st Foot, but his regiment was disbanded in the following year, and he was accordingly placed on half-pay. His services were, however, soon rewarded with a baronetcy, and in 1790, on the death of General McNab, he became colonel of the 41st Regiment. After General James Murray's death in 1794 he purchased the estate of Strowan. In 1796 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1799 he succeeded his brother in the baronetcy of Ardoch. He attained the rank of general in 1801 and died unmarried on the 9th of May 1808.

[1] The article in the *Dictionary* says that this engagement took place in Massachusetts, but it is clear from Stedman's *American War* (vol. ii. p. 240 *et seq.*) that the expedition was to New Jersey, and General Stirling's Memorial says that he was wounded "while leading the van of a British Army in the Jerseys." No operations were being conducted in Massachusetts at that time.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL JAMES MURRAY OF STROWAN[1]

1734–94

BY THE EDITOR

THE youngest of the four officers of the Black Watch who served in America during the Seven Years' War, and whose biographies are included in this volume,[2] was Lieutenant-General James Murray of Strowan, second son of Lord George Murray by his marriage with Amelia Murray, heiress of Strowan and Glencarse. James Murray was born at Tullibardine on the 19th of March 1734, and it is interesting to know that Lord John Murray, who was destined in after years to be his colonel, was called upon to be his godfather. But before the boy had grown up to manhood the Jacobite Rising had come and gone, completely estranging his father from his Whig brothers and leaving him an exile.[3] It is therefore not surprising to find that James Murray's military career began neither in the service of Great Britain, nor—like Small and Stirling—in that of her ally Holland. A commission as lieutenant in the Saxon Grenadier Guards was obtained for him in 1749, on the understanding that before taking up his military duties he should devote two years to completing his studies. He spent this interval at Utrecht with his father and joined his regiment in 1751, his pay dating from that year.

James Murray's first experience of active service was at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, when he served against the forces of Frederick the Great. His share, however, in that campaign was a short one, for he was with the Saxon army which capitulated at Pirna on the Elbe in October 1756. Lieutenant Murray was released on parole, and being thus unable to take any further part in the hostilities with Prussia, he returned to Scotland in 1757.

Eleven years before, his eldest brother, who had been one of the original officers of Loudoun's Highlanders, had been deprived of his commission on account of his father's politics, but now times were changed. Great Britain, with Prussia as her only ally, was at war with most of Europe; officers and men were urgently needed; and Murray, on the nomination of his uncle, James, Duke of Atholl, was given a captain's commission in the Black Watch, and was placed in command of one of the three additional companies then being raised for service in America —another one of which, as we have seen, was given to Thomas Stirling.

[1] Except where otherwise stated, from the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, Lieut.-General Sir F. W. Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, and the *Army Lists*.

[2] See biographies of Generals Reid, Small, and Sir Thomas Stirling.

[3] See biographies of Lord George and Lord John Murray.

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James Murray reached New York in April 1758,[1] and, as narrated elsewhere, commanded Major Reid's company in the unsuccessful attack on Ticonderoga—his own company having been left in garrison at Fort Edward. He was wounded towards the end of that terrible day, but was soon able to return to duty and took part in the successful expedition of 1759 to Lake Champlain. Towards the close of that year he was given command—by Lord John Murray's desire—of the Grenadier Company of the newly-raised 2nd Battalion, and with this battalion he served in the great advance on Montreal in 1760 and in the capture of Martinique in 1762. Like Major Reid, he was wounded at the storming of Morne Tortenson on the 24th of January, and this time so severely that his recovery was little short of a miracle. He was invalided home from the West Indies, and was on sick leave for more than six years, during which time he travelled abroad a good deal for his health.

James Murray rejoined the Black Watch at Londonderry in 1768, and in 1769 was appointed captain-lieutenant in the 3rd Foot Guards—obtaining his promotion as captain and lieutenant-colonel[2] in the following year. In 1772 he was elected member of Parliament for Perthshire, a position which he held for twenty-two years. During this period he was governor successively of Upnor Castle and Fort William, but these were merely nominal posts and did not interfere with his other duties. In 1776 he bought Strowan (originally his mother's property) from his nephew, the fourth Duke of Atholl, who had succeeded to it two years before on the death of his father, the third Duke.

On the outbreak of the War of Independence, as already related,[3] Colonel Murray offered to raise a regiment of Highlanders for service in America, but this offer was refused, and in March 1777 he was sent out to join the brigade of Guards then serving under General Howe in New Jersey. He joined the brigade at New Brunswick in June, just prior to an engagement at Quibbletown in which, led by Lord Cornwallis, it defeated an American detachment with much success. A month later, New Jersey having been evacuated, Colonel Murray accompanied General Howe to Pennsylvania, and presumably took part in the actions at Brandywine and Germantown in the autumn of 1777. He spent the following winter in quarters at Philadelphia. On the 18th of December he was given a brevet of colonel, and not long afterwards received the news that the offer made by his nephew the Duke of Atholl to raise a

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iii. p. 435. Forbes, in his *History of the Black Watch* (p. 59), following Cannon's *Historical Record* of the Regiment (p. 49), says that the three additional companies raised in 1757 "embarked for North America to reinforce the First Battalion, as soon as its severe losses at Ticonderoga were known at home." But that these companies had joined the regiment prior to Ticonderoga is shown in many contemporary letters from officers of the Black Watch printed in the *Atholl Chronicles*, and neither of the authors above mentioned appear to have realised that the James Stewart of Urrard and James Murray whose names they give as appointed to command two of the companies of 1757 were the same officers whom they mention as being among the wounded at Ticonderoga.

[2] Until 1871 officers in the Guards held higher brevet rank in the Army.

[3] See article entitled *The 77th Regiment of Foot or Atholl Highlanders*, pp. 68–76.

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regiment had been accepted by Government, and that he had been gazetted to the command. He therefore left America in the summer of 1778 and joined the Atholl Highlanders in Ireland in September of that year.

Colonel Murray's letters show with what pride and affection he regarded his regiment, how unceasingly he laboured for its welfare, and how anxious he was to preserve its Highland character. In this connection it is interesting to note that he resisted as strenuously as his uncle, Lord John, the nomination of officers to the 77th by successive lords-lieutenant of Ireland, pointing out that his corps was not only national but provincial in character, and that if his men were to be commanded by officers whom they did not know, he would not be able to get another recruit. It must have been a great disappointment to him that the regiment was not sent to America, as originally intended, and we are told that the mutiny of 1783 "added half a score to his looks." Knowing the Highland character as he did, he seems to have understood the attitude of the men better than some of the other officers of the regiment, and though disapproving as strongly as any one of the steps taken by the mutineers to enforce their demands, he apparently realised what a breach of faith the Government had committed towards them. He did all he could to make the Atholl Highlanders disavow the mutiny—but with little success—and the regiment was accordingly disbanded. It may well be imagined what a blow it was to a son of Lord George Murray to find that Highlanders who had served under him for four years could believe him capable of selling them to the East India Company.

James Murray was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant of the 78th Highlanders in 1783, but as he was already a general officer[1] he never did any duty with this regiment, and his days of active soldiering accordingly came to an end, though we hear of him recruiting in Perthshire—and with much success—for his new corps.[2]

After 1783 General Murray resided a good deal at Strowan; in 1786 he was promoted full colonel of the 78th (by that time the 72nd), and in 1793 he was made lieutenant-general. Early in March 1794 he felt himself obliged to resign his seat in Parliament owing to ill-health, and a few days later—on the 19th of March—he died in London and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster.

Of Lord George Murray's three sons (another of whom will be mentioned hereafter), General James seems to have been the one who most resembled his father. He had inherited the Jacobite General's sympathetic knowledge of Highland character, something of his pride, and the same affectionate disposition. And that he had at least a share of his father's determination and presence of mind is shown by two anecdotes which have been handed down with regard to him. One of these refers to his earlier days, and is to the effect that, having been attacked by a highwayman one night that he was driving over a heath near London, he leant out of the window of the chaise, "groped in the dark for the ears of his assailant's horse," and with the brief but expressive exclama-

[1] He had been promoted major-general on the 20th of November 1782.

[2] Stewart, *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. ii. p. 178.

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tion, "Thereut's!" fired a shot which ended the highwayman's career. The other relates that during the Gordon Riots of 1780 Colonel James Murray was seated next Lord George Gordon in the House of Commons at the very moment at which the mob threatened to break into the House. Colonel Murray with a soldier's instinct drew his sword, pointed it at Lord George, and notwithstanding that he was his cousin, declared his intention of running him through the body if a single one of the rioters should enter. His promptness saved the situation, but he had committed a breach of the privileges of the House and was ordered to apologise on bended knee to the Speaker. Colonel Murray made the required *amende*, but on rising from his knee took out his handkerchief and dusted it, remarking, "Damned dirty House this; sooner it's cleaned out the better."

General Murray's kindness to the officers of the Atholl Highlanders has already been mentioned elsewhere. He lived in great harmony with his relations and died regretted by them all.

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REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE RED
SIR JOHN LINDSAY, K.B.[1]
1737–88

BY E. C. CARMICHAEL-WATSON

A DISTINGUISHED sailor was Admiral Sir John Lindsay, born in 1737—younger son of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick and his wife the Hon. Amelia Murray, daughter of David, fifth Viscount Stormont, and sister of the first Earl of Mansfield.

In what year John Lindsay entered the Navy is unknown, but we read that in 1756, at the early age of nineteen, he was appointed to command the fire-ship *Pluto*, and that in September 1757 he took part, with Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, in the unsuccessful expedition sent against Rochefort. This enterprise over, Lindsay was promoted to be captain of the *Trent* frigate, which for some three years afterwards was employed on the Home station as a cruiser. He was then ordered to Jamaica, and on the 4th of January 1761 encountered off Cape Tiburoon the French frigate *Bien Aimé* of twenty guns, bound from Martinique to New France. After a fight lasting three-quarters of an hour Lindsay captured the frigate with a loss of only one man killed and five wounded, while the casualties on the French side were more than three times that number.

In 1762 the *Trent* formed part of the force sent to reduce Havana, and acted as a beacon-ship to the fleet while it was passing through the Straits of Bahama. Many Perthshire men acquitted themselves well in the feverish Cuban swamps, and Lindsay was to earn great distinction both on sea and land in this expedition.

The captain of the *Cambridge* having been killed in action, Lindsay was sent to take over command of his ship, and made a particularly gallant attack on Fort Moro, the centre of the enemy's resistance. He led the *Cambridge* to within grape-shot of the Spanish batteries and attacked them with great vigour, but was beaten back with a loss of upwards of a hundred killed and wounded. The ship had "hardly a yard of rigging left, and the decks and hulls were like honeycombs."[2] Though the attack was unsuccessful Lindsay was highly commended for his attempt, and he is said to have been offered his choice of three ships, the *Cambridge* being one of them. It appears doubtful, however, if he relinquished command of the *Trent*.

[1] From Charnock's *Biographia Navalis* (London, 1797), vol. vi.; Douglas's *Peerage* (1813 ed.) under "Stormont"; the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788.

[2] *Scots Magazine*, 1762.

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Lindsay subsequently rendered valuable service by constructing shore batteries, and distinguished himself in attacks by land. Havana capitulated in August 1762, and the following year Captain Lindsay returned to England, where he was knighted—a great honour for a man of only twenty-six, and one which shows how high his reputation must have stood.

In 1764 he was appointed to the *Tartar* and ordered to the West Indies, where he remained for a year, chiefly as commanding officer at Pensacola on the coast of West Florida. He returned home in 1765, and two years later was elected member of Parliament for Aberdeen Burghs. He resigned his seat at the dissolution of 1768, and in the same year married Mary, only daughter of Sir William Milner of Nunappleton in Yorkshire.

In 1769 he was appointed commodore and commander-in-chief of a small force which was ordered to India and the Persian Gulf, and sailed with his broad pennant on the frigate *Stag*. He remained abroad until 1772, and during his absence (in 1771) was made a knight of the Bath.

His next appointment appears to have been in 1778, when he was given command of the *Victory*, of one hundred guns, forming part of the Channel Fleet under Admiral Keppel. The *Victory* was, however, shortly chosen by the Admiral as his flag-ship, and Sir John accordingly removed to the *Prince George*, of ninety guns, which he commanded with a loss of twenty killed and wounded in the engagement with the French off Ushant in July 1778. This battle, as is well known, was an indecisive one, and mutual recriminations ensued between Admiral Keppel and his second-in-command—Sir Hugh Palliser—who, being an Admiralty official, was upheld by the Board of Admiralty under the Presidency of Lord Sandwich, the First Lord. At the subsequent court-martial Lindsay gave evidence very damaging to Palliser, and when Keppel, though acquitted, left the Service, Sir John also resigned his command, refusing to serve again under Lord Sandwich.

In 1783, however, Lindsay himself became a lord of the Admiralty, and was appointed commodore and commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean Fleet. He hoisted his flag successively on the *Phaeton*, of thirty-eight guns, and the *Trusty*, of fifty, and in 1784 he took his squadron to Naples, where the King of Sicily visited him twice on board the *Trusty*.

Ill-health eventually compelled Sir John to relinquish his appointment, and he returned to England. He was appointed rear-admiral of the red in 1787, but died on June the 7th of the following year at Marlborough, aged fifty-one. He was accorded a public funeral and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where, eleven years later, his widow was interred beside him.

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VICE-ADMIRAL GEORGE MURRAY[1]

1741–97

BY THE EDITOR

BRIEF mention should be made of Vice-Admiral George Murray, youngest son of Lord George Murray, the Jacobite General, and Amelia Murray of Strowan and Glencarse.

Born on the 22nd of August 1741, George Murray went to sea in 1758, and after some years of service in both East and West Indies was in 1766 appointed to the command of the *Ferret* sloop, then at Jamaica. In 1768 he was promoted post-captain of the *Renown* frigate, and in 1775 was transferred to the *Levant*, of twenty-eight guns, with which he served in the Mediterranean for four years. In 1779 he became captain of the *Cleopatra*, of thirty-two guns, and commanded her in Admiral Parker's engagement with the Dutch off the Dogger Bank in 1781. In the following year he was promoted to the command of the *Irresistible*, of seventy-four guns, but—probably owing to the cessation of hostilities in 1783—he did not hold this appointment long, and after his marriage in 1784 with Wilhelmina, daughter of the fifth Lord King, Captain Murray took Stanley House in Strathord on lease, and remained ashore for eight years.

In 1790 he was elected member of Parliament for the Perth group of burghs, and in 1792 was appointed captain of the *Vengeance*, seventy-four, and commander-in-chief on the Medway with the rank of commodore.

On the outbreak of war in 1793 Commodore Murray, in command of the *Duke*, of ninety-eight guns, sailed for the West Indies with Admiral Gardner's fleet, and saw some active service off Martinique. He had to return home shortly, however, on account of an accident to his ship, and was transferred to the *Glory*, also of ninety-eight.

In 1794 he was promoted rear-admiral of the white and appointed commander-in-chief on the Halifax Station. Once more, therefore, he crossed the Atlantic—this time in command of a fleet of nine sail of the line—with his flag on the *Resolution*. On the way out he captured part of a convoy escorted by French frigates, a success which brought him his promotion to rear-admiral of the red. Though while on the Nova Scotia station Admiral Murray had never the good fortune to command in a general engagement, we have the testimony of the French Minister in America as to the activity of his squadron,[2] and his services must have been appreciated at the Admiralty, for in 1795 he was promoted vice-admiral of the white.

[1] From the *Chronicles of the Atholl and Tullibardine Families*, vols. iii. and iv.

[2] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 149.

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In 1796 he was obliged to resign his post on account of a stroke of paralysis brought on by the news of his wife's death. He accordingly went home—but only himself to die on October the 17th of the following year.

The following extract from a letter written by one of George Murray's lieutenants on the *Ferret*, shows that he too, like his brother James, had inherited some of the prominent characteristics of his father :—

"From Capt. Murray I have ever received the care and tenderness of a Father since I first had the honour to serve under him, which is also a pleasure to every individual in the ship. The happiness of his officers was envyed by all others on the Station, and men would enter for the *Ferret* when they would shun every other ship in the Squadron. I myself and two thirds of this ship's company in a manner will acknowledge our lives to his humanity, which he preserved at no small expence ; on the other hand, from every action he promises daily to be a most excellent officer. He is already remarkable for his uniform steadiness in command ; from a parcel of the most worthless mutinous villains he brought his ship's company to be one of the best in the West Indies. . . ."[1]

It was probably to these and other kindred qualities that George Murray owed his advancement in his profession ; for, as has been seen, in an age of great naval warfare, it only once fell to his lot to take part in an engagement of note, nor could he boast of the smaller exploits which formed such a brilliant feature in the careers of many seamen of his day. But a man who, at the early age of twenty-seven, and living at a time when but little thought was as a rule bestowed on the comfort or health of ships' crews, could combine the iron hand of discipline with "the care and tenderness of a father," was surely possessed of many of the qualities most essential to a great sailor, and his name should not be forgotten in his native county.

[1] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 32.

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ADMIRAL VISCOUNT KEITH, K.B.

(*From an Engraving by P. Audinet after a Portrait by H. P. Danloux at Meikleour*)

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GEORGE, VISCOUNT KEITH
ADMIRAL OF THE RED, K.B.[1]
1746–1822

BY ELEANOR C. SELLAR

AMONG the many sea-captains of the heroic period of England's naval power few did better service than George Keith Elphinstone, Viscount Keith, a younger son of the tenth Lord Elphinstone[2] by his wife Lady Clementina Fleming, daughter of the sixth Earl of Wigton and niece of the Earl Marischal of 1715. George Elphinstone's career was one of unremitting activity by sea and land, at an epoch when all Europe was in a state of unrest and ferment. Empires were being made and unmade; the landmarks of kingdoms were being removed; and revolutionary principles were shaking the foundations of society. He took part in the war that lost England her greatest colony, and he helped to sow the seeds of her future Imperial policy, by planting the standard of Great Britain at Cape Town. Of England's great rivals, the French, it may be said that he fought them "on the land," he "drove them on the seas." And when Waterloo had brought a truce to the long period of fighting, he was responsible for the dispositions that prevented the escape of Napoleon to America, and to him fell the dubious honour of being the go-between in the British Government's communications with their great prisoner, previous to his deportation to St. Helena.

Members of a family which has ever played an honourable part in Scottish history, George Elphinstone and at least two of his brothers were an exception to the majority of their countrymen, in seeking fair fame and fortune in the Navy, rather than in the more popular sister-service. The days of the glorious victories of Jervis and Howe were not yet—but adventurous spirits were not lacking to point the way to the sea, as the surest road to distinction if through the Navy, to prosperity and wealth if through the maritime service of the East India Company. There is extant a letter to young Elphinstone from his godfather and grand-uncle, the gallant old Earl Marischal, in which he sets before him the rival advantages of the two services, and extols "the Royal Navy as the most honourable, though that of the Company may be the most lucrative."

Elphinstone made trial of both Services before finally deciding for the Royal Navy. At the age of fifteen (he had been born in 1746 at his father's tower near

[1] From Alexander Allardyce's *Memoir* of Lord Keith, and notes contributed by the Marquess of Lansdowne, Lord Keith's great-grandson and representative.

[2] Lord Keith was not by birth a Perthshire man, but his biography has been included here on account of his later connection with Perthshire.—[ED.]

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Airth in Stirlingshire) he entered the Navy, and had the good fortune to have his first training under that great sea-captain, Jervis, with whom some forty years later he was again to be brought in close contact, when, as Lord Keith, he was to be second-in-command to Earl St. Vincent in the Mediterranean fleet. But in the early years of the second half of the eighteenth century there seemed little chance of rapid promotion in the Navy. Hence young Elphinstone's secession after the general peace of 1763 to the service of the East India Company—an experience which was to be of use to him in later years. But not enough of glory could be gained in the East India Service to satisfy the ambitions of an eager and ardent spirit, and after two voyages Elphinstone returned to his first love—the Royal Navy—and in 1771 got his appointment as 2nd lieutenant on the *Trident*, then serving in the Mediterranean.

It was at the siege of Charleston in 1780, during the American War of Independence, that Elphinstone had his first opportunity of giving proof of qualities which revealed him as possessing capacities for command on land as well as on sea. He was in charge of the marines who played so zealous a part in the investment of the town, and his conduct throughout the operations which resulted in the capture of the place won him the heartiest commendations of Admiral Arbuthnot and General Sir Henry Clinton, and brought him promotion from the Admiralty. Four years of active service on the American coast gained him not only distinction but wealth, as he had been unusually fortunate in the capture of rich prizes. They also brought him a reputation for luck, so that officers and men alike sought service under him.

To this period of hard work at sea succeeded a quiet spell on land, during which (in 1787) he married the representative of an old Perthshire family, Miss Mercer of Aldie,[1] who died two years later, leaving him one daughter. He was likewise elected to represent Dumbartonshire in Parliament, where he identified himself with the party known as "the Country Gentlemen."

But it was not in the Senate that Elphinstone was to serve his country, and in 1793 we find him in command of the *Robust* under Lord Hood's flag at the siege of Toulon, the rallying-point of the Royalist party in France. Fortified by the presence of a powerful British fleet, for a moment it seemed that the Royalists were to have an easy triumph. Louis XVII. was proclaimed—but the simultaneous surrender of Marseilles to the Republican forces nullified the proclamation, and the French Admiral St. Julien declared for the Jacobin cause.

[1] Jane, eldest surviving daughter of William Mercer of Aldie, and grand-daughter of the Robert Mercer who was killed at Culloden. In Allardyce's *Memoir* Lord Keith's first wife is referred to as being alive in the year 1797 (p. 135), but family papers in the possession of Lord Lansdowne show that she died in 1789. Lord Keith's eldest daughter (afterwards Comtesse de Flahault) not only inherited the Mercer property, but on the extinction of the male line of the Nairne family became also heir to the title of Baron Nairne in virtue of her descent from the above-mentioned Robert Mercer (a son of the third Lord Nairne, who on his marriage with the heiress of Aldie had adopted his wife's surname. See article entitled *Perthshire in the 'Forty-Five*, p. 335). The claim to the Nairne title was finally established in 1874 by the Comtesse de Flahault's daughter, the late Lady Lansdowne, and her son, the present Lord Lansdowne, thus represents not only Lord Keith, but the family which was so conspicuous for its devotion to the Stuart cause.—[ED.]

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The harbour and town of Toulon were occupied by Lord Hood—to Elphinstone having been assigned the duty of clearing the way by taking possession of the Fort of La Malgue. His experience at Charleston had especially fitted him for a post in command of troops on land, and during the whole period of occupation his duties kept him on shore. His manner of conducting operations and of handling his men—more particularly his dashing behaviour in repulsing the advanced body of the Republican troops in the gorge of Ollioules—won him the admiration of the Admiral. But it was written that the British occupation of Toulon was not to be a long one. With the Republican troops was a young officer of artillery, whose genius was to make itself felt for the first time against a British force. At Toulon Bonaparte's and Elphinstone's lives crossed each other. Twenty-two years later, under very different circumstances, they were to cross again at Plymouth.

If the final check-mate was reserved for Keith, the early moves of the game at Toulon were with Bonaparte. His genius swept aside previous methods of attack, and so successful were his plans, that by the middle of December 1793 the British found themselves forced to evacuate the harbour, taking with them fourteen thousand Royalist refugees. Elphinstone himself took away over three thousand on the *Robust*. The chief honours of an occupation in which the British flag suffered at least no dishonour rested with Captain Elphinstone, who was rewarded by promotion to rear-admiral of the blue, and was invested with the Order of the Bath.

In 1795 Dundas selected Sir George Keith Elphinstone for the command of an expedition that was being planned against the Cape of Good Hope and the Dutch settlements in the East Indies. There was something naïve in the expectation entertained by the British Government that the fact that the Prince of Orange had sought refuge from the French in England would incline the Dutch colonists in South Africa to welcome the presence of an English fleet, and to range themselves under the British flag! Not for the last time was a British Government to miscalculate Dutch tenacity and resistance. It was not until after severe fighting and incredible difficulties of transport that in September 1795 an end was put to the Dutch Government at the Cape, and the colony passed into the possession of the British.

The part played by Elphinstone was acknowledged by Earl Spencer in a letter in which he offers his "very sincere congratulations on the very valuable acquisition which you have obtained for the country at so little expense of lives and money; an acquisition which, if proper use is made of it, will prove, I am convinced, one of the most advantageous we have ever made."

From South Africa Elphinstone sailed for India, but was prevented by ill-health from taking part in the operations already in progress for the reduction of the Dutch colony of Ceylon. These finally concluded with the surrender of Colombo in February 1796. There was little opportunity for active service on the Indian coast, but in March news reached Elphinstone at Madras that a Dutch fleet was preparing to leave Holland charged with the recapture of the

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Cape. He at once set sail to meet it, and two months later entered Simon's Bay. Early in August the Dutch squadron was reported on the coast, but stormy weather prevented immediate hostilities. When the gale subsided the two fleets met in Saldanha Bay, and Elphinstone, having cut off his enemy's retreat, and becoming aware of his great numerical inferiority, demanded a surrender, urging on the Dutch commander, Admiral Lucas, the claims of humanity, and the necessity laid on him to spare the needless shedding of blood. The demand went hard with the brave Dutchman, but he yielded to the inevitable, and the squadron under his command struck its colours, Elphinstone thereby adding some eight sail of the line to the King's Navy. It is interesting in light of later history to read that in his dealings with the conquered Dutch colonists Elphinstone urged on the Government at home a policy of conciliation, recommending the employment of colonists in administrative posts, and a liberal indemnity for losses incurred in the war.

On his return to England the Government testified its appreciation of his eminent services by bestowing on him a peerage, and in March 1797 a patent was issued creating him Baron Keith of Stonehaven Marischal in the peerage of Ireland, a title which he chose out of respect for the memory of his distinguished godfather, the Earl Marischal.

It was doubtless owing to the administrative capacity he had displayed in dealing with the colonists at the Cape that Lord Keith was next selected for a post in which his enemies were neither French nor Dutch, but those of his own household. For some time past a spirit of disaffection had made itself manifest in the Navy, which in the summer of 1797 broke out into open mutiny successively at the Nore and at Plymouth. The state of affairs was very serious, and it required a man of resolution, courage, and at the same time sympathy and tact, to deal with it. It would have been impossible for the selection to have fallen on a better man than Lord Keith. In his dealings with the mutinous crews he showed the determination and firmness of spirit, and the steadfast intention to uphold the honour of the British flag, which had been characteristic of him from the first years of his service, while the concluding words of his address to the prisoners—"I have ever been an affectionate friend to all deserving seamen"—were the justification of the confidence that the sailors had in him. Thanks to his resolution, the two mutinies were put down without any serious consequences, and a movement was arrested which, had it spread, might have led to a grave crisis, at a time when Great Britain's safety depended on her naval power. The following year Lord Keith was transferred to the Mediterranean to act as second-in-command to Lord St. Vincent.

We now come to the time when the thread of his life becomes so closely interwoven with the great web of European politics and international warfare at the close of the eighteenth century, that we cannot do more than indicate the events in which he took part. Throughout the spring of 1799 we find him with a squadron of fifteen line-of-battle ships, most of them in an unseaworthy condition, blockading a greatly superior Spanish fleet in Cadiz harbour, and in

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May preparing to do battle with a French fleet which was bearing down upon him. But for a gale that sprung up dispersing the French vessels, a great action might have been fought. We next hear of him as in supreme command of the British squadron, pursuing the French round the Mediterranean, and back through the Straits of Gibraltar, until the unwelcome truth was borne home to the Admiral that the enemy had eluded him, and that the Spanish and French fleets were safely at anchor together in Brest. This failure of Lord Keith's has been adversely criticised, but it must be attributed to the fortunes of war and not to any lack of judgment on his part. In the following year he was engaged in blockading the French in Genoa, at a time when he had suffered a heavy loss through the burning of his flag-ship, the *Queen Charlotte*. In 1801 he convoyed the troops sent under Sir Ralph Abercromby to clear the French out of Egypt. Perhaps the military achievements at Aboukir and Alexandria have somewhat overshadowed the part played by the Navy in this expedition, but to quote Lord Nelson, who in the House of Lords seconded the vote of thanks to Lord Keith and the officers and men serving under him :—" Their services were of a double nature, yet of equal importance. It fell to the lot of the Army to fight and of the Navy to labour. They had equally performed their duty, and were equally entitled to thanks." For his services while in command of the Mediterranean fleet Lord Keith was advanced to the dignity of a peerage of the United Kingdom.

In 1803 Lord Keith received the most satisfying proof of the value the Admiralty attached to his services by being appointed to the post of commander-in-chief in the North Sea. England at that time lay under the shadow of a great fear—the dread of a French invasion. The responsibility for being prepared to meet that danger was divided between the commander of the Channel and the commander of the North Sea. As regards the latter, the post was no sinecure. The Admiral had to provide convoys for vessels trading in the North Sea and to the Baltic ; in conjunction with the military authorities he was responsible for the coast defences and the safety of the Thames, and he had instructions to intercept all French and Dutch vessels. For these purposes he had practically to create a new fleet, and crews had to be obtained by means of the press-gang. The work and responsibility thrown on Lord Keith were tremendous, for the preparations had to be on a scale to meet a national danger such as had never before threatened the country. It was only when Napoleon's ambitions had drawn him towards Austria and Prussia, and the naval power of France had been crushed at Trafalgar, that the tension was relaxed, and Lord Keith was able to enjoy a little well-earned repose.

In 1808 he married *en secondes noces* Hester Maria Thrale—Dr. Johnson's " Queenie." Of her son-in-law Mrs. Thrale wrote :—" A good man, for aught I hear ; a rich man, for aught I am told ; a brave man, we have always heard ; and a wise man, I trow, by his choice."

In 1810 Lord Keith was raised to the rank of admiral of the red, and in 1812 he became commander-in-chief in the Channel. Two years later he was created a viscount.

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During Lord Keith's tenure of the Channel command was enacted the most dramatic incident in a career full of stirring events. The great world's conqueror became the captive of the British people, and on Lord Keith fell the duty of being the intermediary between Napoleon and the British Government. The task was a difficult and delicate one. Napoleon had surrendered to Captain Maitland at Rochefort, having realised that escape to America through the cordon of British ships guarding the coast of France was impossible. On board the *Bellerophon* he was brought to Plymouth, where Lord Keith had to break to him the Government's decision that he should straightway be conveyed to St. Helena. The duty was a painful one, but it was discharged by Lord Keith with a dignity and good feeling befitting the tragic difficulty of the situation. In the interviews between himself and Napoleon his words and his silence are equally admirable. On the one hand chivalrous feeling to a fallen enemy, on the other the duty of an officer to the Government he served. There is extant a private letter from Lord Keith in which he gives particulars of his last conversation with Napoleon when he conveyed him on his barge from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*. Napoleon asked him why he was no longer called Elphinstone—the name by which he had known him at Toulon. Truly "the whirligig of Time" had brought greater and more ironical changes to the ex-Emperor in the years that had rolled between their first and last meetings.

Lord Keith's public services were now over, and the concluding years of his life were spent in retirement on his estate of Tulliallan in Perthshire,[1] close to the home of his boyhood. Though retired from active duty, he was not satisfied with a life of idleness, but devoted his energies unremittingly to the improvement of the estate, both in his own interests and in those of the community. He did much to promote the shipping trade of the little seaport of Kincardine-on-Forth, which in those days did a thriving business with the East and West Indies. His energy developed the quarries of Longannet, and planned the embankments running east and west of Kincardine. Schemes for the prosperity of the neighbourhood occupied his mind until his death on the 10th of March 1822.

Among the great sailors and soldiers of his time there may be names that have touched the popular imagination more vividly, and round the memory of whose deeds there lingers a greater glamour of romance; but it was Lord Keith's proud distinction to have gained in an almost unequalled degree the confidence of the Government he served, and, in an age of great achievements, to have filled the highest post in the Service to which he had dedicated his life.

[1] Tulliallan was in Perthshire until 1891, when the parish of that name was transferred to Fife under the Boundary Commissioners' Order, No. 119.—[Ed.]

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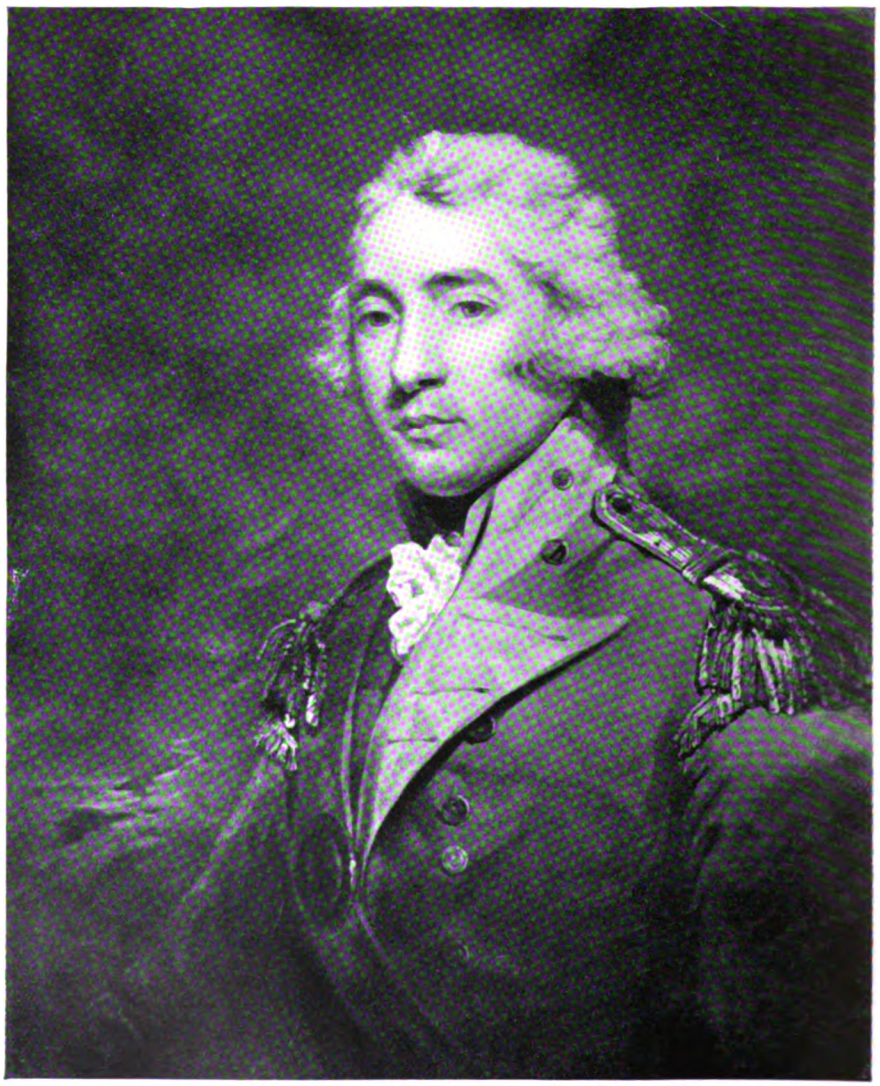

GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.

(From an Engraving by S. W. Reynolds, after the Portrait by J. Hoppner, R.A., in the possession of Sir John Graham of Fintry)

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GENERAL LORD LYNEDOCH, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.[1]

1748–1843

BY A. G. MURRAY MACGREGOR

THE career of Thomas Graham, Lord Lynedoch, known in his own part of Perthshire as the Hero of Barrosa, has in several respects a special and perhaps unique interest. He was not brought up as a soldier; he did not begin at the foot of the ladder and rise step by step from an ensign or cornet; but at the age of forty-five he accompanied British troops on active service as a volunteer, was chosen aide-de-camp to the general commanding, and before he was forty-six had raised a regiment of foot of which he was appointed lieutenant-colonel-commandant. And the force which drove Thomas Graham from his quiet life as a country gentleman was the desolation of his home through the death of his beloved wife; the inspiration to gallant deeds was linked with her memory.

Thomas Graham, born in 1748, was the youngest son of Thomas Graeme[2] of Balgowan and Lady Christian Hope, daughter of Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun. Two elder brothers died before the young Thomas was eight years old, leaving him the only child of his parents. The boy was educated at home under private tutors, one of whom was James Macpherson, the well-known translator of Ossian's poems, whom he sometimes accompanied on his expeditions to the Highlands in search of Gaelic lore.

In 1766 Thomas Graham became an undergraduate at Christchurch, Oxford, and after two years' residence there, in the course of which his father died, he went abroad and spent several years in travelling on the Continent, where he acquired a knowledge of French and German which afterwards proved very useful to him. On Mr. Graham's return home he resided at Balgowan with his mother, and entered heartily into all the duties of a landed proprietor. He was "tall, of a goodly presence and muscular frame," a good shot, a splendid horseman, and is said to have been universally popular. At the general election in 1772 he stood for the county against Colonel James Murray, brother of the third Duke of Atholl, but was defeated. On the 26th of December 1774 he married Mary, second daughter of Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart (she was then only seventeen), and on the same day her elder sister Jane married John, fourth Duke of Atholl.[3]

[1] From the *Life of Lord Lynedoch* by Lieutenant-Colonel A. M. Delavoye, and *Memoir* of the same by John Murray Graham.

[2] Thomas Graeme the elder subsequently adopted the spelling "Graham" for his family name.

[3] A third sister, Louisa, married David, second Earl of Mansfield, in 1776.

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Mr. and Mrs. Graham lived together very happily, at first at Balgowan, but latterly chiefly at Lynedoch, which they acquired in 1785. The Laird was much occupied in improving his property and in agricultural pursuits, but he and his wife went occasionally to the Continent, and they also visited different parts of England, Mrs. Graham's health requiring changes of climate. In 1791 she grew much worse, and the following spring Mr. Graham took her to the south of France. There on board ship off the coast of Hyères she died, on the 26th of June 1792. Her remains were conveyed home to the graveyard of the Parish Church of Methven, where her husband erected a mausoleum over them.

Mr. Graham after his wife's death, finding all his pursuits and interests utterly without zest, resolved to travel, and by his own request was given a passage to Gibraltar on board a man-of-war early in 1793. Shortly before the vessel sailed war was declared by France against Great Britain, and Mr. Graham, being desirous of taking his chance of such adventures as might come in his way, obtained leave to accompany the fleet which sailed from Gibraltar in June under Lord Hood. For some weeks the British Admiral blockaded the French fleet at Toulon, and finally, at the end of August, troops having been landed to assist the French Royalists, possession was gained of the town. Mr. Graham's knowledge of the French coast proved useful, and when Lord Mulgrave soon afterwards arrived to take command of the troops at Toulon, he asked Mr. Graham to assist him as a volunteer aide-de-camp.

Thomas Graham's first experience of fire was on the 1st of October 1793, when a combined force of British, Spaniards, Neapolitans, and Piedmontese succeeded in recapturing the rocky ridge of Mont Faron above Toulon—an important line of defence, which had been surprised by the French a few hours before. On this occasion he obtained Lord Mulgrave's permission to put himself at the head of the attacking British column, which was led by Captain George Moncrieff. Of the engagement he afterwards wrote: "A man of the 11th Regiment received a shot which disabled him; I assisted him back into shelter, and took his musket and some of his cartridges. Soon after our advance I was myself wounded in the inside of the right arm, and dropped the musket; but finding that the bone was not broken, I picked it up and carried it in my left hand, being fully aware that the advance under so heavy a fire required all the encouragement of good example. . . . I wish to account for the resolution that I instantly took to follow the advice which Lord Mulgrave had repeatedly pressed upon me, viz. that of becoming a soldier, and taking an early opportunity of offering to raise a regiment which should serve under my command." Mr. Graham went on to express his belief that a "natural turn for accurate observation of ground, fostered by a constant enjoyment of field sports" would give him advantages over many who entered the Service at a very early age, and that after a ten years' peace he would be but little behind most of the field-officers of the Army, except in the "knowledge of drill and what is termed 'field exercise.'" He thought that by attention these difficulties might be speedily overcome, and a newly-introduced system which the field-officers were averse

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to adopt "gave great encouragement to those who like myself began their military career at this period." Lord Mulgrave in General Orders issued a few days after the repulse of the French on Mont Faron expressed his "sense of the friendly and important assistance he has received in many difficult moments from Mr. Graham."

The patriotic civilian, having taken his resolution, at once arranged to leave Toulon, and reached England early in December of the same year, 1793. Having consulted his friends in Scotland, he returned to London and obtained a letter from the Commander-in-Chief, to raise a regiment "with the temporary rank of colonel during its continuance on the establishment." With characteristic energy, and with the assistance of Graham of Fintry and other friends, Colonel Graham set to work to raise the regiment, and issued an address to the inhabitants of Perthshire, in which he appealed to the young men of the county to join him, and announced that he had obtained the King's permission to name his new regiment the Perthshire Volunteers. Headquarters were established at Perth and a good response was made to the appeal, but the regiment did not consist only of Perthshire men, as recruiting parties were sent to the west of Scotland, to London, and to "all the principal manufacturing districts of Warwickshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire." The men were at first ill-clad, and were styled in the neighbourhood of Perth "Graham's Grey Breeks," but in spite of this the new corps prospered, and at a first inspection at Perth on the 13th of May 1794, 7 officers and 746 non-commissioned officers and men paraded before Lord Adam Gordon (then commanding the forces in Scotland). At a second inspection early in June the 90th Regiment was a battalion of 1000 rank and file, with two lieutenant-colonels [1] and two majors.

Meanwhile on the 11th of April Colonel Graham had been unanimously elected member of Parliament for Perthshire [2]—General James Murray having retired—and on the 17th of June he received the honour of the freedom of the city of Perth.

Soon after the second inspection the regiment was ordered to Southampton. Colonel Graham wrote in after years:—"We marched from Perth in the evening of one of the last days of June, and halted for two hours in the garden of the 'New Inn' in Fifeshire. Porter and bread and cheese were provided for the men, and by eight o'clock on the following day we arrived at Pettycur, the place of embarkation, near Kinghorn; having made this night's march of above thirty miles within fourteen hours, and with only two men missing from fatigue. This was the first and only march I ever made on foot with the 90th Regiment." After being encamped on Netley Heath for some months, the regiment was sent into winter quarters at Winchester.

In the meantime Colonel Graham had obtained permission to recruit for a

[1] The lieutenant-colonels were George Moncrieff and Rowland Hill (see list, p. 97), both of whom Colonel Graham had met at Toulon. Hill had been aide-de-camp to Lord Mulgrave, and Moncrieff had led the attack on Mont Faron.

[2] He was also returned unopposed at the general elections of 1796, 1802, and 1806.

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second battalion, and had raised it by August 1794. In spite, however, of his patriotic exertions, which had involved him in considerable expense, he had not been given more than temporary rank of lieutenant-colonel-commandant.

On the 4th of June 1795, the King's birthday, Colonel Graham presented colours to the 1st Battalion[1] of the 90th. The concluding words of his address were: "Let it be your constant object to excel. I wish not only to be proud of you, but to owe you my gratitude and affection."

In August 1795 the regiment was sent to the Isle d'Yeu as part of a force intended to aid the Royalist insurrection in La Vendée. On this occasion Colonel Graham commanded a brigade consisting of the 78th and 90th Regiments, but the expedition having failed to accomplish anything, the troops were recalled in December.

The following year the Perthshire Volunteers were sent under Lieutenant-Colonel Hill to garrison Gibraltar. Colonel Graham, being entitled as a member of Parliament to leave of absence, did not accompany them, but was sent on a special mission to the headquarters of the Austrian army in Italy, for the purpose of procuring military intelligence for the British Government. He started in May 1796, joined General Beaulieu at Valeggio on the Mincio, and after several months' campaigning was eventually shut up with Field-Marshal Würmser's army in Mantua. Colonel Graham chafed at the forced inaction which followed, and thinking that his commission required him to be with the other Austrian army then assembling for the relief of Mantua, he obtained Würmser's consent to his escaping alone from the fortress. He succeeded in making his way through the French lines, reached General Alvinzi at Bassano, accompanied him when he moved southwards in January 1797, and was present when he was defeated by Napoleon at Rivoli. After the fall of Mantua Colonel Graham was attached to the staff of the Archduke Charles, and he remained with the Austrian Prince until the armistice arranged at Leoben preparatory to the Treaty of Campo Formio. He then returned home and served for a time as an assistant quartermaster-general in Ireland.

In 1798 he rejoined his regiment at Gibraltar, and in command of a reserve battalion of detachments accompanied the expedition under General Sir Charles Stuart which effected the capture of Minorca. Next he was sent as governor to Messina, and in December 1799, with the local rank of brigadier-general, to Malta, where with two British regiments and a few Maltese and Neapolitan levies he conducted a land blockade of Valetta, which was held by a French force more than twice as strong as his own. In June 1800 a senior officer (Major-General Pigot) arrived with reinforcements, and in September Valetta surrendered.

Colonel Graham afterwards returned home for a few months, but the following spring, on hearing of the gallantry of the 90th in Egypt—where it formed part of Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition—he at once set out to join it. He arrived in Egypt in July, but the French army in Cairo had by that time capitulated, and all operations were soon over. Colonel Graham therefore took

[1] The 2nd Battalion was reduced about February 1796. See *notes*, p. 99.—[Ed.]

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the opportunity of making a tour in the Turkish dominions, rode across Asia Minor, and from Constantinople to Vienna. Peace was signed on the 25th of March 1802, and on the 1st of April the Perthshire Volunteers reached England, but Colonel Graham had preceded them, and was ready to look to all the requirements of his men on their arrival.

On the 5th of October 1802, at a general meeting of the county of Perth, the Duke of Atholl being in the chair, a vote of thanks was passed to Colonel Graham "for his steady and uniform attention to the interests of the county when in Parliament, and for his gallant and able conduct as an officer . . . particularly while in command at Malta." It was also resolved that the thanks of the county should be conveyed to the 90th Regiment.

The peace appeared to be fatal to Colonel Graham's hopes of military life, as he was still refused permanent rank in the Army, and there was reason to fear that the 90th would be disbanded; but in 1802 Napoleon was elected First Consul for life, and his attitude was so menacing, that comparatively few reductions were made. On the outbreak of war in 1803 Colonel Graham accompanied the 90th to Ireland, and shortly afterwards became an assistant quartermaster-general on the staff of his brother-in-law, Lord Cathcart—an appointment which he held until some months after the departure of his regiment for the West Indies. During the next two years he was able to give more time than formerly to his Parliamentary duties, but finding that his views on Catholic Emancipation were not approved of by his constituents, he declined to stand for Perthshire at the general election of April 1807, and Lord James Murray, second son of the Duke of Atholl, was elected in his stead.

In 1808 Colonel Graham became aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore, accompanying him first on a short expedition to Sweden, and in August to Portugal. There an arduous campaign culminated in the terrible retreat to Corunna, where Sir John Moore fell on the 16th of January 1809. A memorandum written by Colonel Graham relates how the General received his fatal wound when close to him. Sir John survived for about two hours afterwards, perfectly conscious, and at different times charged his old friend Colonel Anderson, who was acting as adjutant-general, to bring to the King's notice those officers whom the dying commander deemed worthy of reward—among them Colonel Graham. In consequence of Sir John Moore's recommendation and "in testimony of the zeal which he had on several occasions manifested for His Majesty's service," Colonel Graham was shortly afterwards given permanent rank and promoted to be a major-general. This long-delayed promotion and the fact that he owed it to the approbation of his distinguished friend, gave great satisfaction to General Graham.

In July 1809 he was sent to Walcheren in command of the right wing of Sir Eyre Coote's force, and returned in September, ill with malarial fever and "thoroughly disgusted with the mismanagement of the expedition."

In February 1810 General Graham was selected to command—with the local rank of lieutenant-general—the British forces assembling for the defence of

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Cadiz. On his arrival there in March he found the defences in a most unsatisfactory condition, but owing to his able and unremitting exertions they were greatly strengthened, and the enemy was kept at bay. For nearly a year there was no incident worth recording, until in February 1811, part of the besieging French army having been withdrawn, it was resolved to undertake offensive operations. The Allied forces, British, Spanish, and Portuguese, were under the command of the Spanish Commander-in-Chief, General Lapena, the British division being under General Graham. The troops were sent round by sea to Tarifa, as the enemy's lines were too strong to be forced by a frontal attack, and after some days of difficult marching with ignorant guides the brilliant action on the heights of Barrosa ensued on the 5th of March. General Graham and his division attacked a French force of nearly double their number under Marshal Victor, and though they suffered heavy loss,[1] they compelled him to retire, leaving six pieces of cannon, an eagle, and nearly three thousand men killed, wounded, or prisoners. Had the Spanish Commander-in-Chief been less incompetent, the result of the action would probably have been the total destruction of the French army and the raising of the siege, but though only a quarter of a mile away, he made no attempt to help General Graham, and after the battle the Allies retired again within their defences. General Graham received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament for his victory at Barrosa, and in his own county the news of the battle occasioned great joy and pride.

In July 1811—matters still remaining much the same at Cadiz—General Graham left for Portugal to join Lord Wellington's army, in which he was appointed to command the 1st Division. In January 1812 he took part in the siege and capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, and in March was made a knight of the Bath. His division acted as a covering force during the final siege of Badajos, and took part in the subsequent advance into Spain, but a short while before the battle of Salamanca the General was obliged to return home on account of a complaint in his eyes. In October of the same year he unsuccessfully contested the representation of the county of Perth with James Drummond, afterwards Viscount Strathallan.

Returning to Portugal in April 1813, he was given command of the left wing of Lord Wellington's army, and took an important part in the advance which drove the French beyond the Ebro, and culminated in the victory of Vittoria. General Graham's force, marching through the province of Tras os Montes, outflanked the French position on the river Douro, and pushing on through the mountains of northern Spain, rendered material aid to Lord Wellington at Vittoria by engaging the enemy's right and cutting off his retreat to Bayonne. In September, after a prolonged and desperate resistance, San Sebastian capitulated to Sir Thomas Graham, and a month later he commanded the left wing of the British army at the crossing of the Bidassoa. Immediately afterwards he was obliged to resign his command on account of the effect of the campaign

[1] The British casualties were 202 killed and 1040 wounded—more than a fourth of their number.—[ED.]

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on his eyesight and general health. On his return to England he again received the thanks of Parliament, and was elected rector of Glasgow University.

After two months' rest, however, the Government induced Sir Thomas to take command of a force which was to be sent to Holland to co-operate with the Prussians in assisting the Dutch to throw off the French yoke. The Allied forces, after a successful action with the French in January 1814, forced them to retreat into Antwerp, but the Prussian troops having been called away for the invasion of France, Sir Thomas was unable to proceed with operations on a large scale. Early in March he made a night attack on the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom—the place of most consequence then remaining to the French in Holland—but the attempt failed. In the middle of April he was reinforced by the corps of the Duke of Brunswick and some Austrian troops, but by that time Napoleon had abdicated, the provisional Government in Paris had proclaimed his fall, and the French armies were now called upon to give up the contest. Hostilities in Holland therefore ceased, and the fortresses of Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom were shortly evacuated. On May the 3rd Sir Thomas was raised to the peerage as Baron Lynedoch of Balgowan, and on the 10th he was ordered to assume the command of the whole of the forces in the Netherlands. This was the climax and the end of Lord Lynedoch's military career; honours had been showered upon him, and he was second only to the Duke of Wellington. But now that no further active service was required of him he became anxious to return home, and in August 1814, having resigned his appointment, he delivered over the command of the Allied army to the Hereditary Prince of Orange.

The remainder of Lord Lynedoch's long life was spent partly at home, partly hunting in England, and partly travelling abroad. He founded the United Service Club in 1817, and in 1834 King William IV., who, as Duke of Clarence had served with him in Holland, conferred upon him the colonelcy of the Royal Regiment of Foot. Lord Lynedoch died in London on the 18th of December 1843 at the age of ninety-six, beloved and respected by all who knew him.

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GENERAL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL OF MONZIE[1]

1751–1832

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, eldest son of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Campbell of Monzie, receiver-general for Scotland, by his wife Susanna Erskine, daughter of Charles Erskine of Tinwald and Alva, lord justice clerk, was grandson of that fine old soldier, Colonel Alexander Campbell of Fonab, an outline of whose career has been given earlier in this volume.[2]

Alexander Campbell the younger was born on the 10th of July 1751, and obtained his first commission as ensign in the 42nd or Royal Highland Regiment in 1769. He joined the regiment at Dublin, and in January 1771 we hear of him as assisting to quell a riot at Belfast; but shortly afterwards, having procured a lieutenancy in the 2nd Battalion of the 1st or Royal Regiment, he proceeded to join his new corps at Minorca. In 1772 he obtained a company in the 50th Foot, then at Jamaica, but within a month he had exchanged to the 62nd Foot. With this regiment he served in Ireland until April 1776, when, the American War having broken out, the 62nd was shipped off to Canada to relieve Quebec, which was being blockaded by a force under Benedict Arnold. The blockade had been raised before the regiment arrived upon the scene, but it took part in the operations of that summer, by which General Carleton drove the Americans out of Canada.

In the following year Alexander Campbell, in command of the Light Infantry Company of the 62nd, took part in General Burgoyne's gallant but ill-fated attempt to advance on New York by the Hudson River, and at the action on Bemis Heights on the 19th of September 1777 his regiment fought with a heroism which can seldom, if ever, have been surpassed. For four hours the brigade of which the 62nd formed a part withstood the successive attacks of an enemy far superior in numbers; the men charged again and again with the bayonet; but fresh troops were always brought forward by the American leaders to replace those who had fallen, and at the end of the day almost fifty per cent. of the brigade had been killed or wounded, the 62nd in particular having "scarcely sixty men standing at the close of the combat."[3] By nightfall the

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, from Philippart's *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. iii. (London, 1816); Fortescue's *History of the British Army*; the *Army Lists*; and papers from the Monzie charter-chest, now at Inverawe. For a portrait of General Campbell, see p. 486.

[2] Colonel Alexander Campbell's son Robert succeeded to Monzie in 1777, on the death of his cousin James Campbell, and subsequently sold Fonab. In the course of his life he acquired the properties of Cladich, Kilmun, Glen Etive, Inverawe, and other smaller estates.

[3] *History of the British Army*, vol. iii. p. 233.

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British troops had won some few hundred yards of ground, but their gallantry could only delay the impending disaster. The American army daily increased in strength, and at a second engagement on Bemis Heights on the 7th of October they were driven back by sheer weight of numbers. Burgoyne, however, managed to draw off his force to Saratoga, and there for a few days he waited for news of Sir Henry Clinton, who was to make a diversion in his favour from New York. But the enemy in the meantime surrounded him; a messenger who should have brought news of the successful advance of the relieving force was captured on the way; his army, reduced to one-half of its original number, was starving; and on the 17th of October 1777 he surrendered with the honours of war.

Under the terms of the capitulation the British force was to take no further part in hostilities and was to be allowed to return to Great Britain, but on one pretext or another the prisoners were retained, and, to the indignation of the American officers, were subjected to much ill-treatment by the civil authorities. Campbell, however, appears to have been more fortunate than most of his brother-officers, for, learning that he had been given a majority in the newly-raised 74th Regiment, or Argyll Highlanders,[1] he procured an exchange and proceeded to New York. There he was appointed major of the 1st Light Infantry Battalion, "in which situation" (according to an old-fashioned biographer) "he continued two campaigns."[2] By the summer of 1779 he had joined the battalion companies of the Argyll Highlanders in Nova Scotia.[3]

It having been decided to establish a settlement of loyalist refugees at Penobscot, in what was then the northern and sparsely-inhabited part of Massachusetts, Brigadier-General Francis Maclean, commanding the troops in Nova Scotia, was sent over to the mainland in June 1779 to build a fort which was intended as a defence alike for the settlement and for Nova Scotia. Alexander Campbell and some companies of the 74th formed part of his force, which numbered 600 men in all. The fort was not nearly completed when a hostile armament consisting of nineteen ships and some 3000 troops arrived from Boston. Having landed men and guns, the Americans proceeded to a siege in form; but Maclean, who was prepared for their advent, had entrenched himself strongly, and his little force made a stout resistance. At the end of a fortnight a British squadron appeared and made quick work of the Americans, very few of whom ever reached Boston to tell the tale.

On the completion of the fort General Maclean returned to Nova Scotia, and Campbell, who had been mentioned in despatches for his services, was left in command at Penobscot with the detachment of the 74th. There he remained until the end of the war, when he returned home and rejoined his old regiment, the 62nd, as a lieutenant-colonel (commission dated the 31st December 1782).

After some years' service in Scotland and Ireland with the 62nd, Campbell

[1] Commission dated 26th December 1777.

[2] *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. iii. p. 3. I understand this phrase to mean that he was with the light infantry during part, at least, of the years 1778 and 1779.

[3] Stewart, *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. ii. p. 157.

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in 1789 exchanged into the 3rd Guards as captain and lieutenant-colonel. In the following year his father died, and he succeeded to Monzie and the various estates in Argyllshire already mentioned.

At the commencement of the great war with France we find Campbell serving under the Duke of York in the Netherlands. Three battalions of Guards—one from each regiment—were the first British troops sent abroad on the outbreak of war in February 1793, and in the course of that year they were constantly on the march and in action. The Coldstream fought with great steadiness at Vicogne on the 8th of May, and at Lincelles on the 18th of August all three regiments, by the gallantry with which they stormed a strongly-fortified position held by a much superior force of the enemy, gained an "honour" which they have carried on their colours ever since. The Duke of York, however, failed to capture Dunkirk, and the campaign of 1793 ended with little substantial gain to the Allies, though the French had lost heavily in men and guns.

Early in 1794 Campbell, who in the previous autumn had offered to raise a regiment of foot,[1] returned home, as he had been appointed to the command of the regiment which the Earl of Breadalbane was about to raise, and which was afterwards numbered the 116th.[2] Campbell, however, cannot have been much with his regiment, for he was shortly appointed brigadier, and (in February 1795) major-general, on the staff of the army in the south of England commanded by Lord Moira. In the autumn of 1795 he served in the abortive expedition to Isle d'Yeu,[3] and by the time he returned to England the 116th had been reduced.

Early in the following year Campbell accompanied Sir Ralph Abercromby to the West Indies. He was appointed to command a division in the expedition against St. Lucia, but owing to ill-health[4] he was unable to take part in the operations which resulted in the recapture[5] of the island. In November 1796 he was appointed colonel of the 7th West India Regiment, but he appears to have returned home very soon afterwards.

In September 1797 he was appointed a major-general on the staff in Scotland and was placed in command of the troops which had been sent into Perthshire and Stirlingshire to quell the Militia Riots in those counties,[6] but the worst of the disturbance was over before his arrival, and it was not long before order

[1] *Caledonian Mercury*, 3rd October 1793. In the same month he became a brevet-colonel.

[2] The *Royal Military Calendar* in one place says that Campbell himself raised the 116th and in another that he helped Lord Breadalbane to raise it. The latter, no doubt, was the case. See note on the regiment, p. 100.

[3] Memorandum of the services of Lieutenant-General Sir George Murray (Ochtertyre charter-chest). See his biography, p. 455, *note*.

[4] *Diary of Sir John Moore* (ed. Sir J. F. Maurice), vol. i. p. 199.

[5] St. Lucia had been taken by Sir Charles Grey and Admiral Jervis in April 1794, but the recapture of Guadeloupe by the French in the following October (see biography of General George Duncan Robertson of Struan) gave the signal for a general revolt of the negroes in the West Indies, and St. Lucia had been lost in June 1795.

[6] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 189. The *Royal Military Calendar* only mentions him as serving at Newcastle in 1797. He was probably there before he was sent to Scotland.

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was restored. For some months afterwards he was general officer commanding the Scottish Eastern District (*i.e.* Perthshire, Forfarshire, Fife, the Lothians, Roxburghshire and Berwickshire), and in that capacity he had a good deal to do with the early organisation of the Volunteer force in this county. For a short time during the Irish Rebellion of 1798 he was in command of the troops in Louth, and he apparently commanded a brigade during the operations consequent on the French landing in Mayo,[1] but by July 1799 he was back again in Scotland, in charge of the Eastern District.[2]

The 7th West India Regiment was reduced at the peace of 1802, and Campbell was placed on half-pay, but in April of the same year he was promoted lieutenant-general, and he was shortly afterwards given command of the Northern District of Ireland. He held this post during the rebellion of 1803, but for how long afterwards is uncertain. In 1804 he was appointed colonel of the 13th Foot, and between 1808 and 1810 he was commanding the southern half of Scotland, with headquarters at Monzie. In 1812 he became full general, and in 1813 he received his last appointment—the colonelcy of the 32nd Foot.

During his years of home service Campbell, like so many of his contemporaries, combined his military duties with political life, for he was member of Parliament for Anstruther-Easter Burghs from 1797 to 1806, and from 1807 to 1818 he represented Stirling Burghs. From 1818 onwards he divided his time chiefly between Monzie and Warwickshire, but he also took a great interest in the management of his numerous properties in Argyllshire.

General Alexander Campbell died at Leamington on the 24th of February 1832, and was buried in St. Mary's Church at Warwick. By his wife Christina Menzies he left three children—a daughter, and two sons, the eldest of whom, Alexander by name, succeeded to his estates.[3]

[1] See *Diary of Sir John Moore*, vol. ii. pp. 315, 319, and an *Impartial Relation of the Military Operations which took place in Ireland in consequence of the landing of a body of French Troops under General Humbert in August* 1798. By an Officer in the Corps under the command of His Excellency Marquis Cornwallis (London, 1799).

[2] Monzie charter-chest. This appointment must have ceased by August 1801, as by that time Perthshire had been allotted to a "Central" District of Scotland, commanded by the Duke of Montrose, with headquarters at Dundee. Kinnoull charter-room.

[3] The General's son, the late Mr. Campbell of Monzie, sold all his property except Inverawe and the islands in Loch Awe. These are therefore the only portions of his formerly extensive estates which are now in the possession of his daughter, the present Mrs. Campbell of Dunstaffnage. Both General Campbell's sons served in the 32nd Foot (now the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry), and after the General's death the colours which had been carried by the regiment during his colonelcy were presented to his eldest son. They are now at Inverawe.

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GENERAL ANDREW JOHN DRUMMOND
(*de jure* SEVENTH VISCOUNT STRATHALLAN)[1]

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL ANDREW JOHN DRUMMOND, second son of James, fifth Viscount Strathallan, and Eupheme, daughter of Peter Gordon of Abergeldie, was a member of a family which had suffered much for its loyalty to the House of Stuart. The first Lord Strathallan had fought for Charles I. and Charles II.; General Drummond's grandfather, the fourth Lord Strathallan, had been killed at Culloden; and his father had died in exile, attainted. On the death of his elder brother in 1775 the General succeeded to the family estate of Machany, which had been bought back some time previously, and he should also have succeeded to the title; but owing to his father's attainder he was never able to enjoy it, and in 1787 he petitioned in vain for a restoration of the family honours.

Andrew Drummond was educated at St. Andrews and at Harrow, and in 1773 was gazetted ensign in the 1st Foot Guards. After some three years' service he was sent out to America to join the detachment of his regiment then serving there, but his experience of the War of Independence cannot have been a long one, for he had not left England on the 29th of April 1776,[2] and in the following spring, on obtaining his promotion as lieutenant and captain, he was ordered home.[3] He became captain and lieutenant-colonel in 1782, and was given a brevet-colonelcy in 1793.

Early in 1794 he joined the 1st Battalion of his regiment, then with the Duke of York in Belgium, and took part in the campaign, which, opening with the brilliant successes gained by the cavalry at Villers-en-Cauchies and Beaumont in April, and at Willems on May the 10th, was to end so disastrously in the evacuation not only of the Austrian Netherlands, but even of Holland. That this failure, however, was not owing to any lack of courage in the British troops was shown again and again. At the defeat at Tourcoing on the 18th of May, which was due to the folly of the dispositions made by the Austrians and their failure to support the Duke of York, the Brigade of Guards distinguished itself by its steadiness and discipline under the most difficult circumstances, and it formed

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, from Malcolm's *Genealogical Memoir of the House of Drummond* (Edin. 1808); Douglas's *Peerage* (1813 ed.); Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, vol. iv.; the *Army Lists*; and information supplied by Lady Strathallan. A portrait of General Drummond will be found opposite p. 515.

[2] The date on which the composite battalion of Guards embarked for America. A list of officers of the 1st Guards who accompanied the battalion is given in Lieutenant-General Sir F. W. Hamilton's *History of the Grenadier Guards*, vol. ii. p. 214. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

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part of the rearguard during the subsequent retirement, which, beginning at Tournay in June, lasted with occasional intermission until the following February, when Hanoverian territory was at last reached. The winter of 1794–1795 was an exceptionally severe one, and the hardships endured by the troops in their retreat through Holland were indescribable. Drummond served throughout this campaign, and in the absence of senior officers was in command of the 1st Battalion of his regiment from the 20th of October 1794 onwards.[1]

On his return home in 1795 he was promoted major-general and was placed in command of the Western District of Scotland, a position in which we constantly find him reviewing the Breadalbane Fencibles and Perthshire Militia.[2] In 1799 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 1st Guards, but he retained his appointment on the Scottish staff certainly until July 1801[3]—probably until the following year. In August 1801 he was gazetted colonel-commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the 5th (or Northumberland) Foot, but the battalion was reduced at the Peace of Amiens, and he was placed on the half-pay list. From that time onwards General Drummond does not appear to have done much soldiering, though some more appointments and promotions have to be recorded. In April 1802 he became a lieutenant-general, and in 1807 colonel of the 11th Veteran Battalion. Three years later he was appointed governor of Dumbarton Castle—the fortress in which his predecessor, the first Lord Strathallan, had been imprisoned—and in 1812 he rose to be full general.

General Drummond spent the closing years of his life on his Perthshire estate, where he employed himself in pulling down the old house of Machany, and in building in its place the present Strathallan Castle. He never married, and his youngest sister, Elizabeth Drummond, kept house for him until his death, which took place in 1817. The General was succeeded by his cousin, James Drummond, to whom seven years later the forfeited title of Viscount Strathallan was restored by Act of Parliament.

[1] *History of the Grenadier Guards*, vol. ii. p. 315.

[2] See article on the Breadalbane Fencibles, pp. 160, 161, and on the Perthshire Militia, 1797–1902, pp. 129–32.

[3] In that month he reviewed the Perthshire Militia at Glasgow.

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GENERAL ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL[1]

1757–1825

BY THE EDITOR

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, third son of John Campbell of Achalader,[2] chamberlain for many years of the Breadalbane estates,[3] and Isabella, daughter of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, has already been mentioned in this volume as having been appointed colonel of the Breadalbane Fencibles in 1799.[4]

Born in 1757,[5] Archibald Campbell at the early age of fifteen became an ensign in the 36th Foot,[6] and in 1776 purchased a lieutenancy in the same regiment. In December 1777, when only nineteen, he obtained a company in the 74th Foot, or Argyll Highlanders, which Colonel John Campbell of Barbreck was then raising for service in America, this rapid promotion being probably due to the good offices of John, third Earl of Breadalbane, who had the nomination of three captains for the Argyll Regiment.[7] In February 1778, accordingly, we read of Archibald Campbell recruiting for the 74th at Auchmore.[8]

The 74th embarked at Greenock in August 1778, their destination being Halifax in Nova Scotia. In the following summer Archibald Campbell commanded one of the battalion companies which, as related elsewhere,[9] was sent over to Penobscot, and he thus took part in the spirited defence of that place by Brigadier-General Maclean. After the repulse of the American force the 74th remained in garrison at Penobscot, and Captain Archibald Campbell and the

[1] Authorities, except where otherwise stated :—the *Army Lists*, the *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. i., and a memorandum drawn up by General Archibald Campbell in 1824 (in the possession of his grandson, Colonel W. F. Campbell).

[2] Though the original Achalader was in Argyllshire, the property of Ballied, near Blairgowrie, had been bought by General Archibald Campbell's grandfather in 1733. Ballied is now known as Achalader, and is the residence of the present head of the family, Colonel J. L. Campbell.

[3] *i.e.* the younger of the two chamberlains. The post was held in succession by two John Campbells of Achalader, father and son.

[4] See article on the regiment, p. 164.

[5] A tablet to his memory in St. James' Church, Piccadilly, where he was buried, states that he died on the 1st of December 1825, "aged 67 years," but he is entered in the parish register of Killin as having been baptized on the 31st of May, 1757.

[6] In July 1773. In *A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort*, p. 46, he is erroneously described as commencing his military service in the Breadalbane Fencibles.

[7] Letter dated 24th December 1777 from Lord Breadalbane to Barbreck (preserved in the Barbreck charter-chest).

[8] Letter in Achalader charter-chest.

[9] See biography of General Campbell of Monzie, p. 433.

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battalion companies of the regiment did not reach England until March 1784.[1] The regiment was then disbanded, and Campbell was placed on half-pay as a major.[2]

Campbell appears to have been on half-pay for some years, and though he was given a brevet of lieutenant-colonel in October 1794,[3] there is nothing to show that he was employed again before 1796, in the early summer of which year we find him taking part in Sir Ralph Abercromby's successful operations in St. Lucia and St. Vincent. In October 1796 he was appointed junior major of the 8th Foot, but whether or not he had served with this regiment earlier in the year is uncertain.[4]

Campbell apparently remained on in the West Indies after the operations of 1796, and in January 1798 he became a brevet-colonel. In 1799 he was placed in command of the island of St. Vincent, with the rank of brigadier-general, and in July of the same year he succeeded Lord Breadalbane as colonel of the Breadalbane Fencibles. He was at home for a time in the autumn of 1799,[5] but he was prohibited by the Duke of York from joining his regiment, as by doing so he would interfere with the promotion of the other brigadier-generals serving in Ireland.[6] It therefore seems probable that General Archibald Campbell never saw the Breadalbane Fencibles. He returned shortly to St. Vincent, and was commanding there in 1800, after which, with the exception of another brief visit to England, he appears to have commanded the colony of Surinam, in South America, until it was delivered up to the Dutch at the Peace of Amiens.

Campbell's next appointment was in Ireland, where he served first as a brigadier (apparently from the outbreak of war in 1803), and secondly (from January 1805 onwards), as a major-general. He commanded the Northern District for three years.[7] In June 1811 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and on the 23rd of January 1812 he was appointed deputy-governor of Fort

[1] Statement by Colonel Campbell of Barbreck, in Achalader charter-chest.

[2] Commission dated 20th April 1784.—*War Office Registers Various.*

[3] 12th October 1794.—*War Office Registers Various*, No. 42. The date given in the *Army Lists* is the 1st March 1794. In Campbell's own memorandum and in the *Royal Military Calendar* his brevet of lieutenant-colonel is said to have dated from April 1794.

[4] The 8th Foot had embarked for the West Indies in November 1795, but had been driven back by a storm, and the writer of the *Historical Record of the King's* seems uncertain as to whether any portion of the regiment succeeded in crossing the Atlantic.—It appears, however, from Mr. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* (vol. iv. pp. 482–3), that 200 men of the 8th were serving on the fleet in the West Indies in 1796, and that another detachment of the regiment took part in the suppression of the rebellion in Grenada in that year.

[5] Achalader charter-chest.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] In *A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort*, p. 46, Campbell is said to have been attached as a major-general to the Portuguese Brigade in the Peninsula, but the writer has probably confused him with Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava (see his biography, p. 482). No mention of the Peninsula is to be found in General Archibald Campbell's memorandum, nor in the notice in the *Royal Military Calendar*.

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Augustus.[1] In May 1825 he became full general, and he died on the 1st of December in that year.[2]

At some date prior to 1798, Campbell married Margaret, daughter of Admiral Edwards, of Rhy-d-Gorse in Carmarthenshire. He left one daughter and a son, John Edwards, who had been wounded at Quatre Bras, while serving with the 44th Foot.[3] In the first Burmese War he was aide-de-camp to Sir William Macbean; commanded the Beauhornois district during the Canadian rebellion of 1838; finally rose to be a lieutenant-general; and was successively colonel of the 97th and 92nd Regiments. He died at Plymouth in 1871.

[1] Date given in General Campbell's memorandum and in the *War Office Registers Various*. He is not shown as deputy-governor of Fort Augustus in the *Army Lists* until 1821.

[2] In the *Memorial History*, p. 46, General Archibald Campbell is erroneously described as having been lieutenant-colonel of the 6th Foot "at the time of his decease." In the genealogical table of the Campbells of Achalader in the same work, he is also entered as colonel of the 80th Foot—a confusion with his younger brother, Sir Alexander Campbell.

[3] Not 46th, as stated in the *Memorial History*. General Archibald Campbell was present at the battle of Quatre Bras as a spectator, having ridden over from Brussels with the Duke of Wellington. Mounted on a small grey pony, he at first stationed himself in rear of his son's company, hoping by his presence to encourage him in the performance of his duty. Young Campbell, however, felt himself distracted by fear for his father's safety, for the bullets were falling thick about him, and at his request the General finally left him and rejoined the Duke.—*Historical Record of the 44th, or East Essex Regiment* (1867 ed.). The 44th was one of the regiments which bore the brunt of the action at Quatre Bras.

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GENERAL SIR DAVID BAIRD, BART., G.C.B., K.C.

(From an Engraving by A. Cardon after a Portrait by A. J. Oliver, A.R.A.)

GENERAL SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H., K.C.

(From an Engraving by Henry Meyer after a Portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.)

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TWO STRATH EARN SOLDIERS

BY ALLAN McAULAY

"Can storied urn or animated bust
Back to its mansion call the fleeting breath?
Can honour's voice provoke the silent dust,
Or flattery soothe the dull, cold ear of death?"
—THOMAS GRAY.

I. GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. SIR DAVID BAIRD, BART., G.C.B., K.C.,[1] 1757–1829

ON a wooded knowe in the very centre of Strath Earn, just where it narrows from its lowland to its mountainous aspect—commanding the woods of Strowan, the windings of the Earn, the sunny slopes of Monzievaird and Ochtertyre—there stands a monumental obelisk which challenges the question of every stranger, and has contrived, though struck by lightning, to defy nearly a century of storms. Engraved upon the sides of this is a prodigious inscription setting forth the virtues of the individual to whose memory these stones were piled. He was, it appears, a famous soldier, and "to indomitable courage in the field," we read, "he united wisdom and prudence in the council." He was "a brave but generous enemy," and with his ardent love of glory "combined the tenderest care" for his devoted followers. His public services are "recorded in the annals of his country," while his private virtues "are embalmed in the hearts of his friends." "Honour and duty were the guiding stars of his destiny"; "piety and charity were the leading characteristics of his mind." "He felt no jealousies": "he harboured no resentments": "he knew no guile" . . . and so on for about twenty lines more in a style of mortuary extravagance happily now out of fashion.

The object of these encomiums was Sir David Baird—a plain soldier who would probably have been the first to disclaim the almost superhuman list of virtues attributed to him by a too zealous and mourning affection. He was born in 1757, and was the second son of William Baird of Newbyth.[2] In boyhood he had apparently no pretensions to a saintship: "*Peety the man wha's chained to oor Davie!*" is said to have been the exclamation of his mother, on hearing that her son, whilst languishing in the dungeons of Seringapatam, must be chained to a fellow captive. It is also related of the future soldier that, return-

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, the materials for this article have been taken from Theodore Hook's *Life*, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Army Lists*.

[2] In East Lothian. His biography (like that of Lord Keith) has been included on account of his close connection with Perthshire in his later years.—[ED.]

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ing home from school one day with the unexpected intelligence that he was *dux* or head of his class, he was questioned by a justly suspicious parent as to what the class consisted of: "*Me an' anither lassie!*" was the ingenuous reply, but history does not relate the sequel.

To the exertions of his mother, to whom very probably his restless energy and fiery temper as a boy were sources of anxiety, Sir David owed his ensign's commission in the 2nd Regiment, which he joined when about sixteen years of age. He was only twenty-one when he became a captain in the regiment of Highlanders recently raised by Lord MacLeod, and afterwards numbered the 71st. His great height, manly appearance, and thoroughly soldierly qualifications led to his being appointed to the command of the Light Infantry Company, and in this capacity he went to India in 1779, at a time when the British possessions in the East were being threatened by Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sahib, aided by the French. Baird's company formed part of the force under Colonel Baillie which was cut to pieces by Haidar Ali at Pollilur in September 1780; the young officer was desperately wounded, and with others—both officers and men—was taken prisoner and kept in the dungeons of Seringapatam for nearly four years. All kinds of romantic incidents are told of this captivity; by far the most touching relate to the devotion of the Highland soldiers to their officers. These men, though bribed by Haidar Ali to desert and join his standard, resisted such temptations with the utmost scorn: they literally starved themselves in order to keep the life in the young fellows who had commanded them, with the result that when release came, they were dead of hunger and disease, while the objects of their devotion lived—and lived, as it happened in one instance, at any rate, to avenge them in the very scenes of their sufferings. During the years of his captivity, Baird was tormented with a bullet in his thigh, and suffered tortures from his chains. Being of a tough stock he survived, and though released in 1784, did not return home till five years later, by which time he was a major.

Having purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment in 1790, Baird returned to India in the following year, and commanded a brigade of Sepoys during the war in Mysore. He took part in the first advance to Seringapatam and in the capture of that place in 1792, after which Tipu sued for peace. Next year saw the outbreak of the war with France, and Baird was in command of the European troops at the taking of Pondicherry. Four years later, his regiment was ordered home—so reduced in numbers that it could only be referred to as "the precious remains of the brave MacLeod Highlanders." Colonel Baird on this occasion accompanied his regiment only as far as the Cape of Good Hope—remaining there for some months as brigadier-general.

Promoted to be major-general in 1798, Baird returned once more to India, where he commanded the troops at the final storming of Seringapatam. "History," writes General Stewart of Garth, "has seldom produced a more striking difference in the fortunes and circumstances of a man's life, than in the case of this officer. He now entered as a conqueror within the walls of the

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town where he had been led in as a prisoner, and kept in chains for three years, suffering under the most cruel treatment. As a conqueror, he showed a bright example of the difference between ferocious and generous minds. His revenge, when retaliation was in his power, was shown by endeavours to save the now prostrate enemy . . . from the fury of his troops, who knew what he and his brave fellow-sufferers had been made to endure, and were consequently more than usually exasperated."[1] Finding Tipu's dead body in a pool of blood at the very gates (so it is told) of the prison where the British captives had been immured in all the circumstances of Eastern barbarity, General Baird lifted it in his arms to save it from insult, and himself (so the story goes) slept in his clothes on a carpet spread at the door of the room where Tipu's family lay, to guard them from the vengeance of the soldiers.

In 1801, a force was ordered to leave India for Egypt, to join hands with Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition against the "Army of the East." The command of this force was greatly coveted by Wellington (at that time, of course, Arthur Wellesley), but General Baird being the senior officer of the two, the expedition was entrusted to him. Colonel Wellesley was appointed second-in-command, but was prevented by illness from leaving India.[2] The passage of the troops to Egypt was a difficult and stormy one, and they were put ashore at the Bay of Kosseir in the Red Sea, with one hundred and twenty miles between them and Keneh on the Upper Nile. The march was across a country absolutely unknown—a pathless desert, waterless under the burning sun of June, and beset with every kind of difficulty. General Baird, however, without a moment's hesitation, undertook it, and carried it through with the utmost spirit—his dash and courage communicating themselves to his troops—so that they reached Keneh with the loss of only three men. Another month's journey brought them to Alexandria, but in spite of all their exertions they were too late for hostilities. Some months elapsed before the British forces left Egypt, and General Baird, determined that this period of enforced idleness should not be without its trophy, warmly entered into a project for removing Cleopatra's Needle to the banks of the Nile and preparing it for embarkation to England. "Large fatigue parties . . . of 1000 men," writes one of General Baird's officers, "were sent out daily" to attack this task. "We built wharves opposite Little Pharos, but . . . they were swept away in a night. Not at all daunted . . . we . . . built others . . . on a more substantial principle than the former," and "had our wharves completed before the fatigue parties were able to bring the Needle to the embankment; the manner in which it was moved along was by placing wooden rollers under it made for the purpose." But "notwithstanding all the money and labour expended in constructing the wharves and bringing the wonder to the ship's side, it baffled all our ingenuity and strength to put it on board. Completely nonplussed and chagrined, we were ordered to take back

[1] *Sketches* (1st ed.), vol. ii. p. 203, *note*.

[2] Wellesley's illness was providential, for the ship on which he was to have sailed was lost on the way to Egypt.—[ED.]

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what would have been such a curiosity in England, and leave it where we found it. This was rather too much for our strength and good nature; and after drawing it about a hundred yards from the wharves, we left it. . . ." [1] What subsequently became of the Needle is a matter of modern history.

General Baird, who had become something of a popular hero after his Egyptian exploits, returned to India in 1802, where he commanded a division of the Madras Army. But the following year he retired from this post in a fit of pique caused by favouritism shown at headquarters to General Arthur Wellesley. On his homeward voyage, he was taken prisoner by a French privateer, but was very shortly retaken. On his arrival at home, he met with a very enthusiastic reception, was knighted, and not long afterwards, being sent to the Cape, he recaptured it from the Dutch, to whom it had been restored three years before. A few months later, however, he got into hot water for lending troops for Sir Home Popham's South American expedition, and was recalled; but his disgrace was short-lived, for in 1807 he had a command in the expedition against Denmark, and was wounded. In the following year, he was sent with a division to reinforce Sir John Moore in Spain, and at the battle of Corunna had his left arm completely shattered by a cannon-ball. He was never afterwards fit for active service, and though made a baronet in recognition of his services, was not employed again until 1820, when he was appointed commander of the forces in Ireland and a privy councillor. He held the post of governor of Kinsale from 1819 until 1827, in which year he became governor of Fort George.[2] He was successively colonel of the 54th and 24th Regiments.

In 1810, on retiring from active duty, Sir David Baird married a Perthshire heiress—Miss Preston of Valleyfield and of Ferntower near Crieff—and settling down upon her estates, took very kindly to the life of a country gentleman, completely identifying himself with Perthshire—the county of his adoption. He carried into private life the same kind heart and generous temper which had characterised him in his military career, and was soon as popular with his tenants and dependents as he had been with his soldiers. The record of his life at Ferntower is rich in amusing anecdotes, for the "grand-looking old soldier," as a contemporary calls him, was full of a shrewd humour and of a kind of rough humanity which, while it made him tender to the unfortunate, yet kept him keenly alive to the detection of imposture or pretence. He took a keen interest in county matters, and his death, in 1829, was widely regretted.

To his memory, his admiring and disconsolate widow, at a cost of £15,000, erected the granite obelisk at Monzievaird. At the cost of more thousands, she had painted by Wilkie a gigantic and gloomy battle-piece representing the storming of Seringapatam and the finding of Tipu's body, in which the martial figure of Sir David is the central one. His bust in marble, his portraits by

[1] *Autobiography of Andrew Pearson, a Peninsular Veteran* (Edin. 1865), pp. 24, 25.

[2] The contemporary *Army Lists* do not show Sir David as commander-in-chief in Ireland, and Theodore Hook in his *Life* does not mention that he was governor of Kinsale, but there is no doubt that he held both posts. He resigned the Irish command in 1822.—[ED.]

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Raeburn, Oliver, and the engravers Hodgetts and Cardon, his "Life" by Theodore Hook—were further monuments to her affection. Sir David was at first buried at Monzievaird, but his body was afterwards removed, during Lady Baird's lifetime, to Culross—the place of sepulture of the Preston family.

II. GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE MURRAY, G.C.B., G.C.H., K.C.,[1] 1772–1846

SIR GEORGE MURRAY, second son of Sir William Murray, fifth baronet of Ochtertyre, and Lady Augusta Mackenzie, youngest daughter of George, third Earl of Cromartie, was born at Ochtertyre on the 6th of February 1772, and was a grandson of the Sir Patrick Murray who, as related in the article on "Perthshire in the 'Forty-five," unsuccessfully attempted to arrest the Duke of Perth at Drummond Castle and was afterwards taken prisoner at Prestonpans.[2]

George Murray was destined to see war upon a larger scale than his grandfather—to serve his apprenticeship upon the grim battlefields of Europe and to uphold the honour of his country in positions of the highest responsibility, both civil and military, and both at home and abroad. Entering the Army at the age of seventeen (*i.e.* in March 1789), Murray was first an ensign in the 71st Regiment, but he exchanged within a few months to the 34th Foot, and a year later (in July 1790) to the 3rd Foot Guards, with which regiment he saw service in the Netherlands in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794. His promotion appears to have been rapid and his talents showed themselves early. He served under Sir Ralph Abercromby in the West Indies, 1796–1797,[3] and in 1799 was on the staff in the expedition to North Holland, being wounded on the day of the disembarkation near the Helder. In 1800 he was appointed to the quartermaster-general's department at Gibraltar, and was sent by Sir Ralph to Jaffa to inform the Turkish Vizier of the intended British expedition to Egypt.[4] From 1802 onwards, as captain and lieutenant-colonel in the 3rd Guards, he held staff appointments in the West Indies, at the Horse Guards, and in Ireland; served in the expedition to Hanover in 1805, and was appointed quartermaster-general on the expeditions to Stralsund and Copenhagen in 1807. After serving in the same capacity with the forces despatched under Sir John Moore to Sweden in 1808, he acted as quartermaster-general to the British army in the Peninsula 1808–1809, and was present at the burial of Sir John Moore under circumstances which inspired a singularly beautiful poem in a poet who never wrote

[1] From the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Army Lists*, and papers in the Ochtertyre charter-chest.

[2] See article on the 'Forty-five, p. 317.

[3] He was aide-de-camp to Major-General Campbell of Monzie during the ineffectual expedition to Isle d'Yeu in the autumn of 1795, in the West Indies, 1796–1797, and again in 1798, during the Irish Rebellion. *Royal Military Calendar* and contemporary almanacks.—[ED.]

[4] According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the *Royal Military Calendar*, he took part in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt in 1801, but no mention of this is to be found in a memorandum of his services among the Ochtertyre papers.

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another line of note. George Murray, now a brevet-colonel,[1] was immediately afterwards appointed quartermaster-general to the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and except for a year's interval (in 1812),[2] during which time he held the same post in Ireland, was quartermaster-general in the Peninsula until the end of the war, his services there being repeatedly acknowledged in despatches.

A number of letters from Colonel Murray, written to his brother Sir Patrick from Spain, have been preserved, and have all the artless value of correspondence carried on during a time of national excitement, without being intended for publication. A particularly ingenuous extract may be quoted here. Colonel Murray writes from Celerico, in May 1810 :—

"For my own part I think, upon the supposition of Buonaparte being inclined to limit his thirst for dominion, in consideration of the tranquil and permanent establishment of his dynasty, that it would be very possible to make such a peace as we could accept. Suppose, for instance, we should agree to turn the whole Bourbon race out of Europe, we may send them if you please to America, and divide the Spanish dominions there among them. Let Buonaparte, in consideration of this, give up his pretensions upon Spain, and let that crown be given to a prince of the house of Austria, or some other German family. I think the above might be a basis to begin upon. Sicily might be given to the house of Brunswick, and Buonaparte might have Portugal for one of his friends." "If Buonaparte will agree to something of this kind, I think we should close with him; but if he will not be tractable, I certainly think he has still much to fear from the uncertainty of war as well as we, and this peninsula, well managed, may yet be a thorn in his side for a great while."

This is a delightful extract: the idea of "turning the whole Bourbon race out of Europe" is good, but the picture of Buonaparte accepting Portugal "*for one of his friends*" is better—as a stroke of perfectly unconscious irony it could hardly be surpassed. The references to the mighty enemy as "Buonaparte" are also instructive: to this sturdy British soldier—as to so many others of the day—he is not "the Emperor" (no indeed!) nor yet "Napoleon"—merely "Buonaparte," and with the Italian spelling, too—a deadly insult to the family which desired above all things to ignore that it had an origin alien to France. But of this the writer was probably sublimely unconscious, and with all its rather comical suppositions, which were after all only the echo of the talk round many a rudely-extemporised mess-table and roaring camp-fire of those never-

[1] Commission dated 9th March 1809.

[2] From letters in the Ochtertyre charter-chest it appears that Murray returned home from the Peninsula in January 1812, and rejoined Wellington in March 1813. The *Royal Military Calendar* states that he served in the Peninsula 1809–1814, while the writer of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us in one breath that he was present at the battle of Vittoria (which took place in June 1813) and that he remained in Ireland "until September 1813, when he again joined the army in the Peninsula." During the campaign of 1812 Wellington wrote that he had "fresh reason every day" to regret Murray's departure. *Despatches* (1844 ed.), vol. vi. p. 55.—[ED.]

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to-be-forgotten Peninsular days, there is a ring of modesty in Colonel Murray's letter too—an unconscious tribute to the greatness of his foe: for he does not dream of beating "Buonaparte," but of bargaining with him. The Hundred Days and Waterloo were still five years away, and Murray, with all his epistolary plannings, was no seer.

After the Peninsular War, Sir George Murray—now a major-general [1] and K.B.[2]—was appointed adjutant-general in Ireland, but before entering upon his new appointment was sent out as quartermaster-general to America, where he served until the end of the war with the United States. He was subsequently offered the post of governor-general of the Canadas, but by that time news had been received of Napoleon's escape from Elba, and the Hundred Days saw the frantic re-arming of the Allies. Sir George therefore sailed for Europe, but he was too late for Waterloo, joining the army of occupation in Paris, where he remained for some time as chief of the staff. In 1819 he was appointed governor of the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, a post which he held until 1824, when he became a lieutenant-general of the Ordnance. He was commander of the forces in Ireland, 1825–1828, and from 1829 onwards governor of Fort George (in succession to Sir David Baird).[3] In 1825, Sir George's honours and titles appear as follows in the *London Gazette*:—

"The King has been pleased to give and grant to the Right Honourable Sir George Murray, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Knight Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelphic Order, Knight Commander of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's forces, Colonel of the 42nd (Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot, Commander of the Forces in Ireland, Representative in Parliament for the County of Perth, and one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council in Ireland, His Royal licence and permission that he may, in compliance with the earnest desire expressed by their Majesties the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, the King of Bavaria, and the King of Saxony, accept and wear the insignia of the under-mentioned Orders of those sovereigns respectively. . . ." [4]

And there follows the name of sundry foreign Orders literally too numerous to mention.

It will be seen from the above extract that Sir George had entered Parlia-

[1] Commission dated 1st January 1812. In 1811 he had been made a brigadier-general for services rendered during the campaign of that year. Wellington, *Despatches*, vols. iv. and v.—[ED.]

[2] He was created a knight of the Bath after Vittoria. Ochtertyre Memorandum.

[3] Sir George also held the post of lieutenant-governor of Edinburgh Castle, 1811–1819 (an appointment which is stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to have dated from 1818); and from 1813 onwards he was successively colonel of the 7th Battalion of the 60th, and of the 72nd, 42nd, and 1st Regiments of Foot. From 1842 to 1846 he appears in the *Army Lists* as colonel of the Royal Artillery, colonel-in-chief of the Royal Engineers, and master-general of the Ordnance.—[ED.]

[4] In the *Army List* for 1846 Sir George appears for the first time with the letters "K.C." after his name, *i.e.* knight of the Crescent.

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ment, and it is evident that he pictured for himself a long and useful political career. He had many qualifications for this—sagacity, shrewdness, power of application, a deliberate and cautious temper, a decided turn for rhetoric, and a thorough knowledge of the world. He represented Perthshire between the years 1824–1832, and again for a short time in 1834.[1] From 1828 to 1830 he held the seals of office as secretary of state for the colonies, under the Duke of Wellington, and in 1834, when Sir Robert Peel became prime minister, he was appointed master-general of the Ordnance, with a seat in the Cabinet. It might have seemed as though—being still in the prime of life—he should have continued in politics for many years. But he was somewhat unexpectedly rejected for Perthshire in the general election of 1835, and later contests for other constituencies failed to regain him a seat in Parliament. Retiring into private life, Sir George appears to have occupied himself with military history, editing a collection of the correspondence of the Duke of Marlborough, which was published in 1845, the year before his death.

In his character and career Sir George Murray offers a rather striking contrast to Sir David Baird. Indeed, it would be difficult to find two men—both highly honourable in character, both distinguished servants of their country, both bred to the same profession, which they followed during practically the same period of history, both associated with the same county and actually with the same district—more completely contrasted in temper, talents, and in the nature and character of the services which they rendered to the nation. In Sir George Murray we have the more commanding intellect, the more ambitious nature, the calmer and more judicial temperament—the senator as well as the soldier, the friend of Wellington, and the companion and equal of men holding the highest offices in the country's government. But there is missing from his career altogether the note of romance and adventure which makes Sir David Baird's history read like a passage from some boy's book—all life and daring, all gallant adventure, hazardous enterprise, romantic captivity, and happy escape. Sir George was no popular hero—the dashing episode and genial anecdote are alike absent from his record. No "storied urn or animated bust" speaks of his services to posterity, and the setting sun, when it streams eastward down his native strath, throws no shadow of any monument to ***him***. His were the responsibilities rather than the romance of war; he was a man pledged to the graver duties of military and public life. Probably no better memorial of him could have been contrived than the altogether fine and dignified full-length portrait—outlined by Raeburn but finished by Pickersgill—which hangs in the County Room at Perth. In better taste than many of the military portraits of that period, the figure of the grave, grey-haired man is portrayed in a perfectly natural attitude: the fine, thoughtful face is drawn with delicacy and feeling,

[1] In Morison's *Perth and Perthshire Register* Sir George is designed "of Drumlanrig and Bleaton." The first-named estate may have been a small part of the Trossachs which is known at the present day as Drumlanrick. The second was presumably Bleaton in Glen Shee. Sir George never lived at either place.—[Ed.]

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while the splendid details of the uniform, though duly elaborated, are subordinate to the subtly-conveyed character and dignity of the wearer.

Sir George Murray died in London on the 28th of July 1846, and was buried in the vaults at Kensal Green. His wife—Lady Louisa Paget, sister of the first Marquess of Anglesey and widow of Sir James Erskine of Torriehouse—whom he had married twenty years before, had predeceased him in 1842.

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TWO SEAMEN OF THE COCHRANE FAMILY[1]

ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER COCHRANE 1758–1832, AND REAR-ADMIRAL THE EARL OF DUNDONALD, 1775–1860

BY THE EDITOR

THE list of Perthshire's Men of Action would be incomplete without mention of a family which, although not originally belonging to Perthshire, and now for nearly a hundred years unconnected with the county, yet owned the estate of Culross during the greater part of the eighteenth century,[2] and in the course of that period produced two distinguished seamen, one of them a man whose fame is world-wide. Volumes might easily be filled with the tale of the exploits of Admiral Lord Dundonald, but space forbids more than an outline of his services and those of his uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane.

Sir Alexander Forrester Cochrane, ninth son of the eighth Earl of Dundonald and his second wife, a daughter of Archibald Stuart of Torrance in Lanarkshire, was born in 1758 and entered the Navy at an early age. His first experience of active service was during the American War of Independence, when he served under Sir George Rodney in the West Indies, and as junior lieutenant in the *Montagu* was wounded in the gallant but indecisive action with the French off Martinique in 1780. After the Peace of Versailles he was on the half-pay list for some years, and in 1788 he married Maria, daughter of David Shaw and widow of Captain Sir Jacob Wheate, R.N., by whom he had three children. In 1790 he was appointed to the command of the *Hind* frigate, and after the outbreak of war in 1793 was very successful in capturing privateers. In 1794 he became captain of the *Thetis*, of forty-two guns, and served under Admiral George Murray on the Nova Scotia station, distinguishing himself by capturing,

[1] Authorities :—for Sir Alexander Cochrane, Marshall's *Royal Naval Biography ;* O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary ;* James' *Naval History ;* and the *Dictionary of National Biography :* for Lord Dundonald, his *Autobiography of a Seaman*, with *Sequel* edited by the twelfth Earl of Dundonald ; the Hon. J. W. Fortescue's *Dundonald ;* Joseph Allen's *Life ;* and the *Dictionary of National Biography.*

[2] Culross was in Perthshire until 1891, when it was transferred to Fife under the Boundary Commissioners' Order No. 119. William Cochrane, father of the eighth Earl of Dundonald, acquired the estate by his marriage with Lady Mary Bruce, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Kincardine. But from the *Scots Peerage*, vol. iii. p. 337, it appears that there was an earlier connection with Perthshire, as the family had owned the lands of Pitfour "in the sheriffdom of Perth" prior to 1509.

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REAR-ADMIRAL THE EARL OF DUNDONALD, G.C.B.

(From an Engraving by William Ridley after a Drawing by Thomson)

ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR ALEXANDER COCHRANE, G.C.B.

(From an Engraving by Charles Turner after a Portrait by Sir William Beechey, R.A.)

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in company with the *Hussar* frigate, four French store-ships armed *en flûte*, off the mouth of the Chesapeake River. In 1800, having been transferred to the *Ajax*, of eighty, he joined Lord St. Vincent's fleet in the Channel and took part in the expeditions to Quiberon Bay and Ferrol. In the following year we find him serving under Lord Keith in the Mediterranean, superintending the disembarkation of the troops at Aboukir, at the commencement of the campaign in Egypt, and afterwards commanding a flotilla of gunboats on Lake Mareotis —services for which he was warmly commended both by Lord Keith and General Hely-Hutchinson.

In 1803 he was appointed to the *Northumberland*, seventy-four, and a year later, having been promoted rear-admiral, he was given command of a squadron and sent to blockade Ferrol. When in January 1805 Admiral Missiessy escaped from Rochefort with the intention of joining Admirals Villeneuve and Gantheaume on the other side of the Atlantic, preparatory to a descent on England, Cochrane followed in pursuit, but owing to lack of information did not reach West Indian waters until his enemy was on his way back to Europe. Cochrane remained in the West Indies as commander-in-chief on the Leeward Islands station, and as second-in-command to Sir John Duckworth took a prominent part in the victory gained off St. Domingo in February 1806. In this engagement the *Northumberland* had nearly a third of her crew killed and wounded, and Cochrane, in recognition of his services, was made a knight of the Bath, and, together with Sir John Duckworth, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

During the next few years Admiral Cochrane was continuously engaged in the task of establishing British supremacy in West Indian waters. The Danish islands of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz surrendered to him and Major-General Bowyer in 1807; he commanded the naval forces engaged in the capture of Martinique in 1809, and in the reduction of Guadeloupe and the remainder of the Danish islands in 1810. After acting as governor of Guadeloupe for four years, Cochrane—then a vice-admiral—was appointed commander-in-chief in North American waters, and with his flag on the *Tonnant* of eighty guns directed the coast operations until the end of the war with America. He was commanding in the Chesapeake during the capture of Washington and the abortive attempt on Baltimore in 1814, and was responsible for the naval arrangements connected with General Sir Edward Pakenham's unsuccessful attack on New Orleans in the following year.

On the conclusion of peace a few months later Sir Alexander returned to England and was made a G.C.B. He became a full admiral in 1819, and in 1821 was appointed commander-in-chief at Plymouth. He died at Paris in 1832 and was buried in Père-la-Chaise.[1]

[1] Sir Alexander Cochrane's only son, Thomas, also entered the Navy and served under his father in the West Indies and off the coast of North America. He was appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1825, and was afterwards commander-in-chief successively in East Indian waters and at Portsmouth. He died in 1872, an admiral of the fleet and G.C.B. His eldest son was subsequently raised to the peerage as Lord Lamington.

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But distinguished seaman though Sir Alexander Cochrane was, his services cannot be compared to those of his nephew, the tenth Earl of Dundonald, whose genius for naval warfare has probably never been surpassed, and whose name might have stood as high as Nelson's in the annals of his country had not his somewhat ever-zealous efforts in the cause of naval reform brought his brilliant career in the British Navy to a premature end.

Born in 1775, the eldest son of Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, by Anne, daughter of Captain Gilchrist of Annsfield, R.N., Thomas Lord Cochrane first went to sea in 1793 with his uncle, Captain Alexander Cochrane, in the *Hind*,[1] and in the following year followed him to the *Thetis*, being shortly afterwards appointed acting 3rd lieutenant. After four years' service on the Nova Scotia station he was appointed a lieutenant on Lord Keith's flagship, but fortunately was not on board the *Queen Charlotte* when she was destroyed by fire off Leghorn. A short while before he had been sent to take a French prize into Port Mahon, and the dexterity with which he brought the *Généreux* through a heavy gale, in spite of defective rigging and an invalid crew, secured him his first ship. In March 1800 Lord Keith appointed him to the command of the *Speedy*, a rickety brig of 158 tons, armed with fourteen four-pounders.[2] In this tiny vessel Lord Cochrane cruised off the Spanish coast for thirteen months with extraordinary success, capturing or retaking no less than 50 vessels, 122 guns, and 534 prisoners. His most notable capture was that of the *Gamo*, a Spanish ship more than three times the size of the *Speedy*, carrying thirty-two guns (chiefly twelve-pounders) and a crew 319 strong—Cochrane at the time not having with him more than 54 out of his usual complement of 90 officers and men. The *Speedy* was finally captured, after a three-hours' chase, by three French line-of-battle ships which had been expressly told to look out for her—so great was the reputation which the little brig had gained for herself in the Mediterranean.

Cochrane was exchanged within a month and was promoted to post rank, but he had offended Lord St. Vincent (then first lord of the Admiralty) by the freedom with which he had expressed his opinion that he was to blame for the escape of the French fleet from the Mediterranean in 1799, and he did not improve matters by the pertinacity, amounting, it must be confessed, to rudeness, with which he applied for promotion for his former lieutenant in the *Speedy*. It was therefore not until Lord Melville had succeeded Lord St. Vincent at the Admiralty that he was allowed another chance of distinguishing himself. In November 1804 he was appointed to the command of the *Pallas*, a new thirty-eight gun frigate, and during the next eighteen months he made many rich

[1] The 1st lieutenant in the *Hind* was a rough old sailor, Jack Larmour by name, "who had risen by sheer superiority of seamanship from the forecastle to the quarter-deck." He found in the young midshipman a willing and apt pupil, and Cochrane owed much of his success in after years to the mastery of the details of his profession which he had acquired from the old tar.

[2] Some idea of the size and discomfort of the *Speedy* may be gained from the fact that Lord Cochrane's cabin was only five feet high, and that, as he was very tall, he could only shave by putting his head through the skylight.

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captures off the Azores and the coasts of Spain and Portugal. But the cutting-out on the river Garonne of the French brig *Tapageuse* by the boats of the *Pallas*, and the simultaneous destruction by the *Pallas* herself of three French corvettes which, taken singly, would each have been a match for her in the absence of her boats' crews, was undoubtedly the most remarkable achievement of this period of his life.

In 1806 Lord Cochrane was returned in the extreme Whig interest as member of Parliament for Honiton, but he had not sat long in the House of Commons before he was given command of the *Impérieuse* frigate, in which he made a short cruise in the Bay of Biscay with his usual success. At the general election of 1807 he was elected as one of the representatives for Westminster and lost no time in bringing forward a comprehensive motion on naval abuses, but it was negatived without a division, and the Lords of the Admiralty, fearing other similar attacks, promptly ordered him to sea again. He therefore resumed command of the *Impérieuse* and joined Lord Collingwood in the Mediterranean.

Throughout the year 1808 he was employed in harassing the coasts of France and Spain, and by his wholesale destruction of roads, bridges, signalling stations, and batteries, he upset the French plans to such an extent, that, as Lord Collingwood afterwards wrote, he arrested the progress of an army which was about to be sent into Eastern Spain from Languedoc. He especially distinguished himself by his defence of Fort Trinidad, an exploit undertaken in order to assist a Spanish garrison besieged in the neighbouring town of Rosas.[1] The fort had been seriously damaged by the French batteries and had been abandoned by another British officer as untenable, but for some ten or eleven days Lord Cochrane with extraordinary tenacity and ingenuity kept the enemy at bay, and though finally obliged to withdraw owing to the surrender of the Spaniards in Rosas, he re-embarked his little force of some eighty men with the loss of only three killed and five wounded. Lord Collingwood was loud in his praises of Cochrane's "zeal and energy"—recording his opinion that "his resources for every exigency" had no end; but his brilliant defence of the fortress met with no recognition from the authorities at home. In February 1809 he returned to England to press upon the Admiralty the advisability of extending the system of coast warfare, and to expose the corruption of the Mediterranean prize courts.

Cochrane had not been long at home when he was invited by Lord Mulgrave, at that time first lord of the Admiralty, to carry out a plan for the destruction by fireships of a French fleet which was shut up in Aix Roads. Cochrane demurred at first, for Lord Gambier, who commanded the blockading squadron, was known to regard the scheme with disfavour; he himself doubted whether fireships alone could accomplish the desired end; and he not unnaturally feared the jealousy which might be felt by Lord Gambier's officers at his selection for so important an enterprise. He believed, however, that fireships would succeed

[1] This was of course owing to the rupture between France and Spain. From June 1808 onwards Cochrane was ordered to give every assistance in his power to the Spaniards on the coast.

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if accompanied by explosion vessels of his own invention, and he submitted a plan to Lord Mulgrave, expressing his desire that its execution should be entrusted to another officer. The Board of Admiralty promptly accepted his scheme, but insisted on his carrying it out himself, Lord Mulgrave assuring him that all would be made right with Lord Gambier. It is evident, however, that although Cochrane on his arrival in Basque Roads was well received by the Commander-in-Chief, there was much ill-feeling among the senior officers of the squadron at his appointment.

The attack took place on a dark and stormy night in April, Cochrane himself leading the way in the largest explosion vessel. An enormous boom, forming two sides of a triangle, protected the entrance to Aix Roads, but Cochrane, when close to it, blew up his vessel, and made an opening through which the fireships followed. The crews of the French vessels, panic-stricken, slipped their cables, and in their endeavours to escape fouled each other or ran on shore, though owing to the clumsy way in which the fireships were handled, no vessels were actually destroyed. When morning came, bringing with it low tide, out of fifteen of the enemy's ships only two were afloat, and the others should have fallen an easy prey to the British fleet. But in vain Cochrane signalled from the *Impérieuse* for Lord Gambier to support him. The Admiral paid no attention to his signals, and no help was sent until the tide had risen so high that the French ships were beginning to float again. By that time Cochrane, rendered desperate by seeing some of the enemy's vessels escaping up the Charente, had brought the *Impérieuse* alongside of three line-of-battle ships which still lay within his reach. Lord Gambier was then obliged to send part of the squadron to assist him, and by nightfall four sail of the line had been taken, and five more, besides a frigate, were aground. But had the attack been made in force at the proper time there is little doubt that the whole of the French fleet would have been destroyed; and Cochrane, though knighted on his return to England for his share in what was regarded as a great success, did not hesitate to denounce Lord Gambier's conduct to the Admiralty, announcing his intention of opposing the vote of thanks to him in the House of Commons. Lord Mulgrave in vain pointed out the dangers of such a course and offered him three frigates and *carte blanche* to do what he pleased on the French coasts in the Mediterranean. Nothing would turn Cochrane from his purpose, and the Admiral, hearing of his intentions, demanded a court-martial. Cochrane declined to state his objections to the vote of thanks, and referred the Admiralty to the log-books of the fleet, saying that they contained incriminating matter enough. Gambier brought forward falsified charts, and, supported by the evidence of all but two of the officers who were called as witnesses, was triumphantly acquitted. There and then Cochrane's brilliant career in the British Navy virtually came to an end. He volunteered for the Walcheren expedition—submitting a scheme for the destruction of the French fleet in the Scheldt—but his services were refused, and in the following year, having been peremptorily ordered to rejoin the *Impérieuse* in an inferior capacity, he declined to obey and was superseded.

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During the next few years Lord Cochrane devoted his energies to exposing the abuses of the Admiralty in Parliament, but apparently with but little effect beyond that of making more enemies for himself. In 1812 he married Katherine, daughter of Thomas Barnes, of Romford, in Essex—a lady who bore him four sons and two daughters, and throughout the remainder of his stormy career was his constant and devoted companion. An uncle from whom Lord Cochrane had expectations had pressed on him a marriage with the daughter of a wealthy Admiralty official, and his prompt rejection of this proposal lost him an inheritance which would have gone far to restore the fortunes of his family, seriously impaired as they were by his father's lavish expenditure.[1]

At last in 1814 another chance of gaining distinction at sea presented itself. His uncle, Sir Alexander Cochrane, appointed him captain of his flag-ship, the *Tonnant*. But the cup was rudely dashed from Lord Cochrane's lips. On the eve of his departure for American waters he was arrested on a charge of being concerned in an attempt to raise the price of the Funds by means of false reports on the Stock Exchange. Though entirely innocent, others with whom he associated were guilty, and his political enemies spared no pains to procure an unfavourable verdict. He was pronounced guilty, was fined £1000, and was condemned to a year's imprisonment. He was also struck off the Navy List, and was expelled both from the Order of the Bath and from the House of Commons. Westminster, however, enthusiastically re-elected him, and after eight months' confinement he escaped from prison by way of asserting his right as a member of Parliament to immunity from imprisonment. But he was re-arrested and forced to complete his sentence.

Lord Cochrane had not been long at liberty when his open hostility to the Government again brought him into trouble, and in August 1816 he was brought to trial, ostensibly for his escape from prison seventeen months before, but really on account of his political actions. He was ordered to pay a fine of £100, but having refused on the ground that his detention had been illegal, he might have endured an indefinite term of imprisonment had not the necessary funds been promptly raised by public subscription. That a sum sufficient to cover not only this new fine, but the former one, should have been contributed entirely in pennies, shows what widespread sympathy was felt for him.

Cochrane's efforts, however, in the cause of reform had been sadly unsuccessful, and he found himself in the prime of life with the British Service closed to him. In 1817, therefore, he accepted the post of vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of the Chilian Navy, and during the next few years by a series of brilliant exploits—the most conspicuous of which were the capture of Valdivia and the cutting-out of the *Esmeralda* under the batteries of Callao—he broke the power of Spain in South America and secured the independence of Chile and Peru.

[1] The ninth Lord Dundonald devoted his life to science, and carried on his researches at Culross with little regard to economy. One of his inventions was the distillation of coal-tar, the kilns for which can be seen at Culross to this day.

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From 1823 to 1825 Lord Cochrane was admiral of the Brazilian fleet, and in that capacity put the crown on all his former achievements. "With a single ship, and without the loss of a man," he hunted a Portuguese fleet of thirteen men-of-war, and a Portuguese army, from Bahia to Lisbon, capturing, moreover, "innumerable vessels, and vast quantities of military stores." Well might this be described as "a feat without parallel in the history of war."[1] His masterly operations freed Brazil for ever from the yoke of Portugal.

Cochrane then accepted the command of the Greek fleet on condition that a certain sum should be expended in building steamships, but owing to the rascality of contractors the money was squandered and precious months were wasted, and when he finally entered Greek waters in March 1827 it was to find only one vessel out of eight which had been promised. Missolonghi had fallen a year before, and the Turks were in possession of three-fourths of the country, but Cochrane found the Greeks distracted by petty squabbles and incapable of making any great effort to free themselves. An attempt was indeed made to relieve Athens, which had withstood nearly a year's siege, but Cochrane's plans were disregarded; the Greek generals and soldiers proved alike incompetent; and in June 1827 the garrison in the Acropolis surrendered. Nor could Cochrane make anything of the Greek navy. The sailors were cowardly and insubordinate, and so treacherous that he could never be without a loaded pistol in his pocket. With such material his task was a hopeless one, but the French and British fleets at length intervened to prevent further operations, and the crushing defeat inflicted on the Turks at Navarino by the Allied powers in October 1827 secured the independence of Greece. In the following year Cochrane resigned his post in the Greek navy.

During his years of foreign service Lord Cochrane had made many attempts to procure a fresh investigation into the charges brought against him in 1814, but without success. In 1832, however, when William IV. was on the throne and the Whigs had at last come into power, a free pardon was accorded to Lord Dundonald (he had by then succeeded his father), and he was reinstated in the British Navy as a rear-admiral.

From that time onwards he mainly devoted his energies to mechanical inventions, especially to the improvement of the steam-engine as adapted to seafaring purposes. He had been the first to employ steam power in ships of war, and one of his many contrivances was a screw propeller, which he patented in 1843. He made an especial study of the question of national defence, and it is interesting to find that his views in the main corresponded with those held at the present day by the "Blue Water" school—principles which within the last three years have been adopted by the Board of Admiralty.

Lord Dundonald was also the author of "secret war plans" for destroying an enemy's fleet, which he drew up in 1811. No British Government could ever be found to carry them into effect on account of their terribly destructive

[1] Fortescue's *Dundonald*, p. 158.

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character, but no one who was allowed to see them appears to have doubted their efficacy and practicability.

In 1847 Lord Dundonald was reinstated in the Order of the Bath as knight grand cross, and in 1848 he was appointed commander-in-chief on the North American and West Indian station—thus for the first time being given command of a British fleet at the age of seventy-three. He died on the 31st of October 1860, while engaged in compiling an autobiography of his long and eventful life.

Few men can ever have united more of the qualities which go to make a great sea-captain. Master of the minutest detail of his profession; a great tactician, strategist, and mechanical inventor; possessed of untiring energy and boundless fertility of resource; the extraordinary daring which he displayed in action was not more remarkable than his foresight and the care which he took to ensure that his victories should be attended with as little loss as possible. This last quality, indeed, at first told against him, for in the early years of the nineteenth century the view held at the Admiralty appears to have been that the importance of an action was to be gauged chiefly by the loss of life and limb which it entailed; and, amazing as it may seem, the fact that in the capture of the *Gamo* Cochrane had only one man killed and one officer and seven men wounded was one of the reasons why that brilliant exploit did not meet with full recognition. But after this lapse of time full justice can be done to Lord Dundonald's great qualities, though it may be admitted that a certain hastiness and intolerance often aggravated or provoked the official hostility. His name, however, must go down to posterity as that of one of the greatest naval geniuses that has ever been produced by this or any other nation, and it must always be matter for deep regret that his career as a British officer was brought to so untimely a close, and that his most wonderful achievements were not performed in the service of his country.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CAMPBELL, BART., K.C.B.[1]

BY THE EDITOR

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Sir Alexander Campbell, a very distinguished soldier, was a younger brother of three men who have already been mentioned in these pages—John Campbell of Achalader, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3rd Breadalbane Fencibles; Patrick, the Army agent, afterwards of Achalader;[2] and Archibald, who succeeded Lord Breadalbane as colonel of his Fencible regiment, and died a general and deputy-governor of Fort Augustus.[3]

The fourth and youngest son of John Campbell of Achalader, the chamberlain of Breadalbane, and Isabella, daughter of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, Alexander Campbell entered the Army in November 1776 as an ensign in the 1st Battalion of the 1st or Royal Regiment of Foot, then quartered in England. He was promoted lieutenant in the same regiment in 1778, and two years later purchased a company in the 97th Foot, which was then being raised by Colonel Samuel Stanton.[4] In the following spring the 97th formed part of the reinforcements which were brought by Admiral Darby to the beleaguered garrison of Gibraltar, and Campbell commanded the Light Infantry Company of his regiment throughout the remainder of that memorable siege. At the Peace of Versailles Stanton's Foot was disbanded, and Campbell was placed on half-pay.

A few years of inaction followed, at the commencement of which (in 1783) Campbell married Olympia Elizabeth, daughter of William Morshead of Cartuther, in Cornwall. But he was again put on the active list in December 1787, when he was appointed captain in the 74th Highlanders, one of four regiments raised in that year for service in India. We are told that Campbell procured no less than five hundred men for the regiment, but for some reason, possibly on account of ill-health, he remained at home for some years, and did not go out to India until 1793, when he sailed as aide-de-camp to Colonel

[1] From a biographical notice in Cannon's *Historical Record of the 74th Regiment*; the *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. i.; Oman's and Napier's *Histories of the Peninsular War*; Wellington's *Despatches* and *Supplementary Despatches*; Fortescue's *History of the British Army*; and the *Army Lists*.

[2] See lists of officers of the 116th Foot and Breadalbane Fencibles, pp. 102 and 151.

[3] See his biography, p. 438 *et seq.*

[4] Alexander Campbell's commission as captain in the 97th appears in the *Army Lists* of 1781 and 1782 under the date "11 April 1780." From 1783 onwards the date is given as the 13th April.

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Edmund Stevens.[1] By that time his wife had died, leaving him two sons and three daughters. Both his sons subsequently entered the 74th.

In 1794, Campbell, by that time a brevet-major,[2] was appointed brigade-major to the troops on the Coromandel coast, and a few months later he was put in charge of the fortress of Pondicherry, which had been wrested from the French by Colonel David Baird in August 1793. Campbell is said to have discharged his duties at Pondicherry to the complete satisfaction of the Government. In September 1795 he obtained a majority in the 74th, and three months later became junior lieutenant-colonel of his regiment. In 1797 he was given command of a flank corps in an expedition which was projected against Manila, but trouble was feared in Mysore, and the arrangements were counter-ordered before all the troops had sailed from Madras.

Early in 1799 the anticipated hostilities with Tipu broke out, and the 74th Highlanders, commanded by Alexander Campbell, and with David Baird as their brigadier, formed part of the army with which General Harris advanced towards Seringapatam in February. On the 27th of March Tipu was defeated at Mallavelly, and on the 5th of April operations commenced before Seringapatam. On the 26th Campbell was in command of a party which stormed a redoubt on the western bank of the Cauvery, and which, pursuing the enemy by a bridge leading over the river into Seringapatam, penetrated alone into Tipu's lines. The little force returned in safety after spiking two guns and surprising some of Tipu's men in their tents, and Campbell's "very spirited attack" was mentioned in terms of the "strongest approbation" in General Orders.[3] His regiment also took part in the final assault on the 4th of May, and its share in the campaign gained the first "honour" for its colours.

Campbell is said to have taken part in the operations against the marauder Dundia Wao some two months later,[4] but by the end of November his regiment had been sent to Bangalore. From the following year onwards he commanded at Bangalore and Pondicherry successively, and in 1802, though still only junior lieutenant-colonel of the 74th, was given command of the northern division of the Madras army. In that capacity he was responsible for some five thousand men, and for the safety of seven hundred miles of coast-line.

Campbell displayed so much ability in the management of minor operations within his district that when, in the following year, war broke out with the

[1] Letter to his brother John, dated 4th January 1793. In this he speaks of his health as being re-established. Achalader charter-chest.

[2] Commission dated 1st March 1794.

[3] The extract from this General Order is quoted in *A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort*, p. 47, as having been published after the battle of Assaye, at which, as will be seen, Campbell was not present.

[4] The *Historical Record of the 74th* says that he served under Colonel Arthur Wellesley in the first campaign against Dundia Wao, but does not mention the 74th as doing so. Wellington's *Despatches* contain no allusion to Campbell, but the regiment appears to have served in the campaign of 1799 against the robber chief, and Campbell I conclude was, as before, in command of it. Wellesley's campaign against Dundia took place in 1800.

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Maratha Confederacy, he was selected to command a force of 5000 men which was to invade the province of Cuttack, at that time part of the possessions of the Rajah of Berar. He made all the arrangements for the expedition, but severe illness obliged him to relinquish the command after the first day's march. Fate, however, had a heavier blow in store for him than the disappointment of a soldier's ambition. In Wellesley's brilliant victory at Assaye on the 23rd of September 1803 the 74th suffered severely, and Campbell's eldest son, John Morshead, who had served in the regiment since 1794, was killed.[1]

Campbell's services were shortly rewarded with a brevet of colonel,[2] and two years later, on the departure of Sir Arthur Wellesley from India, he was appointed to the command in Mysore. In 1806, on account of disaffection among the native regiments in the Carnatic, he was transferred to the command of Trichinopoli and the southern district of the Madras army; and owing to his able dispositions, some two hundred of the mutineers who had massacred the European troops at Vellore were captured.

Campbell's years of strenuous and eventful service in India came to an end towards the close of 1807. On his arrival in England in the following year he was appointed a brigadier-general and was placed on the staff in Ireland. The year 1808 was also signalised by his marriage with Elizabeth Anne, daughter of the Rev. F. Pemberton. But within a few months the great struggle in the Peninsula began, and when in the spring of 1809 Wellesley for a second time landed in Portugal with a British army, Campbell, who, as we have seen, had served under him in India, accompanied him as brigadier commanding the 5th Brigade.[3] He was present at the passage of the Douro in May; took part in the subsequent pursuit of Soult; and when Wellesley, having driven the French from Portugal, turned south to join forces with the Spanish General Cuesta, prior to marching against Victor, Campbell was appointed to the command of the 4th Division.[4] He shared in the advance up the valley of the Tagus, and at Talavera was posted on the right of the British line. In that terrible battle, which lasted almost without intermission from three o'clock on the 27th of July until dusk on the 28th, Campbell greatly distinguished himself. He repulsed two vigorous attacks which were made on his position; captured several guns; and kept his men so well in hand that his losses were comparatively small. His services were warmly praised in despatches, and a few months later, no doubt as a reward for his services at Talavera, he was appointed colonel of the

[1] The notice in the *Historical Record of the 74th* says that Campbell had three sons in the regiment, and that two were killed during the Maratha campaign — "one on detached service, and the other . . . at Assaye." But neither Burke's *Peerage* nor the *Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort* show more than two sons who grew up to manhood.

[2] Commission dated 25th September 1803.

[3] The 5th Brigade consisted of the 2nd Battalion of the 7th Foot; the 53rd Foot; one company of the 5th Battalion of the 60th Foot; and the 1st Battalion of the 10th Portuguese. Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. ii., app., p. 642.

[4] The 4th Division included Campbell's own brigade and Kemmis's. *Ibid.*, p. 646.

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York Light Infantry Volunteers.[1] He had, however, received a severe wound in the thigh at Talavera, and he was consequently invalided home for some months.

Early in February 1810 Campbell returned to Portugal, and was given command of a brigade in the 4th Division—that division having by then passed under the command of a senior officer, Major-General Cole. Throughout the spring of 1810 Campbell's brigade formed part of the army employed in watching the French movements on the Agueda, and after the surrender of Ciudad Rodrigo to Masséna in July, the brigade shared in the retreat which ended with Wellington's entry into the lines of Torres Vedras in October. Immediately after reaching the lines, Campbell, who a few months before had been promoted major-general,[2] was appointed to the command of the 6th Division, composed of a Portuguese brigade and fresh troops which had recently arrived from England and Cadiz. This division in the first instance was one of three which were posted in the centre of the outer line of works, between the valley of the Zibreira and the village of Torres Vedras, but when after a six weeks' investment Masséna withdrew his famished army to Santarem, Campbell's division was pushed out to Alemquer.

Early in March 1811 the great French army, wasted by sickness and starvation, and with courage damped by the knowledge of failure, commenced its retreat towards the frontier, and Campbell for a second time helped to drive the invaders from Portugal. Wellington in his despatches refers to the "able and cordial assistance" he received from Campbell at the fight at Casal Nova on the 14th of March, and mentions him as having taken part in the operations by which the French were driven beyond the Ceira on the 15th. On the 5th of April Masséna, having been defeated at Sabugal, retired across the Spanish frontier, and to Campbell was entrusted the task of blockading Almeida. Within a month, however, the French Marshal returned with an army reinforced by the arrival of Drouet's corps, and attacked Wellington at Fuentes d'Onore on the 5th of May. For this action the 6th Division was temporarily withdrawn from Almeida, being posted on the left of the British line to guard the bridge over the Dos Casas at Alameda, but as the heavy fighting was on Wellington's right, the division was not actively engaged on that day.

After his defeat at Fuentes Masséna a second time withdrew into Spain, and on the evening of the 10th of May Campbell received orders to resume command of the blockade of Almeida. But within a few hours, and before the whole of the blockading force was in position, the French commander, Brennier, desperate at seeing himself abandoned, blew up the fortifications, dismantled the guns, and made his way out of Almeida, brushing aside some picquets of Pack's Portuguese brigade. Campbell and Pack, with the 36th Regiment and a small party of Portuguese, at once started off in pursuit, but it was not until nearly daybreak on the 11th that Campbell learnt that the enemy was making for the

[1] Commission dated 27th December 1809.

[2] Commission dated 25th July 1810.

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bridge over the Agueda at Barbe del Puerco. He pushed forward to cut him off, and though on reaching the river he found that the head of Brennier's column had already crossed, he was in time to capture over 200 prisoners and to cause heavy loss of life among the retreating French, of whom he computed that not more than one-third escaped uninjured. Had the 4th Regiment been in position at Barbe del Puerco, as Wellington had directed, the entire garrison would probably have been taken, but orders to this effect were not received by the regiment from Sir William Erskine (in whose division it was serving) until midnight on the 10th, and the way to the bridge therefore lay open. Wellington undoubtedly regarded Brennier's escape as a severe blow, but though he expressed some doubts as to the manner in which the pursuit had been conducted, he attributed the failure chiefly to the delay in the transmission of the order to the 4th Regiment.

After the evacuation of Almeida Campbell's division formed part of the force under Sir Brent Spencer which was left on the Azava to guard the Portuguese frontier. In June Spencer marched south to the Caio to join hands with Wellington, who was being threatened by Soult and Marmont. But the French Marshals refused battle, and though in August and September the 6th Division, once more in the familiar neighbourhood of the Coa and Agueda, took part in the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo, Marmont again declined to come to close quarters, and the year ended without any fresh opportunity for striking a blow having come to the forces under Wellington's immediate command. In November 1811 Campbell again left Portugal, partly on account of ill-health, but mainly prompted by his pecuniary circumstances.[1]

By the following March, however, he had sufficiently recovered to be appointed commander of the forces in Mauritius (then known as the Isle de France), with the local rank of lieutenant-general. Before his departure for his new sphere of duty he acted as proxy for Wellington at his installation as knight of the Bath, and himself received the honour of knighthood. In 1815 he was advanced to a baronetcy and appointed colonel of the 80th Foot, and in 1816 he was made a K.C.B. But the end of the Peninsular War brought him a great sorrow, for his only surviving son, a major in the 74th, was mortally wounded at the battle of the Pyrenees on the 30th of July 1813, while commanding a Portuguese battalion, and though he lingered for a few months, he finally died on the 10th of November at Bilbao. That the services of Campbell and his sons had been appreciated at headquarters was shown in 1821, when a renewed patent of his baronetcy was conferred upon him, with special remainder to his grandson, Alexander Cockburn, the son of his eldest daughter.

In 1820 Sir Alexander received his last appointment—that of commander-in-chief of the Madras army, with the local rank of general. He died at Madras on the 11th of December 1824, and was succeeded by his grandson, who assumed the name of Campbell in addition to his former patronymic.

[1] His departure was deeply regretted by Wellington.—*Despatches* (1844 ed.), vol. v. p. 378.

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR ROBERT MACARA, K.C.B.[1]

1759–1815

BY THE EDITOR

No name is so closely identified with the old 42nd (the Black Watch) during what may fairly be called the heroic period of its history, as is that of Colonel Sir Robert Macara, who fell while commanding the regiment at Quatre Bras. But it is not only with the 42nd that his name is associated. Born in 1759, the only son of the Rev. Duncan Macara, minister at Fortingall, and his wife, Susanna Robertson,[2] Robert Macara was the eldest of three distinguished men[3] whose fame in after days shed a lustre on the secluded district in Atholl in which their boyish days had been spent, and whose memory is still kept green in Fortingall and Glenlyon.

Macara was not originally destined for the Army, and owing to the generosity of his father's neighbour and friend, Colonel John Campbell of Glenlyon,[4] he received the education necessary to qualify him for the post of surgeon in the East India Company's Service. But his own inclination turned strongly towards a soldier's career; the war with the American colonies seemed to offer him his opportunity; and in August 1782 he procured a commission as ensign in the 95th Regiment, which had been raised two years before by another Athollman, Colonel (afterwards General) John Reid.[5] Peace, however, was concluded within a few months of his joining the 95th in Jersey;[6] the regiment was shortly afterwards disbanded; and Macara found himself on half-pay. It was probably not long after this that he first embarked for India.

In the course of the next twenty years Macara is said to have acquired a considerable fortune in the Company's Service; as a surgeon he took part in

[1] Principal authorities :—Cannon's *Hist. Record of the 42nd;* Wellington's *Despatches* and *Supplementary Despatches;* Napier's *History of the Peninsular War;* Siborne's *History of the War in France and Belgium in* 1815; the *Army Lists;* and MS. Muster-Rolls and Pay-Lists at the Public Record Office.

[2] Register of Births for Fortingall Parish. Macara was baptized on the 6th of May 1759.

[3] The other two were General Stewart of Garth, and Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava. See their biographies later.

[4] Known as "Am Coirneal Dubh"—"The Black Colonel." Eldest son of the Campbell of Glenlyon who had led out the Perthshire Breadalbane men in the 'Fifteen, and brother of the lad who commanded them in the 'Forty-Five. He served with the Black Watch in the Netherlands during the war of the Austrian Succession, and in 1762, having exchanged to the Marines, took part in the siege of Havana. But his life was overshadowed by his belief in the curse which had been brought on his family by his grandfather's share in the Glencoe massacre, and when about the year 1771 he inadvertently caused the execution of a marine who had been sentenced to death and reprieved, he felt the curse so strong upon him that he retired. (See Garth's *Sketches*, and *The Lairds of Glenlyon*, p. 285.) He died unmarried in 1784.

[5] See note on this regiment, pp. 87–88.

[6] His name appears on the muster-rolls of the 95th in the latter half of 1782.

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several native wars; but his dream of a soldier's life remained with him. In November 1795—presumably while at home on leave [1]—he was gazetted lieutenant in the 57th Foot, and a month later he purchased a company in the 94th Foot,[2] commanded by Colonel John Hely-Hutchinson. But again his hopes were blighted. The 94th was reduced almost immediately; and it was not until some seven years later that Macara was appointed captain in the 42nd.

Macara served at Weeley, in Essex, alternately with the 2nd and 1st Battalions of the regiment, until August 1804, when, as a captain in the 1st Battalion, he was sent down to Scotland on recruiting duty. In November 1805, however, he became junior major of the 2nd Battalion, and early in 1806 he left Fort George to join the new battalion in County Galway. After spending upwards of a year at Tuam he was sent back to Fort George, and he did not rejoin the battalion until the spring of 1808, by which time it was stationed at Armagh. He appears to have commanded it at Armagh until September of that year, when it was moved to Dublin. In March 1809 Macara became senior major of the 1st Battalion, which, having in the previous summer been sent to the Peninsula, had just returned home from Corunna; but he remained for some months afterwards with the younger battalion in Ireland.

In June 1809 the 2nd Battalion was sent out to the Peninsula, and in July the 1st Battalion embarked on the Walcheren expedition, but Macara was left behind at Cork—probably with the invalids of the 2nd Battalion—and he did not rejoin the 1st Battalion until September, when the remnant which had survived the fatal Walcheren fever returned to England. Macara served with the 42nd at Canterbury from September 1809 until March 1810, when the battalion was sent down to Musselburgh. In August 1811 it returned to Kent, and was stationed at Lewes until April 1812, when it embarked for Portugal to replace the 2nd Battalion. Macara, now a brevet-lieutenant-colonel,[3] went out as second-in-command, and it must have been with a glad heart that, after many disappointments, and at the age of fifty-three, he at last found himself under orders for active service.

The campaign of 1812 had opened brilliantly with the capture of the two frontier fortresses, Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, and the 1st Battalion of the 42nd arrived in time to take part in the operations which saw Marmont defeated

[1] He is actually said to have made seven journeys to India (*Lairds of Glenlyon*, p. 287).

[2] The commissions in the 95th and 57th appear to have been hitherto overlooked, but there is no doubt that they were held by him. From 1782 to 1815 only one officer of his name is shown on either the full or half-pay lists of the Army, and a careful study of the *Army Lists* from 1784 to 1796 shows that the officer of the 95th, 57th, and 94th must have been the same man. And from the *Army List* for 1805 it is clear that the captain of the 94th was afterwards Captain Robert Macara of the 42nd, as the date of the previous commission is mentioned. Finally, from the Muster-Rolls at the Record Office, the signature of Ensign Macara of the 95th can be identified with that of Captain Macara of the 42nd. Lieut.-Colonel Groves in his *Illustrated Histories of the Scottish Regiments* (Book I., app. v., *note* 1) says that Macara was appointed to the 42nd from the half-pay of the 94th "late Scotch Brigade"; but the *War Office Registers* show that he was appointed captain in Hely-Hutchinson's regiment, and the Scots Brigade was not numbered the 94th until 1803.

[3] Commission dated 1st January 1812.

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at Salamanca and a British army enter Madrid in triumph.[1] Macara presumably was present at the great battle,[2] but some cause—probably ill-health—took him from the front prior to the siege of Burgos in September 1812, and at a time when, owing to the promotion of his senior officer,[3] he would have succeeded to the command of the battalion, he was obliged to see the coveted post filled by a junior officer, Major Robert Dick.[4] Dick acted as commanding officer during the siege of Burgos and the subsequent retreat to the Portuguese frontier, and there is no evidence to show that Macara took over the command before March 1813.[5]

In the following summer Macara and his men, now part of the 6th Division,[6] took part in the march which drove the French beyond the Ebro, but they were not destined to share in the great victory which was the climax of that march. A few days before the troops entered the basin of Vittoria the division was left behind at Modina del Pomar, to cover the communications of the army, and it did not reach Vittoria until June the 22nd, the day after the battle. When the last of the discomfited French forces had disappeared beyond the frontier, the division took up a position in the Pyrenees as part of the force blockading Pampeluna. The blockade, however, was not to be maintained without a fierce struggle. Within less than a month Soult's genius had reorganised the army which had suffered such crushing defeat under Jourdan, and by the last week in July Wellington and his men were fighting desperately to hold the ground they had won. The 6th Division, being encamped near San Estevan, in support of the centre, was not among the troops on which the first brunt of the fighting fell, but after Picton and Cole, on the right of the line, had been driven back almost to the gates of Pampeluna, the division was hurried up to their support, and after a forced march reached the heights above Sauroren on the morning of the 28th of July, in time to check a dangerous attack on the left of the 4th Division. The arrival of the 6th Division may therefore be said to have turned the scales in the first battle of Sauroren, and when, after many hours of severe fighting, the French failed to make good their attack, the crisis of the ten days' campaign in the Pyrenees was over. Two days later the division helped to storm the French position on the other side of the valley, and

[1] In the campaign of 1812 the 42nd formed part of the 1st Division, commanded at first by Sir Thomas Graham.

[2] Medals and clasps were then only given to commanding officers of units, or to senior staff officers, and as the 42nd was commanded at Salamanca by the Lieutenant-Colonel, James Stirling, no decoration signalised Macara's presence. The MS. Records of the Black Watch throw no light on the subject.

[3] At Burgos Colonel Stirling commanded the brigade in which the 42nd was serving, and he continued to be their brigadier until October 1813.

[4] See his biography, p. 496 *et seq.*

[5] He signed a pay-list on the 26th of March, at Cea in Portugal.

[6] Commanded by the Adjutant-General, Sir E. Pakenham, until about June 22nd; by Sir Henry Clinton until July 14th; and by General Pack until July 28th, when he was wounded at Sauroren. After a few days under Pakenham the division was commanded by General Charles Colville until Clinton's return some two months later. Clinton then held the command until the end of the war.

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after joining in the pursuit which drove the French for a second time beyond the Pyrenees, the 42nd was sent to guard the Pass of Maya.

The regiment remained in the neighbourhood of the Pass of Maya until early in November, when, Pampeluna having fallen, a move was made against the enemy's position on the Nivelle. In the battle on the 10th the 42nd, by that time an unit of the "Highland Brigade," under General Pack,[1] supported Lambert's brigade of the 6th Division in an attack on the heights on the French right flank. For twenty-four hours consecutively officers and men of the 6th Division were on the march or in action, and their gallantry was one of the features of the day.[2]

The 6th Division was less prominently engaged in the operations on the Nive a month later, but in February 1814 Macara and his men formed part of the force with which Wellington moved to attack Soult at Orthez. Owing to the configuration of the ground, the attack had to be made on a narrow front, and the 42nd in making its way up the steep slopes on the French left suffered severely.[3] The fighting on the right of the position was even more costly; but by a masterly change of tactics, victory was secured at the eleventh hour, and Wellington, never guilty of exaggeration, was able to report that he had not often seen troops get such a beating.

The 42nd was still more heavily engaged in the attack on Toulouse on the 10th of April. The position was an extremely formidable one. Hill failed to carry the suburb of St. Cyprien on the west; Picton became involved in a hopeless attack on the north; and it was left to the 4th and 6th Divisions under Beresford, to retrieve the fortunes of the day by carrying Mont Rave, a strongly fortified range of heights forming a natural rampart to Toulouse on the east. The Spaniards, who were to co-operate with Beresford, attacked prematurely and were repulsed, and the 4th and 6th Divisions, after marching for two miles under a flank fire, had to meet, not only the defenders of the hill, but a strong counter-attack by reinforcements sent over from St. Cyprien. Nevertheless the redoubt at the southern extremity of Mont Rave was promptly carried, and a footing having thus been gained on the hill, Pack's brigade, headed by the 42nd, advanced against the redoubts in the centre of the ridge. But it was not without a fierce struggle that the French relinquished their hold of the hill which was the key of their position. Redoubts were taken and re-taken; the columns which had been driven from the southern end of the ridge returned with redoubled fury; and for upwards of two hours a desperate and unequal conflict was maintained. The Highland regiments were decimated, but with extraordinary tenacity they clung to the hill; and when at last supports had been brought up, and the Spaniards had rallied, the French abandoned Mont Rave, and

[1] Pack had succeeded Stirling about the 25th October. Of Highland regiments the brigade included the 1st Battalions of the 42nd, the 79th, and the 91st.

[2] Clinton wrote that he could not single out "one of the commanding officers of battalions [*i.e.* in the 6th Division] for more praiseworthy conduct than another," and Wellington in reply expressed his delight at the behaviour of the division, and added that he would do all in his power for the officers. *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 144, and *Supp. Des.*, vol. vii. p. 359.

[3] *i.e.* eight officers and men killed, and 150 officers and men wounded.

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the day was won. On the night of the 11th Soult evacuated Toulouse, and on the 12th arrived news of Napoleon's abdication, and hostilities were at an end.

The Black Watch was one of the regiments specially mentioned in despatches for their gallantry at Toulouse, and the behaviour of the regiment there was a fitting climax to its career in the Peninsula; but it had suffered terrible loss—no less than 84 officers and men killed and 349 wounded—and Macara himself was among the latter. He received a cross and clasp for having commanded the 42nd in five general actions,[1] and the K.C.B. which was afterwards conferred upon him was a well-merited tribute to his own services and those of his regiment.

By the middle of June Macara had sufficiently recovered from his wound to embark with the 42nd for Ireland, and in the following October, on the reduction of the 2nd Battalion, he became commanding officer of the regiment. The winter of 1814–1815 was spent with the regiment at Kilkenny, but in May 1815 the Black Watch was sent over to Belgium, once more to meet its foes of the Peninsula.

Macara and his regiment, as part of the 5th Division, under Sir Thomas Picton, and once again in a brigade commanded by Sir Denis Pack, were quartered in Brussels—where the good behaviour of the Highlanders won them golden opinions—until the early morning of the 16th of June, when they were hurried off to Quatre Bras. Throughout the day the 42nd was in the hottest of the fighting. Early in the battle Macara led his men in a charge in which the division swept away French columns advancing from the valley below, but this was only the preliminary to a sterner hour of trial. The regiment had re-formed in line on the reverse side of the slope, and in a field of corn breast-high, when a confused mass of Brunswick hussars, closely pursued by French cavalry, came whirling past to the rear. Foe had not been distinguished from friend when some French lancers, suddenly wheeling, galloped straight on the rear of the two nearest regiments, the 42nd and 44th. Macara gave the order to form square, but the lancers were upon the regiment before the rear face had had time to close up; he himself was left outside; and the fire which by his orders was delivered as the enemy approached, struck him down with a dangerous wound. Some of the lancers actually penetrated the square, but their triumph was short-lived. Not for the last time that day did the men of the 42nd show that no horsemen could break their ranks; and the fire which laid Macara low saved his regiment. As he was being carried from the field a thrust from a French lance ended his career.[2]

Macara's was a stern and somewhat harsh nature, and he was in consequence not popular with his men, but he it was who had led them to victory at Toulouse, and from him they learned the discipline against which the repeated charges of the French cavalry at Quatre Bras broke in vain. Perthshire may therefore be proud to claim the man who, more than any other, was responsible for one of the greatest moments in the history of her county regiment.

[1] *i.e.* the Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthez, and Toulouse—all regimental "honours."

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, p. 644. Siborne too says that he was killed by a lance, but does not mention the earlier wound. Regimental tradition, however, records that he was hit by the fire of his own men.

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MAJOR-GENERAL GEORGE DUNCAN ROBERTSON OF STRUAN, C.B.[1]

1766–1842

BY THE EDITOR

GEORGE DUNCAN ROBERTSON of Struan was eldest son of Alexander Robertson, a cadet of Drumachine, and Mary, daughter of William Best of Mansfield in Yorkshire. The head of the Drumachine family had led out the Robertsons in the '45, and afterwards, on the death of the old poet, Alexander Robertson of Struan, had succeeded to the chieftainship of the clan (the property had been confiscated); but in George Robertson's early days there were many cousins living of the elder branch of the family, and there can have seemed little chance of the young soldier ever succeeding to the honoured title of "Struan Robertson."

George Robertson was born on the 29th of April 1766, and began his military service in 1782, when he was appointed ensign in the 15th Foot, then stationed in England. In 1789 he was promoted lieutenant,[2] and in the following year his regiment was sent to Barbados. In 1794 the 15th joined the expedition forming under Sir Charles Grey and Admiral Jervis for the capture of the French West Indian Islands, and Robertson, as adjutant of the 3rd Grenadier Battalion, took part in the capture of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe. For his conduct at the storming of Fort Fleur d'Epée in Guadeloupe on the 12th of April, he was promoted captain by Sir Charles Grey,[3] but the British success in the island was short-lived. Yellow fever broke out among the troops left there as a garrison, and a French squadron with a convoy of transports landed a strong force under Victor Hugues for the recovery of the island. Grey and Jervis hurried back, but their counter-attack failed. In July Grande Terre, the eastern half of Guadeloupe, was abandoned, and on the 6th of October the principal garrison in Guadeloupe proper, the western half of the island, was obliged to surrender. Robertson, however, was with a force under Lieutenant-General Robert Prescott which, with the help of a squadron under Jervis, kept the British flag flying in Fort Matilda, at the southern end of the town of Basseterre, for two months afterwards. Prescott with a garrison ravaged by fever, and with defences "in the worst possible repair," withstood a siege of eight weeks, and finally embarked

[1] From the *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. iii. pp. 200–1, Burke's *Landed Gentry*, Trimen's *Historical Memoir of the 35th Royal Sussex Regiment of Foot*, Cannon's *Historical Record of the 15th Regiment*, Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bunbury's *Narrative of some Passages in the Great War with France*, and the *Army Lists*.

[2] From 1790 to 1794 George Robertson's name is not to be found in the *Army Lists*. In 1795 he reappears as a captain in the 35th, commission dated 26th August 1794.

[3] *Royal Military Calendar*.

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his little garrison in safety on the 10th of December 1794. We read that Robertson was thanked by the General for his services during the siege.[1]

Within a few months Robertson was gazetted to a company in the 35th Regiment, which in the following year left the West Indies for Gibraltar. Four years later, in the autumn of 1799, we find him serving with the expedition to Holland, and being severely wounded in the action at Egmont-aan-Zee [2] on the 2nd of October. In December of the same year he transferred to the 1st Foot Guards, and from that regiment exchanged to the 30th Foot in 1801. At some period subsequent to 1799 he served on the staff of Major-General Charles Lennox, afterwards fourth Duke of Richmond, who also had taken part in the West Indian campaign of 1794–1795, and who in 1800 was appointed colonel-commandant of the 35th.

In April 1805 [3] Robertson returned as major to the 35th, which in the following November formed part of the force under Sir James Craig despatched to the assistance of the unfortunate Neapolitan dynasty. In January 1806, however, on the approach of Joseph Bonaparte, the British troops were withdrawn to Sicily, whither the Bourbon King and Queen soon followed. Joseph was at once proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, and proceeded to take possession of his new kingdom, but the strong fortress of Gaeta still held out, and Calabria had not renounced her allegiance to her former King. It was therefore with the double object of rallying the loyal Calabrians and of creating a diversion in favour of the garrison of Gaeta that Sir John Stuart, who was by that time commanding the British forces in Sicily, embarked in June 1806 on the expedition which culminated in the great victory at Maida on the 4th of July. Robertson accompanied him, in command of 120 picked men from the battalion companies of the 35th, and distinguished himself in the battle.[4] He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the Sicilian Regiment in February 1807—an appointment which he is said to have owed to his conduct at Maida.

Meantime the British victory had given great encouragement to the insurgents in the Calabrias, but this success was counterbalanced by the surrender of Gaeta on the 18th of July, which placed 16,000 more troops at the disposal of General Regnier for the campaign in the south. Scylla Castle surrendered to Sir John Stuart on the 23rd of July, but by the end of the year the French had assembled in such force that Stuart was obliged to withdraw his troops from the Peninsula. A garrison, however, was left at Castle Scylla, to the command of which Robertson was ultimately appointed. His experience at Fort Matilda proved of great value, and, in the early days of 1808, with some 200 British troops he held the castle for seven weeks against several thousand men. We read that "scarcely a day

[1] *Royal Military Calendar.*

[2] Better known as Egmont-op-Zee. I follow Mr. Fortescue in giving the name as it appears on modern Dutch maps.

[3] The date given in the *Army Lists* is the 29th April 1805. In the *Royal Military Calendar* it is 1803.

[4] Robertson and his men were in Kempt's light brigade, which completely routed the French left.

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passed without [his] attacking the French general in some point," and that in the course of the siege "the enemy lost nearly 800 of his best troops." The French finally brought up heavy artillery captured from the Neapolitans at Reggio; but it was not until thirteen days of bombardment had dismounted all his guns and reduced the front wall of the castle to ruins, that Robertson resigned himself to the evacuation of his post. He embarked his garrison "under the most tremendous fire" with but little loss, and rejoined the British force at Messina on the 18th of February.[1]

Robertson remained in the Sicilian service for some years. We hear of him as commanding the garrison on the island of Lissa, off the Dalmatian coast, and as capturing the islands of Lagosta and Curzola in the early part of 1813. Later in the same year he was with the mixed force of Austrians and British which wrested Trieste from the French after a fortnight's siege.

In 1814 he was promoted colonel, and in 1821 a major-general. His military career closed in 1816, when his regiment was reduced, and he was placed on half-pay.

Robertson's services were rewarded at home with a companionship of the Bath, but he received also foreign recognition, for he was made a knight of the Imperial Order of Leopold of Austria and of St. John of Jerusalem.

In 1822 George Robertson's father, on the death of his cousin Alexander Robertson, succeeded to the chieftainship of the clan, and two years later he was infeft by Crown charter in the barony of Struan, which had been restored to his predecessor in 1784.

In 1829 George Robertson married Annie, daughter of James Outhwaite of Richmond in Yorkshire, and in the following year he succeeded his father as chief of the Clan Donnachaidh. He died in 1842, leaving a son and two daughters.

[1] *Royal Military Calendar*, and *Narrative of the Great War with France.*

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES ERSKINE[1]
1768–1801

BY THE EDITOR

IN the brief career of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Erskine may be read the story of the early years of the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders, and it may fairly be said that the debt of gratitude which that distinguished regiment owes to him is no inconsiderable one.

Charles Erskine, third son of James Erskine of Cardross and Lady Christian Bruce, daughter of the eighth Earl of Kincardine, was born on the 4th of February 1768. He was educated in Holland with a view to entering the merchant service of the East India Company, but a soldier's career proved too attractive to him, and in June 1785 he obtained a commission as ensign in the 43rd (or Monmouthshire) Regiment of Foot.[2]

He soon became a favourite of James Marsh, the Lieutenant-Colonel of his regiment, with the result that when, two years later, Marsh raised a regiment (the 77th) for service in the East Indies, Erskine obtained a lieutenancy in the new corps. He accordingly went out to India and served against Tipu Sahib, the 77th forming part of the army from Bombay under Major-General Robert Abercromby which co-operated with Lord Cornwallis in his advance to Seringapatam in 1791–1792. After the conclusion of peace with Tipu in 1792 Erskine returned home, as he had been promoted to a company in the 41st (or Welsh) Regiment[3] in the previous year.

War broke out with France in February 1793, and Erskine served as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Major-General Thomas Bruce, in the abortive expedition despatched against Martinique in June of that year. He nearly fell a victim to West Indian fever, but finally returned home in good health. In the following February he was appointed senior major of the regiment of Highlanders which was then being raised by the fourth Duke of Gordon and his son George, Marquess of Huntly—a regiment which dated from the same day as the 90th or Perthshire Volunteers and the 116th Foot.

[1] See illustration opposite p. 496. The authorities for this sketch have been John Ramsay of Ochtertyre's *Prospects of Private Life* (Ochtertyre MSS.), Lieutenant-Colonel C. Greenhill-Gardyne's *Life of a Regiment—The History of the Gordon Highlanders*, the contemporary *Army Lists*, Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, *Diary of Sir John Moore* (ed. Sir J. F. Maurice, 1904), Fortescue's *History of the British Army*, and family papers in the possession of Mr. Erskine of Cardross.

[2] *Army Lists*. According to Ramsay of Ochtertyre his first commission was as ensign in the 25th.

[3] *Army Lists*. Ramsay of Ochtertyre says that he was promoted captain into the 16th Foot, the regiment of which his uncle, Major-General the Hon. Thomas Bruce, was colonel.

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The Gordon Highlanders—at first numbered the 100th of the Line—after some months' service at home were sent to Gibraltar, and thence in 1795 to Corsica, which in the previous summer had surrendered to Sir Charles Stuart. In the absence of Lord Huntly, the Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant, Major Erskine commanded the regiment at Corsica for some months, and in May 1796, on Lord Huntly's promotion to colonel, he became lieutenant-colonel.[1] In the following July he went home on leave, and when he rejoined the regiment in April 1797 he found it at Gibraltar, the British garrison having in the meantime been withdrawn from Corsica. Lord Huntly was still absent, and Erskine again assumed the command.[2]

In March 1798 the Gordon Highlanders embarked for England under their Lieutenant-Colonel, but within a fortnight of the date of their landing they were shipped off to Dublin in consequence of the outbreak of the Irish rebellion. During the next few months the regiment was engaged in the final suppression of the insurgents in Wexford, and much hard marching fell to its share during the French invasion of Connaught, but it did not take part in any actual fighting. As Lord Huntly had been promoted brigadier-general, Erskine continued in command of the regiment during its stay in Ireland, and the tributes furnished by the inhabitants of different parts of the country as to the discipline and general good behaviour of the Gordon Highlanders, say much for the manner in which he discharged his duties as commanding officer.[3]

In July 1799 the regiment—now numbered the 92nd—sailed from Cork to join the forces assembling in Kent for the combined Anglo-Russian expedition which was to be despatched to Holland under the command of the Duke of York. Lord Huntly returned to the regiment for the purpose of commanding it in the field, but by his wish the internal administration remained in the hands of Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine.[4]

The Gordon Highlanders, who formed part of an advanced force under Sir

[1] Commission antedated to the 1st of May 1795.

[2] Ramsay of Ochtertyre mentions that Lord Huntly and Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine made a tour together in Spain and Portugal, and that on their way home from Lisbon they were taken by a French privateer. They were, however, well treated, and were ransomed on moderate terms. It is not clear from the narrative when exactly the tour took place, but it was probably between July 1796 and April 1797, as from Lieutenant-Colonel Greenhill-Gardyne's *History of the Gordon Highlanders* it is evident that Erskine remained at Gibraltar from April 1797 until the date of the return of his regiment to England.

[3] Cannon, *Historical Record of the 92nd Regiment; History of the Gordon Highlanders*, vol. i. pp. 49, 60. Lord Cornwallis (then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) and Sir John Moore also bear their tribute to the excellent condition of the regiment.—*Correspondence of Charles, 1st Marquess Cornwallis* (London, 1859), vol. ii. p. 415, and *Diary of Sir John Moore*, vol. i. pp. 310, 339. Lieutenant-Colonel Gardyne tells me that the regimental courts-martial show that Erskine, whenever possible, avoided corporal punishment; and his orders, as revealed in *The Life of a Regiment*, are very fatherly in character, and full of quaintly good advice to his men. In the *Addenda* to his first volume Colonel Gardyne relates that Erskine, while in Ireland, refused to allow one of his men to marry, unless the girl could produce "a good character, and a fortune of at least £20."

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 62.

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Ralph Abercromby, did not take part in the action of August the 27th, when a landing was effected near the Helder, but their conduct a fortnight later, when the joint Franco-Dutch force attacked the British lines between Petten and Oude Sluys, was such as to call forth the high praise from Major-General John Moore (in whose brigade they were serving) that he was proud of being their countryman. But the regiment still further distinguished itself on the 2nd of October, when the Duke of York attacked the enemy at Egmont-aan-Zee; and by the gallantry with which it bore itself in the desperate fighting in the sand-dunes, it won the first "honour" for its colours. Both General Moore and Lord Huntly were wounded in this engagement, and Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine once more took over command of the 92nd. A few days later he found himself in temporary command of the brigade which had been General Moore's, but he had not held this appointment a fortnight when an armistice was concluded between the opposing forces, and the campaign ended. On the 28th of October the Gordon Highlanders embarked for England and were sent into quarters at Chelmsford. During the winter, Erskine, who was a devoted son and brother, managed to pay a short visit to his family at Cardross.

In May 1800 the 92nd under Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine formed part of an expedition despatched to assist the Royalists of Brittany and La Vendée by the capture of Belleisle. But this design was frustrated by the strength of the Republican force on the island, and after spending a few days on the Isle de Houat the British troops were sent on to Minorca. Many months were wasted in fruitless voyages up and down the Mediterranean, but the Gordon Highlanders at last found themselves under orders to join the force which Sir Ralph Abercromby was preparing to lead against the French "Army of Invincibles" in Egypt. On the 2nd of March 1801 the expedition anchored in the Bay of Aboukir, and on the 8th a landing was effected in the teeth of a heavy artillery and musketry fire, but the 92nd was not among the regiments first disembarked, and was consequently not seriously engaged.

On the 13th of March, however, Erskine led his regiment into action when Sir Ralph Abercromby attacked the French in a strong position known as the Roman Camp. On that occasion the Gordon Highlanders led the advanced-guard on the left and bore the brunt of the fighting in that part of the field. Unsupported they repulsed what was described by one of Sir Ralph Abercromby's staff as "the only serious effort of the French infantry,"[1] and pushing on in spite of a deadly artillery fire, captured three guns and drove back the enemy's right. That day's fighting gained them another "honour,"[2] but lost them

[1] Letter from Lieut.-Colonel Robert Anstruther, quartermaster-general, to the Earl of Elgin, quoted in a letter (dated Constantinople, April 4, 1801) to Colonel Erskine's father. Cardross charter-chest. Erskine disposed his men very skilfully to meet this attack (*History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 827, *note*).

[2] *i.e.* "Mandora," on account of the action having taken place near the Mandora redoubt. The only other British regiment which was granted this "honour" was the 90th (see article on the 90th, p. 90).

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their gallant Lieutenant-Colonel, whose thigh was shattered by a grape shot early in the course of the action. Amputation was necessary, and though for some days afterwards he appeared to be making an excellent recovery,[1] fever finally set in,[2] and he died on the 25th of March,[3] equally lamented for his personal qualities and for his abilities as a soldier. General Stewart of Garth, who had also served with the army in Egypt, wrote of him that there were "few officers of higher spirit and greater promise," and his death must have come as a crushing blow to his parents,[4] for his younger brother James, a lieutenant in the Navy, had been lost in the burning of Lord Keith's flag-ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, only a year before.

It is clear from the "History of the Gordon Highlanders" that Lieutenant-Colonel Erskine, though a Lowlander, understood his men well, and that he ruled them with a firm yet kindly hand. Seeing for how long he had been responsible for the efficiency of the regiment, it assuredly reflects no small credit on him that so young a corps should have distinguished itself so signally in its two first campaigns, and it may thus be said that Colonel Erskine laid for his regiment the foundations of a reputation which has been surpassed by none in the British Army.

[1] Sir Ralph Abercromby wrote on the 16th of March to Colonel Erskine's father, telling him that his son was doing well, and that though he was now *hors de combat* as a soldier, he (Sir Ralph) was sure he would equally distinguish himself in other lines.

[2] Stewart of Garth states that Colonel Erskine died of grief at the thought that his military career was closed, and says that at the time of his death his wound was healing rapidly; but letters written at the time by brother-officers, in the possession of Mr. Erskine of Cardross, describe his spirits for some days after the amputation as excellent, and his death was evidently due to fever.

[3] Stewart of Garth says that he died "on the ninth day," *i.e.* the 22nd, and Burke's *Landed Gentry* says, on the 15th. The date in the text is from the Monthly Returns of the regiment.

[4] Colonel Erskine was not only mourned by his own family. By his own desire he was buried with a large gold locket round his neck, containing the hair of a lady to whom he was betrothed. Her name has not been handed down, but Ramsay of Ochtertyre tells us that she did not long survive her lover. In the *History of the Gordon Highlanders* Colonel Greenhill-Gardyne describes how Colonel Erskine's remains were found near Alexandria in the year 1894, and were identified by the locket. The remains were re-interred with full military honours, and a monument was erected to his memory by the family and the officers of the Gordon Highlanders. The locket is now in the possession of Mr. Erskine of Cardross.

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MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART
OF GARTH, C.B.

(From an Engraving by S. W. Reynolds after a Portrait by J. M. Scrymgeour)

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EVAN MACGREGOR
OF MACGREGOR, BART., K.C.B., K.C.H.

(From an Engraving by Henry Dawe after a Portrait by George Watson, P.R.S.A., at Edinchip)

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MAJOR-GENERAL DAVID STEWART OF GARTH, C.B.[1]

1768–1829

BY WALTER BIGGAR BLAIKIE

DAVID STEWART, afterwards laird of Garth, was the second son of Robert Stewart of Garth and Drumcharry by his marriage with Janet, eldest daughter and heiress of David Stewart of Kynachan, who, as a major in the Atholl Brigade, had fallen at Culloden.[2] Born in 1768,[3] young David Stewart in April 1783 obtained an ensign's commission in the 77th or Atholl Highlanders, but he had not had time to join the regiment before it was disbanded in consequence of the mutiny of which an account has been given earlier in this volume.[4] He therefore remained on half-pay until the year 1787, when he joined the 42nd Royal Highlanders (the Black Watch) as ensign. In 1792 he was promoted lieutenant, and in 1796 captain-lieutenant. For a short while in 1793, and again in 1794, he served in the disastrous campaign in the Netherlands; was present in the defence of Nieuport in October 1793, and of Nimeguen a year later; and finally took part in the retreat through Holland in the winter of 1794–1795.

In November 1795 Stewart embarked for the West Indies, where, in the following summer, he served with five companies[5] of his regiment in Sir Ralph

[1] Principal authorities:—the General's own *Sketches of the Highlanders*, &c.; the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1830; Lockhart's *Life of Scott; A Historical Account of His Majesty's Visit to Scotland*, 1822; *The Book of Garth and Fortingall;* the *Army Lists;* the *Royal Military Calendar;* a MS. Memorandum of General Stewart's services (in the possession of his grand-niece, Mrs. F. P. Lees); and papers in the Atholl charter-room.

[2] David Stewart of the Atholl Brigade was the son of the intrepid John Stewart of Kynachan, lieutenant-colonel of Lord Nairne's Regiment, who in 1715 had hurled defiance at the Duke of Argyll from the citadel of Leith. See article on the 'Fifteen, p. 296.

[3] *The Book of Garth and Fortingall* and the article on General Stewart in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, no doubt following Chambers' *Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, say that he was born in 1772; but his father in a letter to the Duke of Atholl, dated 27th April 1781, asks for a commission in the 77th for his son David, who is "not yet full fourteen, and low stature, but well made and strong" (*Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. p. 86). Robert Stewart, however, must have slightly over-stated his son's age, as from the fact that an elder sister, Jean, was born in November 1767 (Register of Births for Dull Parish), David's birth cannot have taken place before the latter half of 1768, which would make him not "full thirteen" at the date of his father's letter. No mention of his birth is to be found in the registers either of the parishes of Dull or Fortingall.—[ED.]

[4] See article on the 77th or Atholl Highlanders, p. 73 *et seq.*

[5] The rest of the regiment had been driven back by the storm which scattered Abercromby's transports. See article on the 1st Battalion The Black Watch, p. 61, and on Sir Gordon Drummond, p. 487.—[ED.]

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Abercromby's successful expeditions against St. Lucia and St. Vincent. He rendered important service during the operations in St. Lucia[1] in April 1796, and with ninety men of his regiment led the attack on the Vigie, in St. Vincent, in the following year. He was afterwards engaged in bush warfare against the Caribs of the same island, and during four months' continuous fighting never missed an hour's duty, though the pernicious climate of St. Vincent had disabled all but three of the officers of the Black Watch. After taking part in the unsuccessful expedition against Porto Rico in 1797, Captain Stewart in the same year returned to Europe with his regiment, and proceeded to join the remaining five companies of the 42nd at Gibraltar. In November 1798 he took part in the capture of Minorca by Sir Charles Stuart, but he was later taken prisoner at sea, and was detained for five months in Spain before being exchanged. After a brief interval spent at home he rejoined his regiment in the Mediterranean in the summer of 1800. The 42nd shortly afterwards left Minorca, and Stewart, having shared in the fruitless attempt on Cadiz in the following October, served in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt in 1801. The 42nd took a prominent part in the brilliant landing at Aboukir on the 8th of March, and it distinguished itself no whit less at the battle of Alexandria on the 21st.[2] The regiment suffered heavily on both occasions, and at Alexandria Stewart was so severely wounded that he was unable to take any further part in the campaign. In the following year he obtained a company in the 42nd (which had by that time returned home), his commission being dated the 23rd of July 1802.[3]

In the summer of 1803 Captain Stewart was sent to Perth on an unpleasant errand, which brought him into considerable trouble. As a consequence of the renewal of war, an Act had been passed to raise men by ballot to supplement the Regular forces;[4] and with only one young subaltern and one or two non-commissioned officers to help him, Stewart was ordered to take some 500 raw, untrained, recruits who had been enlisted in Perthshire, to Fort George, where they were to join a new second battalion which was being formed for the 42nd.

[1] In command of some sixty men he was employed for seventeen days on important outpost duty, guarding the right flank of the army—Abercromby refusing to relieve him, because "an intelligent officer in whom he placed confidence was requir'd for that post." The 42nd had served under Abercromby in the Netherlands, 1794–1795, and Stewart had probably been brought to the General's notice in that campaign. He was often employed by him on special duty in the West Indies.—MS. Memorandum.

[2] Mr. Fortescue writes that "the finest performance of the day" at Aboukir "was that of the Forty-second Highlanders, who, after suffering heavily in the boats, were so steady and so perfectly formed upon landing, that they beat off the attack of the French cavalry." Of the regiment's behaviour at Alexandria he says that "the Forty-second stands pre-eminent for a gallantry and steadfastness which would be difficult to match in the history of any army."—*History of the British Army*, vol. iv. pp. 823, 840. The cavalry charge sustained by the regiment at Alexandria is described on p. 61 of this volume.—[Ed.]

[3] In December 1800 Stewart had been gazetted to a captaincy in the 90th Regiment (Perthshire Volunteers), but in his MS. Memorandum he makes no reference to having joined it, though the 90th was also in Egypt in 1801. He certainly was with the 42nd until after the battle of Alexandria.

[4] See article on the Volunteers, p. 211 and *note*.

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The Act decreed that recruits were to receive one guinea of "marching money" as soon as they joined at the place of assembly. Fort George was the official place of assembly, but some of the men had received their "marching guinea" from the deputy-lieutenants of their district before they reached Perth, and the others demanded similar treatment. Stewart, remembering former mutinies of Highlanders when they considered they were unjustly treated, felt himself in a difficulty. He knew that the military force in Perth was inadequate, and that these undisciplined recruits were about to set out on a march of more than a hundred miles, in the course of which, with the exception of Dunkeld, there was not a single village of two hundred inhabitants from which supplies could be obtained. He consulted the Provost and the Sheriff-Substitute, and by them he was directed to humour the men as best as he could, but if this should fail, to pay the marching guinea. Stewart ingeniously invented a way which seemed to remove the difficulty; "as a favour" he lent the men a guinea each out of his own pocket, on the understanding that they would repay him when they received the marching guinea from Government. This course, however, did not meet with the approval of Army Headquarters, and he had the mortification of finding himself reprimanded in General Orders, which were read at the head of every Reserve regiment in Great Britain. The Provost and the Sheriff-Substitute when they heard this came loyally to his assistance, and not only took the blame on themselves, but testified to the ability with which he had managed his men. As this public reprimand does not seem to have affected his prospects in the Army, it is probable that their representations, joined with those of others, carried weight at the Horse Guards. In any case, Stewart remained for some time at Fort George, in command of the newly raised battalion of the Black Watch.

In the following spring he obtained a majority in the 78th Highlanders by recruiting the major's quota of ninety men [1] for a new second battalion, a task which his personal popularity with Highlanders in Perthshire made easy for him. Stewart's influence in his new regiment was so strong, and his men were so much attached to him, that when in the summer of 1805 his battalion was stationed at Shorncliffe under Sir John Moore, that General took steps to prevent his being sent to join the 1st Battalion of the 78th in India.

Towards the end of 1805 Stewart's battalion was sent to Gibraltar, and in the following May to Sicily, to which island the King and Queen of Naples had been obliged to retire under the protection of a British garrison which was then commanded by General Sir John Stuart. In June the General determined on a landing in Calabria, on the mainland of Italy, then in the possession of the French. David Stewart accompanied his regiment on this expedition, and signally distinguished himself at the battle of Maida on the 4th of July. At the first shock of encounter the French left was driven off the field by Colonel Kempt's light infantry, acting on the right, but a strong counter-attack was made on Sir John Stuart's centre brigade, of which the 78th formed part.

[1] The actual number he recruited was 118.—MS. Memorandum.

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Through some misapprehension of orders, the regiment at first gave way, and for a few minutes the situation was critical. David Stewart's promptness, however, saved the situation. He rallied the young soldiers of the 78th (few of whom had been in action before), and led them forward in a charge which drove back the French centre, and largely contributed to turn a threatened defeat into a great victory[1]—the first gained over Napoleon's veterans on European soil. Major Stewart was wounded immediately after the successful charge,[2] and, although he kept the field until the action was over,[3] and was thus able to hand down a graphic account of it, his wound subsequently obliged him to return to England, and he saw no more service with the 78th.[4]

In April 1808 David Stewart was promoted to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Royal West India Rangers, and sailed for Barbados. In 1809 he was in command of the garrison there, and in 1810 he commanded a light infantry brigade in the capture of Guadeloupe, a service for which he received a clasp to the medal he had won at Maida. In 1811 he was sent to Trinidad, and two years later he returned home. In 1814 he became brevet-colonel, and in 1815 he was placed on the half-pay list of the 96th Regiment. At the same time he was made a companion of the Bath.

But distinguished though Colonel Stewart's military career had been, it was in time of peace that his most eminent services to his country were to be rendered.

In 1794 the records of the 42nd Regiment had been captured by the French from a transport lying in the harbour of Helvoetsluys, and had been irretrievably lost. When the war was over the Duke of York, then commander-in-chief, directed that a new record of the services of the Royal Highlanders should be

[1] MS. Memorandum. To the day of his death, General Stewart, out of loyalty to the memory of the officers whose mistakes had nearly lost the day, observed the greatest reticence on the subject of Maida, and by his request his services there were not referred to in Sir John Stuart's despatches. It is felt, however, that in view of what was afterwards said by Sir Henry Bunbury in his *Narrative of the Great War with France*, as to the senior officers of the 78th having been to blame for the temporary unsteadiness of the battalion, it is only due to General Stewart's memory that some account of his share in the battle should be given.—[Ed.

[2] Among his injuries was a broken arm, which for many years had to be carried in a sling. He never recovered the full use of it.—*Lairds of Garth and Fortingall*, p. 245.

[3] The author of the article on Stewart of Garth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, misunderstanding statements in the *Royal Military Calendar* and the *Gentleman's Magazine* as to Stewart having been in command of "the light battalion" of the 78th at Maida, says that he commanded a battalion of light companies there (*i.e.* a composite battalion). But from Stewart's own account (*Sketches*, vol. ii.), it is clear that he was serving with the 78th, which had been trained by Sir John Moore at Shorncliffe in the new light infantry drill. If Stewart commanded the battalion at Maida, it can only have been after the Lieutenant-Colonel, Patrick Macleod, younger, of Geanies, was wounded; and, as above mentioned, Stewart himself was also wounded in the battle.

(From the MS. Regimental Records of the Black Watch it appears that Stewart commanded a battalion of light companies while at Gibraltar, but the battalion was broken up in May 1806. This was probably the origin of the ambiguous statements in the *Royal Military Calendar* and *Gentleman's Magazine*.—[Ed.])

[4] The Memorandum, at least, mentions none, and the 78th did not return home until early in 1808, shortly after which Stewart was promoted into the West India Rangers.

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prepared. No officers who had served before the loss of the records were then in the regiment, and the Commanding Officer applied to Colonel Stewart for assistance. Stewart at once accepted the commission, and in the year 1817 began to collect materials. Originally intended to be merely a short account of his old regiment, the work grew insensibly. His intimate knowledge of the Highlands, and of Highland families who were hereditarily connected with the Army, enabled him to amass an amount of authentic material concerning not only the 42nd Regiment but other Highland corps. To an elaborate history of his old regiment he added what he modestly calls "details of the service" of all the Regular regiments that had been raised in the Highlands since the formation of the 42nd, and an account of all the Highland Fencible regiments raised since 1759. The work, however, was more than a mere history. His investigations had revealed a remarkable similarity in the character and principles of the Highland soldiers, to whatever regiment they belonged, and a marked difference in manners and conduct between them and the Lowlanders. Stewart determined to show the reason of this difference, and he introduced his military treatise with an admirable historical and critical sketch of the Highlands, which traced the gradual evolution of the clansman of patriarchal times into the modern Highland soldier. These chapters teem with interest and are richly illustrated with authentic narratives and telling incidents. So complete is his work, which he entitled "Sketches of the character, manners, and present state of the Highlanders of Scotland, with details of the military service of the Highland Regiments," that it has never been superseded, and it not only forms the groundwork of all subsequent histories of Highland clans and Highland regiments, but if truth be told, many later writers on these subjects have simply transferred Stewart's pages to their own volumes, and generally with the most scanty acknowledgment.

The book was published in the beginning of 1822, and it was so well received that a second edition was required a few months later. The author, who about this time succeeded his brother William as laird of Garth, was at once acclaimed as the paramount authority on all things Highland.

Very soon an opportunity occurred for Colonel Stewart to turn his newly acquired prestige to account. George IV. was to visit Edinburgh in the summer of 1822, and to Sir Walter Scott were entrusted the arrangements for his reception. Sir Walter determined that the King should have a national welcome, and he enlisted the Laird of Garth as his lieutenant to superintend the Highland part of the ceremonials. Colonel Stewart went gravely to work to organise a veritable Highland pageant. He corresponded with Highland chiefs and nobles, many of whom were drilling their tenants to appear as Highland clansmen of patriarchal times, and he was accepted as dictator on all matters connected with discipline, costume, and precedence. His special care was the "Celtic Club," of which he took command. This body was composed of young civilians who, affected by the wave of sentimental Jacobitism excited by Scott's novels and Lady Nairne's songs, had organised themselves into an association for promoting the revival of Highland costume and Highland traditions.

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This " motley array," as Lockhart calls them, he organised as a company of Highlanders armed with broadsword and target, and so well were they drilled and disciplined that " they formed, perhaps, the most splendid feature in the whole of this plaided panorama."

Gradually it was realised that Highlanders and kilts and bagpipes were to occupy a position of prominence in the Royal ceremonies somewhat out of proportion to Highland importance in the Scottish nation. There were many objectors, but Highland enthusiasm was catching, and it carried the day. It was felt that these costumes, if not entirely suitable, were at least picturesque, and " even the coolest-headed Sassenach felt his heart, like John of Argyle's, 'warm to the tartan.'" The King himself at his first levée appeared in full Highland garb, in the adjustment of which he was assisted by the Laird of Garth. Many of the Scottish nobles and gentlemen appeared in Highland costume, and even Sir Walter, Borderer as he was, could not resist the infection; he attired himself in Highland dress, choosing the Campbell tartan in honour of a great-grandmother who had belonged to that clan.

The homage to the Celtic ideal culminated at a banquet given to the King in the Parliament House. After proposing the health of his hosts, the Magistrates and Corporation of Edinburgh, His Majesty rose and said that there was one toast and only one that he must propose, " I shall simply give you," said he, " the Chieftains and Clans of Scotland—and prosperity to the Land of Cakes." So completely had the Celtic " hallucination," as Lockhart cynically terms it, taken possession of all present, that no one at the time appears to have expressed surprise at a toast which identified the Highlands with the whole of Scotland, and completely ignored the rest of the kingdom.

Garth survived his triumph for seven years. In 1825 he was promoted to the rank of major-general, and in the following year[1] the encumbered condition of his estates induced him to accept the post of governor of St. Lucia. During his term of office he entered with great zest into schemes for the improvement of the island; but he held the appointment for only a few months. West Indian fever cut short his projects, and on the 18th of December 1829 he died in St. Lucia, widely regretted both in the colony and in his native Highlands.

General Stewart never married, and his brother John succeeded him as laird of Garth. But the debts on the property remained; and when John Stewart died in 1832 the estate was bought, as mentioned elsewhere,[2] by a distinguished friend and neighbour, General Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava.

[1] Date given by the General's grand-niece, Mrs. John Robertson. The notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (March 1830) speaks of his having sailed to the West Indies about twelve months before (*i.e.* in the spring of 1829) " with all the spirit and gaiety of a youthful veteran."—[ED.]

[2] See biography of Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava, p. 483.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL OF AVA, BART., G.C.B.

(*From a Portrait in the possession of Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava, Bart.*)

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL OF AVA, BART., G.C.B.[1]

1769–1843

BY W. G. BLAIKIE-MURDOCH

ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL was born on the 12th of March 1769, the third son of Captain Archibald Campbell, nephew of John Campbell of Duneaves, and Margaret, daughter of Captain James Small.[2] Captain Archibald Campbell lived at Carie, in Rannoch, and the subject of this biography was educated at the parish school of Fortingall and the University of St. Andrews. At the age of nineteen, having raised in his native parish and in the neighbourhood a force of twenty recruits, he received an ensign's commission in the 77th Regiment, and sailed for India in the spring of 1788. Campbell joined the army in the Bombay Presidency, was engaged in the campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792, and was present at the first siege of Seringapatam. In 1791 he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant and made adjutant of his regiment; in 1795 he took part in the reduction of the Dutch garrison of Cochin and its dependencies on the coast of Malabar; and in 1796 he served in the capture of Ceylon. In 1799, when war again broke out with Tipu, he was appointed brigade-major to the European brigade of the division which advanced from Bombay to co-operate with General Harris. For his services at Sedaseer and at the final capture of Seringapatam Campbell was promoted[3] captain into the 67th Regiment, but he exchanged into the 88th Connaught Rangers in order to remain in India. Two years later ill-health obliged him to return to England, and he was employed in the recruiting service until 1803, after which he was for a time brigade-major on the staff of the Southern District.

In 1804 Campbell was promoted major into the 6th Garrison Battalion, then stationed in Guernsey, and on its reduction in 1805 he was appointed to the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Highland Regiment. In 1808 he was transferred to the 1st Battalion of the 71st, and served at Roliça, Vimiero, and Corunna. In the spring of 1809 he was one of the officers selected to accompany Marshal Beresford to Portugal, to assist him in his task of reorganising the Portuguese

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, the materials for this note have been derived from *The Dictionary of National Biography*, *The Book of Garth and Fortingall*, Colburn's *United Service Magazine* for 1843, pt. iii., *The Royal Military Calendar*, vol. iii., and the *Army Lists*.

[2] An elder brother of Major-General John Small. Rev. James Robertson, *Reid-Robertsons of Straloch*, app., p. 61.—[ED.]

[3] So *The Dictionary of National Biography*; *The Book of Garth and Fortingall*, p. 257, says that he purchased a company in the 67th.—[ED.]

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army, and he was promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet the same year. Campbell was given command of the 16th[1] Portuguese Regiment, and from that time onwards, first as colonel of his regiment, and latterly as brigadier-general,[2] he took part in most of the famous battles of the Peninsular War. He was in action at Busaco in 1810; at Albuera and Arroyo dos Molinos in 1811; at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Burgos in 1812; and finally at Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nivelle, and Nive. As an officer in the Portuguese army he won Beresford's highest praise,[3] and his services in the field were frequently referred to by Wellington in his despatches. In April 1814 he was knighted, promoted colonel in the Army, and appointed aide-de-camp to the Prince Regent, and in the following year he was made a K.C.B. He had received the Portuguese Order of the Tower and Sword in 1813.

After the conclusion of the war Campbell remained for some years in the Portuguese service as a major-general,[4] and in 1816 was appointed to the command of the Lisbon division of the Portuguese army. He resigned this appointment in 1820, and returned home.

In the following year Sir Archibald Campbell was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 38th Regiment, and having joined the regiment at the Cape in 1822 he proceeded with it to India. Soon afterwards he was nominated to command the expedition against the Burmese. He arrived at Rangun in May 1824, and on the 10th of June the Dagon Pagoda at Kimendine was stormed under his personal direction. This success, however, had not been long gained when Campbell was besieged in Rangun by the ablest Burmese chief, Maha Bundula; but, having been reinforced, he raised the siege, and in February 1825 advanced along the banks of the Irrawaddy towards Prome, Maha Bundula being finally defeated, and killed, on the 1st of April. After spending the rainy season at Prome, Campbell in the autumn of 1825 continued his advance towards Ava, the capital of Burma. He finally brought the Burmese campaign to a successful conclusion by storming Mellun, the last fortified place on the way to Ava, in January 1826.

In recognition of his services, Sir Archibald Campbell (by that time a major-general) was made a G.C.B. in December 1826, and was publicly thanked by Lord Amherst, governor-general of India. He also received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and a pension of £1000 a year from the East India Company. For three years after this, Sir Archibald was commander of the

[1] So Wellington's *Despatches*. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that he commanded the 6th Portuguese.—[Ed.]

[2] He commanded a brigade at Albuera (*Despatches*, 1844 ed., vol. v. p. 38), but was with the 16th Portuguese during the campaign of 1812 (*ibid.*, p. 475, and vol. vi. p. 84). In 1813 he was again in command of a brigade.—[Ed.]

[3] Beresford, writing to Wellington in 1809, speaks of Campbell as "a most precious officer for this service; he has the principles necessary to make himself both feared and loved, and he is a very excellent disciplinarian. Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches* (1860), vol. vi. p. 346.—[Ed.]

[4] He was promoted major-general in the Portuguese service in 1813.—*Annual Register*, 1843.

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forces in the ceded provinces on the coast of Tenasserim, and acted as civil commissioner to the courts of Burma and Siam. Returning to England on account of ill-health in 1829, he was received with great distinction. He was appointed colonel of the 95th Regiment, and two years later was created a baronet, being granted special arms, and the motto "Ava" by Royal license.

Sir Archibald Campbell held the office of lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick from 1831 to 1837, after which he returned home to reside at his estate of Garth, in Fortingall, which he had bought five years before. He lived there until 1842, when the property was sold. In 1834 Sir Archibald was appointed to the colonelcy of the 77th Foot; in 1838 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1840 he became colonel of the 62nd Regiment. He was appointed commander-in-chief at Bombay in 1839, but had to refuse the appointment on account of ill-health. He died at Edinburgh[1] on the 6th of October 1843, at the age of seventy-four.

Sir Archibald Campbell married Helen, daughter of John Macdonald of Garth, near Callander. They had three daughters, and two sons, the eldest of whom, a chaplain in the Army, died before his father. A mention of the second son, Major-General Sir John Campbell, who lived to distinguish himself as a soldier, will be found later in this volume.

[1] On coming to reside in Edinburgh Sir Archibald was elected an honorary member of the New Club, without the usual formalities—an honour which until then had only been paid to Lord Lynedoch.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1843, p. 654.

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VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ADAM DRUMMOND OF MEGGINCH, K.C.H.[1]

1770–1849

BY THE EDITOR

ADMIRAL Sir Adam Drummond of Megginch, third son of Colin Drummond of Lennoch and Megginch by his wife Katherine, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, was a seaman who rendered good service to his country, though his fame is somewhat eclipsed by that of his younger brother, General Sir Gordon Drummond.

Born on the 14th of August 1770, Adam Drummond went to sea with his brother-in-law, Lord Hervey, on the *Daphne* in May 1780, at the early age of ten, and was only twelve years old when, as midshipman on the *Raisonnable*, he took part in the relief of Gibraltar by Lord Howe in October 1782. Later in the same year he was with Admiral Sir Richard Hughes' squadron in the West Indies, when the *Solitaire*, of sixty-four guns, and the *Speedy* frigate, were captured off Barbados.

During the years of peace which followed the Treaty of Versailles Adam Drummond was more fortunate in obtaining employment than the majority of his brother officers, for he served on the North Sea, the Channel, and the West Indian stations successively. In February 1794 he was given command of the *General Elliott*, of thirty-two guns, which had been fitted out by his elder brother Robert Drummond, and others, as a privateer; and three years later he was appointed lieutenant on the *Nassau*, one of the ships which subsequently mutinied at the Nore. In July 1797, a month after the suppression of the mutiny, he was transferred as lieutenant to the *Monarch*, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Onslow, and he commanded the lower-deck guns of that vessel in the great victory off Camperdown in October of the same year. On that memorable occasion the *Monarch* led the larboard division of the British fleet into action, and engaged both the *Haarlem*, of sixty-eight guns, and the *Jupiter*, of seventy-four—the latter being the flag-ship of the Dutch Vice-Admiral. The *Jupiter* was finally obliged to strike to the *Monarch*.

In the following May Drummond was promoted commander of a bomb-ship, the *Bulldog*, with which he served for three years in the Mediterranean. He took part in the bombardment of Alexandria by Captain Troubridge in February 1799; served off the coast of Italy; and assisted in the capture of the *San Leon*, a Spanish brig-of-war. He was advanced to post rank in 1799.

[1] From O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary*, and notes supplied by Captain Drummond of Megginch.

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Two years later, in May 1801, he married Lady Charlotte Murray, eldest daughter of the fourth Duke of Atholl, and widow of Sir John Menzies of Menzies; but a few days before his marriage he had been appointed to the *Carysfort*, then off Madeira, and he had shortly to leave home to take up his new command. On the 6th of June Portugal signed a treaty with France and Spain, by which her ports were to be closed to British trade, and in July a force under General Clinton occupied Madeira. Until the Peace of Amiens, therefore, Drummond was engaged in protecting British commerce with Madeira, a task which he performed to the satisfaction of the Consul-General and British merchants there.

In 1802 the *Carysfort* was paid off, and Drummond's next appointment was in 1804, to the *Dryad* frigate, of forty-two guns, with which he served successively in the North Sea, the Channel, the West Indies, and off the coast of Ireland. In 1808 he captured two French privateers off the Irish coast, and in the following year he was appointed to the Sea Fencibles at Ramsgate. Finally, in 1813, Drummond was given command of the *Leviathan*, of seventy-four guns, and served in her until the end of the war, his last duty being the convoying of two hundred and thirty merchant ships to the West Indies.

In 1814 he was placed on half-pay, and it was probably owing to the fact that shortly afterwards, on the death of his elder brother Robert, he succeeded to the family estate, that he was not again employed on the active list. Lennoch had been sold, but Drummond settled down to a quiet life at Megginch with his wife and children, and the Navy saw him no more. The next thirty years, however, brought him promotions and honour. In 1830 he became a rear-admiral of the white, and in 1837 vice-admiral of the blue. In 1838 he received the honour of knighthood, and in 1846 became a vice-admiral of the red. Sir Adam died on the 3rd of May 1849, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, the late Mr. Drummond of Megginch, who had formerly been an officer in the Grenadier Guards.

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GENERAL SIR GORDON DRUMMOND, G.C.B.[1]

1772–1854

BY THE EDITOR

ONE of the most distinguished soldiers whom Perthshire has produced was General Sir Gordon Drummond, but it is open to doubt whether his name is as well known to his countrymen of to-day as it deserves to be. The story of the last years of the struggle in the Peninsula, and of Napoleon's campaigns from 1812 to 1814, is one of such absorbing interest, that very little attention is as a rule bestowed upon the contest which, with a handful of men, Great Britain simultaneously maintained against the United States. But at a time when the importance of our colonial possessions is beginning to be understood, the services of the man who saved Upper Canada for the empire should be appreciated at their true value.

Gordon Drummond, fourth son of Colin Drummond of Lennoch and Megginch, and Katherine, daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, was born on the 27th of September 1772. At the time of his birth his father, not having yet succeeded to the family estates, was living in Canada as commissary-general,[2] and Gordon Drummond first saw the light in the country with which his name was afterwards to be so prominently associated. He was educated, however, at Great Braddon, in Essex, and in September 1789 became an ensign in the 1st Battalion of the Royal Regiment of Foot (now Royal Scots), in which he held a commission for seven months. In the following March he exchanged to a lieutenancy in the 41st Foot (then at Dublin), and in January 1792 became a captain in that regiment, leaving it shortly afterwards to serve as aide-de-camp to Lord Westmoreland, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland.[3] In February 1794 he was appointed major in the 23rd, but within two months he had made another exchange, and in April 1794, after four and a half years' service, Drummond found himself junior lieutenant-colonel of the 8th, or King's Regiment. He remained on the strength of the 8th until 1814.

[1] From the *Royal Military Calendar*, vol. i. (London, 1815); the *Historical Record of the King's Liverpool Regiment of Foot* (2nd edition, 1883); Sir Gordon's despatches printed in the *Annual Register* for 1814; Alison's *History of Europe*; the *Army Lists*; Fortescue's *History of the British Army*; and notes supplied by Captain Drummond of Megginch.

[2] Colin Drummond was commissary-general to the army under General Burgoyne in the expedition which ended with the capitulation at Saratoga in October 1777.

[3] According to the *Historical Record of the King's Regiment* he served on the staff of Lord Burghersh, but in 1792 Lord Burghersh (afterwards eleventh Earl of Westmoreland) was only eight years old, and the allusion must be to his father, the tenth Earl, who was lord-lieutenant of Ireland 1790–95.

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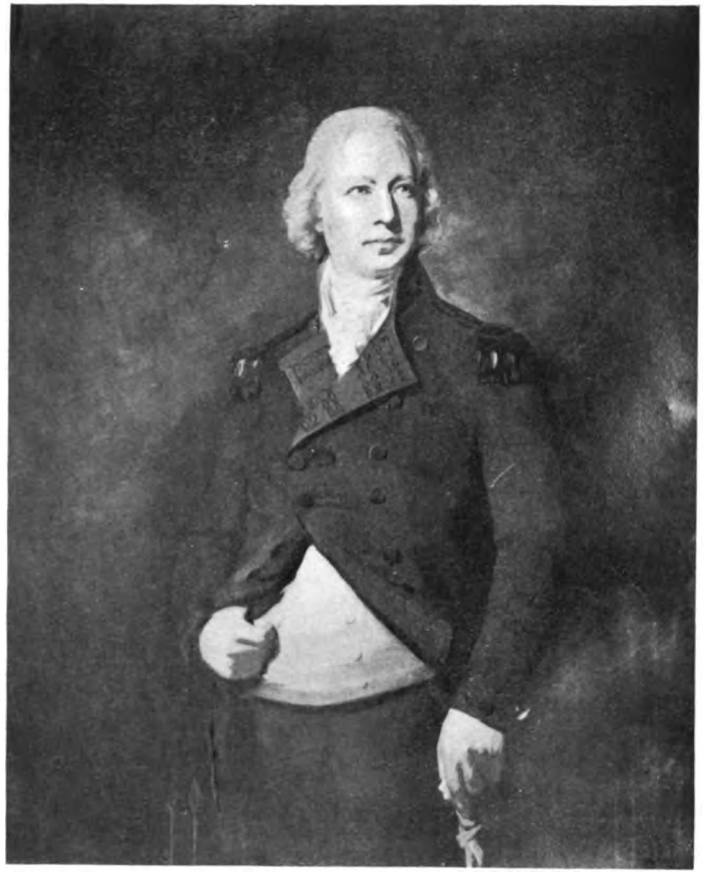
GENERAL SIR GORDON DRUMMOND, G.C.B.

(From a Portrait by Filippe Agricola in the possession of the Earl of Effingham)



GENERAL ALEXANDER CAMPBELL OF MONZIE

(From a Porirait by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., at Inveraw)

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In June 1794 the King's formed part of the force under Lord Moira which was sent abroad to join the Allied army in the Netherlands. For a few days the regiment formed part of the garrison of Ostend, but on the 24th of June, owing to the defeat of the Austrians at Fleurus, the Duke of York was obliged to fall back from Tournay, Ostend was evacuated, and Lord Moira with difficulty succeeded in joining the Duke at Alost. Early in November the 8th was helping to defend Nimeguen, on the south bank of the Waal, and Drummond is said to have rendered good service there; but the retreat across the Waal was endangered by the French artillery; three days after a successful sortie in which Drummond took part, news was received that assistance which had been promised by the Austrians would not be forthcoming; and Nimeguen in its turn was therefore abandoned. The French were held in check at the Waal for some two months longer, but early in January 1795, owing to a severe frost, they succeeded in crossing the river, and the 8th took part in the terrible retreat through Holland. The regiment returned to England in May.

In the autumn of 1795 the King's Regiment embarked for the West Indies as part of the great expedition placed under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercromby, but the fleet had no sooner set sail than it encountered a terrific storm, and was obliged to return to port. Part of the 8th eventually succeeded in crossing the Atlantic, but Drummond's transport was again driven back in January 1796,[1] and with the remainder of his regiment he spent the next three years at Hythe. On the 1st of January 1798[2] he was promoted colonel by brevet, and he shortly afterwards became senior lieutenant-colonel of his regiment.

In 1799 the King's was sent to garrison Minorca, and in 1801, after sharing in the abortive expedition to Cadiz of the preceding year, the regiment, under the command of Colonel Gordon Drummond, accompanied Sir Ralph Abercromby to Egypt. It was brigaded with the 13th, 18th, and 90th Regiments, and distinguished itself in the attack on the French position on the 13th of March, being thanked in General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief for its "steady and gallant behaviour." The regiment was again in action on the 21st of March; fought at Rhahmanie in May; and took part in the advance on Cairo and the siege of Alexandria. At the close of the campaign Drummond was sent to Malta, and in the following year he was serving at Gibraltar, where his regiment was quartered during the brief Peace of Amiens.

On the renewal of war in 1803 the 8th was ordered home, and in the following

[1] *Royal Military Calendar.* The article on Sir Gordon in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that "from September 1795 to January 1796 he served in Sir Ralph Abercromby's campaign in the West Indies." Sir Ralph, however, did not reach the West Indies until March 1796, and his operations did not begin until after then. This passage appears to be a misreading of the notice in the *Royal Military Calendar*, which merely mentions the dates of Drummond's embarkation and disembarkation. As a matter of fact, no part of Abercromby's force embarked before November.—*History of the British Army*, vol. iv. p. 480.

[2] Date given in *Army Lists.* According to the *Historical Record of the King's Regiment*, he became a brevet-colonel on the 25th of October 1809, four years after the date on which he is correctly mentioned as attaining the rank of major-general.

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year Drummond was appointed brigadier-general on the staff in England. On the 1st of January 1805 he was promoted major-general, and in May 1805 was sent out to Jamaica, where he commanded a division under Sir Eyre Coote. In August 1807 he returned home, and on the following 17th of October he married Margaret, youngest daughter of William Russell of Brancepeth. In December 1808 he was transferred to the Canadian staff, and in 1811 he was appointed to the staff in Ireland.[1] He was promoted lieutenant-general in June of the same year.

Drummond remained in Ireland until 1813, and during that period he may well have thought that all immediate chance of earning distinction in the field was at an end. After years of desperate fighting, the French were being at last slowly but surely driven from Spain, while Napoleon's power had been shaken to its foundations by his disastrous campaign in Russia. By the end of the summer of 1813 it must have been evident that the last act in the great drama was beginning, and that the end of the war with France was in sight. But in the meantime Great Britain had been carrying on a most unequal struggle with the North American States. All her military strength having been thrown into the Peninsula, she was obliged to remain on the defensive in Canada, and had to rely mainly on local forces for the defence of that country. Moreover, so much was required of the Navy, that it was a matter of great difficulty to secure naval supremacy on the Great Lakes, and on this the success of all operations on the Canadian frontier depended. The war had raged with varying success since June 1812, but by the autumn of 1813 the scales had begun to turn in favour of the Americans. They had made themselves masters of Lake Erie, thereby cutting off communication with the Indian allies of Great Britain; a British force operating to the north of Lake Erie had been destroyed; an American army of 6000 men was established at Fort George, on the Canadian side of the Niagara River, and the enemy were about to concentrate all their efforts upon an invasion of Lower Canada. It was about this time that Drummond was sent out to Canada as second-in-command to Sir George Prevost, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. Prevost's headquarters were in Lower Canada, and to Drummond was assigned the management of affairs in the upper province.

By the middle of November attempts made both on the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain frontiers had failed, and when, a month later, Drummond reached the scene of operations on the Niagara, it was to find that the American army, weakened by the despatch of reinforcements to Lower Canada, had been driven across the river in confusion a few days before.

He at once seized the opportunity offered by this success, and before the

[1] Megginch charter-chest and biographical note (corrected by Sir Gordon's daughter, Lady Effingham), printed in the appendix to the *Historical Record of the King's Liverpool Regiment.* The notice in vol. i. of the *Royal Military Calendar* (published in 1815) describes him as having served in Canada from 1808 onwards, and is, I think, the authority for the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* to the effect that he was retained on the staff in Canada from his promotion as lieutenant-general in 1811.

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Americans had had time to recover from their demoralisation, Colonel John Murray, acting under Drummond's instructions, crossed the river on the night of the 18th of December with some 500 men, and carried the strong fortress of Niagara, in American territory, by assault. A few days later Drummond despatched another force of some 800 men under Major-General Phineas Riall to attack the American position at Black Rock. The fight was hotly contested, but the Americans were at length driven off with the loss of their artillery, and having been pursued to Buffalo, were again routed there, though reinforcements had by that time brought up their number to some two or three thousand men. As a result of this success a large quantity of artillery was captured, two schooners and a sloop were destroyed, and the important depôts of Buffalo and Black Rock were burned.[1]

Another expedition planned by Drummond and executed at the same time as the attack on Fort Niagara had resulted in a large capture of small arms, ammunition, and stores, at Lewiston, and by the end of the year such havoc had been wrought on the American side of Niagara that the General was able to give his troops a few months' hard-earned rest. In February 1814 he received the thanks of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada for the "able and judicious dispositions" of the forces under his command, and his services were recognised at the War Office by his appointment as colonel of the 97th Foot.

In the following May, Drummond, acting in conjunction with Commodore Sir James Yeo, led a joint naval and military expedition against Fort Oswego, one of the principal American depôts on Lake Ontario, and a position of especial importance, inasmuch as it lay midway between the great naval arsenal at Sackett's Harbour, and Niagara, where it was known that the great effort of the coming campaign was to be made. The fort, having been carefully reconnoitred, was stormed on the 6th of May; barracks were destroyed; stores were carried off; heavy guns were captured; and Drummond was able to re-embark his men "in the most perfect order," "every object of the expedition," as he himself wrote, "having been effected."[2]

Meanwhile the Americans were concentrating their forces at Black Rock and Buffalo for an invasion of Upper Canada, and early in July 1814, during Drummond's temporary absence at Kingston, some 6000 troops and a quantity of artillery effected a landing on the Canadian frontier. Fort Erie, at the upper end of the Niagara River, fell at once, and Riall, who was commanding a mixed force of some 1800 Regulars, Canadians, and Indians, at Chippewa, made a very gallant but somewhat rash attack on a position taken up by the enemy near the river, and was driven back, though in good order, to his lines. The

[1] The burning of Black Rock and Buffalo was a reprisal for the burning of Newark, on the Canadian frontier, which had been reduced to ashes on the 10th of December. Prevost shortly afterwards issued a proclamation regretting the necessity under which he had acted in allowing these reprisals, and expressing the hope that this barbarous warfare might cease.

[2] Official letter to Sir George Prevost, *Annual Register*, 1814, app. p. 198. The American colours which flew above Forts Oswego and Niagara prior to their capture, are preserved at Megginch.

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Americans, led by General Brown, pushed on; forced Riall to retire from Chippewa; and occupied Queenstown. They then continued their advance to the neighbourhood of Fort George, on Lake Ontario, but finding that place strongly held and supported by the presence of a British flotilla, they retreated to Chippewa, which they reached on the evening of the 24th of July. Riall at once followed them up, and when Drummond arrived at Niagara at daybreak on the 25th of July with reinforcements,[1] he found that his second-in-command had rather imprudently advanced in pursuit of the enemy towards the Falls. Drummond immediately despatched to his support a force under Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Morrison of the 89th, and after strengthening the various British garrisons within reach, marched off himself with 800 men to join hands with Riall. On the way he received information that the Americans had rallied and were advancing in great force, and when, at about six o'clock in the evening, he came up with Morrison's detachment "just as it reached the road leading . . . over the summit of the hill at Lundy's Lane," he found the enemy's column "within 600 yards of the top of the hill, and the surrounding woods filled with his light troops." Only the advanced-guard of Riall's division was in sight, and it had begun to retire on Fort George, but Drummond promptly called it up, and had just time to get his troops into position on the hill before the attack began. The Americans' principal efforts were directed against the left and centre, and after repeated attacks Drummond's left partially gave way. The troops, however, which had been forced back, re-formed, protecting the left flank, and no material advantage was gained by the enemy in that part of the field. But a desperate struggle at close quarters raged in the centre, where, on the summit of the hill, Drummond had posted his artillery. The attack was made with such fury that the British artillerymen "were bayoneted by the enemy in the act of loading," and the American guns were advanced to within a few yards of them. Artillery was taken and re-taken on both sides, and in the darkness British and American six-pounders were exchanged, but at the end of three hours Drummond's men still held the hill and had made a net gain of one gun. A short interval ensued, after which the Americans renewed the attack with fresh troops; but by that time Drummond had been joined by the remainder of Riall's division, and having reinforced his centre, and prolonged his right to avoid the possibility of being outflanked, the Americans were everywhere repulsed with the greatest gallantry. The action lasted until midnight, when the enemy at last abandoned the contest and retreated precipitately to his camp beyond Chippewa. On the following day Chippewa was also abandoned, and the retreat was continued in great confusion to Fort Erie, the greater part of General Brown's baggage, camp equipage, and supplies, being thrown into the Falls.

[1] The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that Drummond "had his forces . . . conveyed across the Lake Erie to Chippewa," but his despatches show that he had been at Kingston, and that he embarked at York, on Lake Ontario, for Niagara. Chippewa, moreover, lay some miles inland, and the Americans were masters of Lake Erie.

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The casualties in this engagement were very severe. Out of a total of 2800 men Drummond lost some 830 killed and wounded,[1] besides 42 prisoners (including General Riall and his staff), who were captured when the left was driven back. The American loss was 930 killed and wounded (among the latter being Generals Brown and Scott), and 300 prisoners, out of some 5000 troops engaged. The British percentage was consequently much the higher of the two. But the importance of the victory was immense. It put an end to the invasion of Upper Canada, and the fact that it had been won in spite of such odds no doubt disheartened the Americans, who had been greatly elated by their previous success against Riall. It is interesting to know that two of the regiments which especially distinguished themselves in the action at Niagara were the 1st Battalions respectively of the Royal Scots and of the King's Regiment, in both of which Drummond had previously served.

The Americans, having retreated to Fort Erie, were besieged there by Drummond with the remnant of his force, and the siege was pushed with great energy, despite the inferiority in numbers. Three armed schooners were captured, and on the 13th of August a battery was opened which wrought much damage to the defences. Drummond accordingly made preparations to carry the fort by assault on the morning of the 15th. A threefold attack was made, and had almost succeeded, when the accidental explosion of a magazine caused fearful loss of life and a panic in one of the columns, and the troops were driven back with heavy loss.[2] After this failure, Drummond, though reinforced by two regiments from Lower Canada, contented himself with maintaining a close investment of the fort, and on the 17th of September he repulsed a vigorous sortie which was made by the entire garrison, upwards of 5000 strong. A few days later, on account of the unhealthy nature of the ground round Fort Erie, he withdrew his men to better quarters near Chippewa. But the Americans could not be induced to accept battle; and though in November they received considerable reinforcements, the British squadron had by that time acquired the supremacy on Lake Ontario, and the invaders preferred to blow up Fort Erie and to retreat across the river to their own territory, rather than risk further operations in Upper Canada. Hostilities were brought to a close by the signing of peace at Ghent on the 24th of December 1814.

Meanwhile Drummond had received a K.C.B. for his great services, and on the recall of Sir George Prevost in the following spring he was appointed com-

[1] Drummond himself was severely wounded in the neck, near the jugular vein, but would not give over the command, and the ball was not extracted for twenty-four hours.

[2] William Drummond, a younger son of John Drummond of Keltie in Perthshire, as junior lieutenant-colonel of the 104th Foot led one of the attacking columns, and was killed by the explosion. General Drummond had specially mentioned him in despatches for his services at the battle of Niagara, and evidently had a high opinion of him. He had previously, while serving as a captain in the 60th, been presented by the under-writers at Lloyd's with a sword worth a hundred guineas, "as an acknowledgment of the gallantry with which he animated the crew of the merchant ship *Fortitude*, Captain Dunbar, to defend themselves against the French privateers off Barbados on the 14th January 1804."—Malcolm's *Memoir of the House of Drummond*.

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mander-in-chief of the forces in Canada (both naval and military), and chief administrator of both provinces. For a second time he received the thanks of the Canadian Legislature, and he also received a grant of land in the colony, which, together with his prize-money, he bestowed on the widows and orphans of men who had fallen in the war. The town of Drummondville and province of Drummond (to the south of Lake St. Peter), are to this day tokens of the gratitude felt by the country whose interests he so ably served.

Soldiers also were indebted to him for a humane attempt to stop the terrible abuse of flogging which then existed in the Army. In a circular memorandum dated at Quebec on the 22nd of August 1815 Sir Gordon directs that "the unceasing and zealous attention of every commanding officer" in Canada shall be given "to prevent as much as possible the necessity of the infliction of Corporal Punishment," and desires that "every mode of milder punishment which the Mutiny Act authorises, which the custom and practice of the best regulated corps may suggest, or the ingenuity of zealous and humane minds can devise," may be tried "with persevering patience." The memorandum also condemns the practice of sentencing deserters to service abroad for life, Sir Gordon expressing his conviction that such a mode of punishment had been found "wholly ineffectual." At the time of its publication this order caused much comment, both appreciative and adverse, but it must be regarded as not the least of Sir Gordon's claims on the memory of his countrymen.

He did not, however, remain long in Canada to see the results of his efforts for reform. Early in 1816 ill-health occasioned by the neglect of the wound he had received at the battle of Niagara obliged him to resign, and in May he returned home.[1] Though still in the prime of life, his days of active duty ended then, and from that date onwards he resided chiefly in London, where he had a house in Norfolk Street, Park Lane. A part of every year, however, was spent with his brother Adam at Megginch, and he paid regular visits to Italy.

In 1819 Sir Gordon was appointed colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers; in 1824 he became a G.C.B. and colonel of the 71st Highland Light Infantry; and five years later he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 49th Foot. Finally, in April 1846, he became colonel of his old regiment, the King's.

Sir Gordon died at his house in London on the 10th of October 1854, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery. At the time of his death he was eighty-two years of age, and the senior general in the Army. He had one daughter, who married the second Earl of Effingham in 1834, and two sons, the younger of whom, Russell, a lieutenant in the Navy, died of wounds received during the suppression of an insurrection at Callao in 1835. The elder son, Gordon, served in the Crimea as commanding officer of the 1st Battalion Coldstream Guards, and was in command of the Brigade of Guards at the fall of Sevastopol. He died unmarried in November 1856, from the after-effects of cholera.

[1] According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* he returned home in 1815; but from papers at Megginch it appears that on the 18th of May 1816 the Executive Council of the Legislature of Lower Canada voted him a farewell address.

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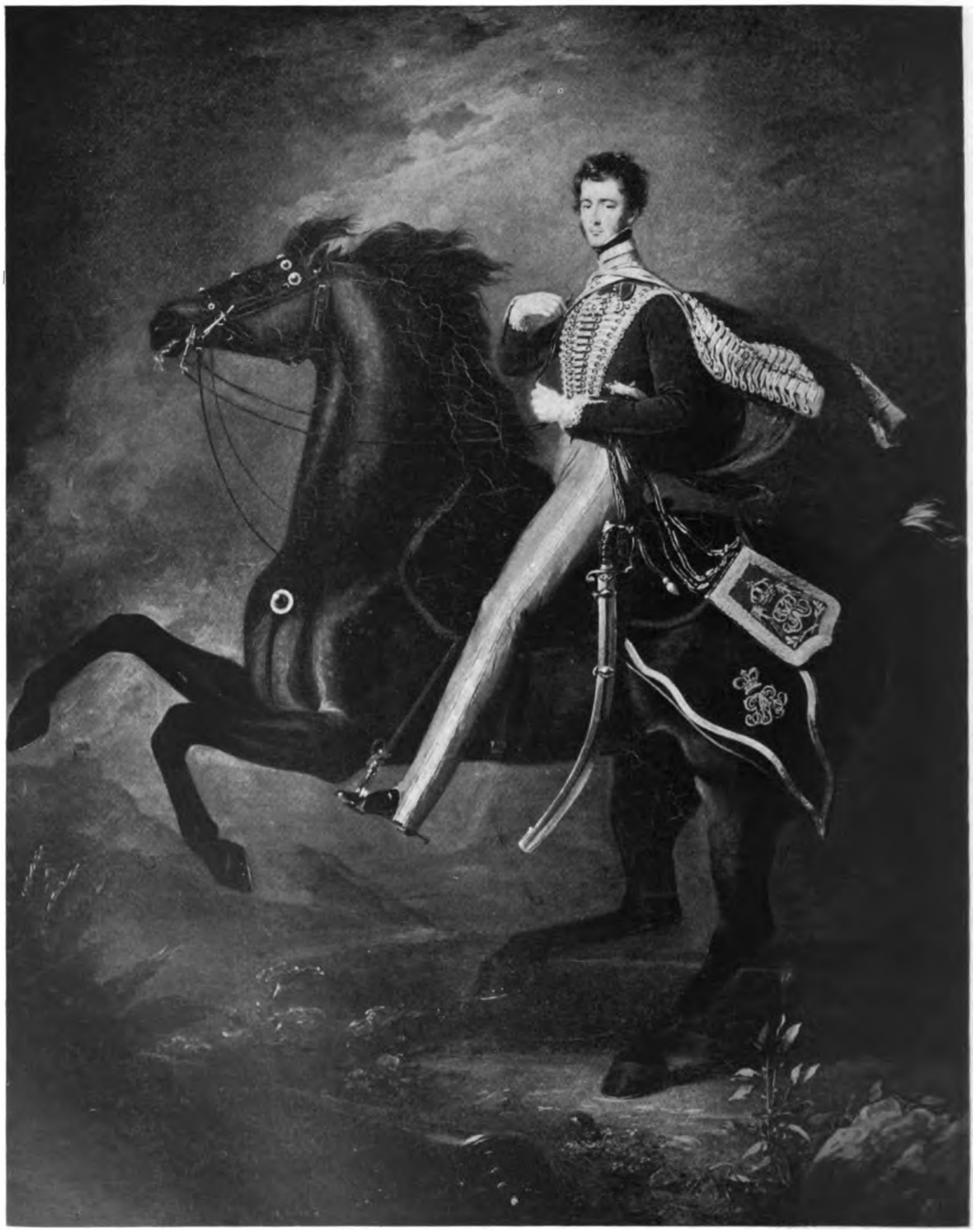

GENERAL THE HON. SIR HENRY MURRAY, K.C.B.

(*From a Portrait in the possession of the Earl of Mansfield.*)

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GENERAL THE HON. SIR HENRY MURRAY, K.C.B.[1]

1784–1860

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL the Hon. Sir Henry Murray, born on the 6th of August 1784, was the fourth son of David, second Earl of Mansfield, by his second wife, the Hon. Louisa Cathcart, sister of Jane, Duchess of Atholl and of Mrs. Graham of Balgowan.[2] Two of Henry Murray's elder brothers chose the Army as their profession, and in May 1800, when not quite sixteen, he followed them into the Service as a cornet in the 16th Light Dragoons. Money was forthcoming to procure him exchanges and promotion,[3] and by November 1802 young Murray found himself captain-lieutenant in the 20th Light Dragoons, which had recently returned to England from Jamaica. The 20th remained at home until April 1805, when three dismounted squadrons, of which Murray's was one,[4] were despatched to the Mediterranean under Sir James Craig. After being stationed successively at Gibraltar and Malta, the three squadrons in November 1805 accompanied Sir James to Naples, whence two months later they were withdrawn to Sicily. The regiment had no share in Sir John Stuart's great victory at Maida in the following July, but Murray accompanied a squadron which was sent over later to Calabria, to assist the peasants in their resistance to the French yoke. The French, however, were able to bring so large a force into the field that by the end of the year the British troops had been obliged to retire again to Sicily.

In March 1807 Murray, as aide-de-camp to Brigadier-General the Hon. Robert Meade, embarked on General Mackenzie Fraser's unfortunate expedition to Egypt. Turkey was at that time an ally of France, and some 5000 British troops were despatched in the vain hope that, with the co-operation of the Mamelukes of Upper Egypt, who were known to be disaffected to Turkish rule, a diversion might be effected which would react on the war then raging in Poland. But the Albanian troops in Egypt proved more than a match for Fraser's small force; and though Alexandria surrendered after a short resistance, two attempts to

[1] From the *Historical Records* of the 26th Foot and the 18th Light Dragoons; Colburn's *United Service Magazine*, Pt. III., 1876; the *Army Lists*; an inscription on a memorial tablet in the Garrison Church at Plymouth; an obituary notice in the *Annual Register* for 1860; and Bunbury's *Narrative of the Great War with France*.

[2] See Lord Lynedoch's biography, p. 425, and *note*.

[3] Murray procured a lieutenancy in the 60th Foot on the 11th of June 1801, and on the 26th of the same month he transferred to the 10th Dragoons.

[4] In the *Army List* of February 1804 Murray appears as fourth on the list of captains, this rapid promotion being partly due to an augmentation of the regiment.

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take Rosetta[1] ended in failure, some seven hundred men being finally cut off and overpowered by overwhelming numbers at El Hamed, about six miles further up the Nile. By that time it had become evident that no help was to be expected from Upper Egypt, and the troops fought their way back to Alexandria, where they maintained themselves until the following September. General Fraser then consented to evacuate the country on condition that the prisoners taken at El Hamed were restored.

In the meantime Murray had procured a majority in the 2nd Battalion of the 26th Foot (the Cameronians),[2] and on leaving Egypt he returned to Scotland to join his regiment. He remained at home until July 1809, when he embarked with the 1st Battalion of the 26th on the Walcheren expedition. He took part in the capture of Flushing, but saw little real fighting, and his regiment returned home at the end of the year with 90 rank and file fit for duty out of 663 who had sailed from the Downs five months before.

In the following June Henry Murray married Emily, daughter of Gerard de Visme, and a few weeks later he exchanged as major to the 18th Hussars,[3] then quartered at home. In January 1812 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel of his regiment, but he saw no more active service until a year afterwards, when the 18th was sent out under his command to the Peninsula. The regiment on its arrival at Lisbon in February 1813 was brigaded with the 10th and 15th Hussars, and in May accompanied Sir Thomas Graham on his great flank march through northern Portugal and Spain. But ill-luck dogged Colonel Murray. At the crossing of the Esla on the 31st of May his horse fell with him on a pointed rock, and he was severely injured in the knee. On the following day he commanded his regiment in support of the 10th Hussars, at the action of Morales de Toro,[4] but he was afterwards obliged to return home, and lost the chance of taking part in the brilliant campaigns of 1813 and 1814.

At the close of the war, however, Murray rejoined the 18th and brought it home, marching from Toulouse to Calais. But the regiment was not destined to remain long in England. Early in March 1815 Europe was electrified by the news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and by the end of the month Murray and his regiment had received orders to embark for the Netherlands. The 18th arrived at Ostend in April, and was brigaded with the 10th and the 1st German Hussars, under the orders of Sir Hussey Vivian. When, two months later, Napoleon crossed the Sambre, Murray and his regiment were posted between Ninehove and Enghien, guarding the right flank of the Allied army, and they did not reach Quatre Bras in time for the battle of June the 16th. But they took a prominent part in the operations of the 17th. The cavalry, skilfully handled by Lord Uxbridge, covered the retreat from Quatre Bras, and the 18th

[1] Murray took part in the first attack on Rosetta, in which General Meade was wounded.

[2] Commission dated 26th March 1807.

[3] Formerly Light Dragoons.

[4] Inscription on the memorial tablet, and statement of Sir Henry's war services in the *Army Lists*. The *Historical Record* of the 18th, however, says that he was obliged to relinquish the command immediately after crossing the Esla.

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were in touch all day with the eagerly-pursuing enemy. During the greater part of the battle on the following day, Vivian's brigade was held in reserve, but after the failure of the attack made by Napoleon's Imperial Guard, it was launched at the French cavalry reserves. The 10th broke three regiments, and the 18th, led by Colonel Murray, charged and routed two successive detachments of cavalry and artillery.[1] While endeavouring to reform his regiment in a crowd of defeated Frenchmen, Murray was nearly bayoneted by a soldier of the Imperial Guard, but his life was saved by his orderly.

The defeat of the Imperial Guard and the charge of the light cavalry brigades marked the turning-point in the long and fierce struggle at Waterloo. They were immediately followed by the general advance of the British line and the final rout of Napoleon's army.

The 18th shared in the subsequent march on Paris, and remained in France, as part of the army of occupation, for more than three years afterwards. In November 1818 the regiment returned home, and Murray, who had received a C.B. for his services in the Waterloo campaign, commanded it successively at Newcastle, Dublin, and Cork, until September 1821, when, to his inexpressible grief, it was disbanded—one of the victims of the policy of retrenchment which followed the war.

After the reduction of his regiment Colonel Murray resided principally at Wimbledon. He was made a brevet-colonel in 1830, and in 1838 was promoted major-general. In 1842 he was given command of the Western District of England—an appointment which he held for ten years—and in 1847 he became colonel of the 7th Dragoon Guards. His promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general followed in 1851, and two years later he was transferred to the colonelcy of a light cavalry regiment—the 14th Light Dragoons. He became full general in 1855 and was knighted in 1860, shortly before his death.

The last years of General Murray's life were saddened by the loss of his youngest and favourite son, Arthur, a captain in the Rifle Brigade, who was mortally wounded while gallantly leading an attack on the Boers' position at Boom Platz in 1848; and a touching proof of the General's devotion to his son exists in a little volume of "Memoirs and Correspondence," compiled in spite of interruptions caused by a long and serious illness. Of this illness, which we are told he bore "with Christian resignation and fortitude," General Sir Henry Murray eventually died on the 29th of July 1860, "deeply lamented by his family and all those who had known his excellent qualities."

[1] There is a tradition to the effect that in this charge Colonel Murray's horse actually jumped a gun.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ROBERT HENRY DICK OF TULLIEMET, K.C.B., K.C.H.[1]

1785 (?)–1846

BY THE EDITOR

A VERY gallant soldier, and one of the many distinguished Perthshire men whose names are closely associated with the county regiment, was Major-General Sir Robert Henry Dick, son of Dr. William Dick, surgeon in the service of the East India Company, and afterwards laird of Tulliemet. Dr. Dick's father owned the small property of Bal-'ic-Gillewie in the Middle District of Atholl,[2] and about the year 1784, shortly before his departure for the East, the Doctor married Charlotte, daughter of a neighbouring laird, "Baron"[3] Alexander McLaren of East Haugh.[4] Their eldest son, Robert, is said to have been born in India in 1785.

Fifteen years later (in November 1800) young Robert Dick commenced his military career as ensign in the 75th Highland Regiment, then serving in India. Within some eighteen months (*i.e.* in June 1802), he had procured a lieutenancy in the 62nd Foot, stationed at that time in Ireland; but in December of the

[1] From the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1846; the *Royal Military Calendar*; Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*; Cannon's *Historical Record of the 42nd Regiment*; Wellington's *Despatches*; Colburn's *United Service Magazine*, June 1846; the *Army Lists*; the article on Sir Robert Dick in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; the MS. Regimental Records of the Black Watch (42nd); and MS. Muster-Rolls (and pay-lists) of the regiment at the Record Office. I am also indebted to the Rev. Andrew Meldrum for notes concerning Sir Robert Dick's family.

[2] The house of Bal-'ic-Gillewie stood on or near the site of the present house of Tulliemet.

[3] McLaren of East Haugh was one of the many lairds in Atholl and other parts of Scotland who, though not Crown vassals, were given the complimentary title of "baron." In some cases the recipient was the head of a sept, or section of a clan; in others, he exercised some local jurisdiction by inheritance or delegation. It is doubtful, however, if the lairds of East Haugh came under either category.

[4] If tradition may be believed, the marriage of the General's father and mother took place under romantic circumstances. Edmund Burke and Henry Dundas, while on a visit to the Duke of Atholl at Dunkeld, were walking from Dunkeld to Blair Atholl, when they came upon a young girl reading a book by the roadside. They accosted her, and, learning that she lived near by, accompanied her to her home for some refreshments. As they were leaving, Dundas asked what return he could make for her hospitality, whereupon the girl drew him aside and informed him that she was betrothed to a young doctor, but that their marriage could not take place until her lover had obtained some appointment. Dundas, never backward to help on a Scotsman, promised to do what he could, and within a few months his influence had procured an assistant-surgeoncy in the East India Company's Service for William Dick. He and his betrothed thereupon married and went out to India.

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LIEUTENANT-COLONEL CHARLES ERSKINE,
92ND REGIMENT OF FOOT

(*From an Engraving by G. Dawe after a Portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., at Cardross*)

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR ROBERT DICK OF TULLIEMET,
K.C.B., K.C.H.

(*From an Engraving by Henry Haig after a Portrait by E. F. Green*)

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following year he was transferred to the 9th Battalion of Reserve.[1] Finally, in April 1804, he obtained a company in the newly formed 2nd Battalion of the 78th Highlanders, in which, as narrated elsewhere, another Athollman, David Stewart, son of the Laird of Garth, was at the same time appointed major.[2]

The 2nd Battalion of the 78th was stationed at Fort George until March 1805, when it was sent down to Shorncliffe to receive six months' instruction in the new light infantry drill which was then being introduced into the Army by Sir John Moore. In September 1805 the battalion was sent out to Gibraltar, passing on its way through the floating wreckage left by the battle of Trafalgar; and in the following summer it received orders to join Sir John Stuart's army in Sicily. Dick took part in the victory at Maida on the 4th of July—when some six or seven thousand of Napoleon's veterans were defeated in an open plain by five thousand British soldiers,[3] few of whom had been in action before, and who not only suffered from an incompetent commander, but were totally unprotected by any cavalry. Dick was wounded in the battle,[4] but later in the month he was able to accompany his battalion when it was sent round by sea to capture Cotrone, on the eastern coast of Upper Calabria—an operation which it successfully carried out. In the spring of 1807 he embarked with the 78th on the ill-advised expedition to Egypt, and was severely wounded during the second attempt to take Rosetta.[5] Six months later the 78th returned to Sicily, and in the course of the following winter it was sent home.

In July 1808, Dick, who some months before had received a brevet,[6] was appointed junior major of the 2nd Battalion[7] of the 42nd, then quartered in Ireland; and in the summer of 1809 he accompanied his battalion to Portugal. The 42nd reached Wellington's headquarters shortly after the battle of Talavera, and took part in no operations of importance until the following summer, when for the third time a French army invaded Portugal. In the absence of senior officers, Dick was in command of the battalion throughout the campaign of 1810; led it into action at Busaco in September;[8] and accompanied it on the retreat to Torres Vedras. By the following January the Lieutenant-Colonel,

[1] Probably because the 2nd Battalion of the 62nd was disbanded about that time.

[2] See biography of General Stewart of Garth, p. 477. A third Perthshire man, Duncan MacGregor (afterwards Sir Duncan), joined the battalion in 1804. See his biography, p. 511.

[3] According to Sir Henry Bunbury, who was serving as quartermaster-general with the force, Stuart had in the field about 5300 infantry and artillery to oppose to Regnier's 6000. —*Narrative of the Great War with France*, p. 353. The French General had besides some 300 cavalry. Sir John Moore, however, puts the French infantry at 7500.—*Diary*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[4] So the Black Watch MS. Records, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Stewart of Garth does not mention Dick's wound, from which I conclude that it was slight.

[5] See biographies of Sir Henry Murray and Sir Duncan MacGregor.

[6] Commission as brevet-major dated the 24th April 1808.

[7] MS. Muster-Rolls.

[8] The MS. Records of the Black Watch and the *Gentleman's Magazine* say that he commanded a light battalion at Busaco—a statement which is repeated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But Dick signed pay-lists of the 2nd Battalion, as commanding officer, in March, May, August, September, and December, 1810, and in the same capacity he received the only medal granted to the 42nd for Busaco.

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Lord Blantyre, had resumed command of the 42nd, and in the campaign of 1811, which saw the French driven back across the Portuguese frontier, Dick appears as commanding a light infantry battalion—no doubt a sign that he had acquitted himself well the previous year On the 15th of March he was wounded in the successful action at Foy d'Aronce, on the Ceira, but recovered in time to be present in the fighting at Fuentes d'Onore a few weeks later. His battalion, forming part of General Nightingall's brigade of the 1st Division, took part in the stubborn defence of the village of Fuentes—not only in the great battle on the 5th of May, but in the preliminary action two days before; and for their gallantry on both occasions Dick and his men were mentioned in despatches.

By the end of July 1811 Dick had returned to the 2nd Battalion of his regiment as acting paymaster,[1] and in January 1812 he commanded the battalion at the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo.[2] He was also in command of the battalion during the siege of Badajoz in March and April, when the 42nd formed part of Sir Thomas Graham's covering division. In April the 1st Battalion of the regiment arrived in Portugal, and in May the 2nd Battalion was sent home; but Dick had again been given a light battalion, and in command of this he took part in the advance into Spain and fought at Salamanca in the following July.[3] In consequence, however, of the Commanding Officer of the Black Watch being subsequently appointed to a brigade,[4] Dick once more returned to his regiment, and he commanded the 42nd at the siege of Burgos in September and October, 1812. He was mentioned in despatches for his share in the capture of the hill of San Miguel, at the commencement of the siege, and the brevet of lieutenant-colonel which he shortly afterwards received was no doubt given in recognition of his gallantry on that occasion.[5] But meanwhile the attacks on Burgos itself had failed; French armies were concentrating in the rear; and after a month of valiant but hopeless efforts, Wellington was obliged to fall back on Portugal. Dick commanded the 42nd during the subsequent retreat, rendered so terrible by the break-down of the commissariat, and the consequent relaxation of discipline. In the course of the following winter, however, he went home, and acted as senior major of the 2nd Battalion until after the end of the war. The battalion was disbanded at Aberdeen in October 1814, and he then returned to the 1st Battalion as second-in-command to another Perthshire soldier, Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara.

[1] MS. Muster-Rolls. In October 1811 he became one of the two senior majors of the regiment.

[2] MS. Regimental Records. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that he served as senior major during the siege, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that he was commanding his former flank battalion. The Muster-Rolls corroborate the Records.

[3] MS. Regimental Records and Cannon's *Historical Records* of the regiment. The *Dict. of Nat. Biog.* says that he was commanding the 1st Battalion of the 42nd at Salamanca.

[4] *i.e.* Lt.-Col. James Stirling. The Second-in-Command, Lt.-Col. Macara, was also in the Peninsula (MS. Muster-Rolls), but was apparently unfit for active duty. See his biog., p. 465.

[5] He was one of four officers specially mentioned by Wellington to the Duke of York (commander-in-chief) for the affair at San Miguel.—*Supplementary Despatches*, vol. vii. p. 425.

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On the renewal of war in the spring of 1815 Dick accompanied his regiment to Brussels, and in the desperate battle at Quatre Bras succeeded to the command of the regiment on Macara's death. But he had not held the command for more than a few minutes when he too fell, wounded in the hip and left shoulder, and Brevet-Major John Campbell finally brought the 42nd out of action. Dick's wounds incapacitated him from taking any further share in the campaign,[1] but he was ultimately able to return to the regiment as commanding officer, his appointment as lieutenant-colonel dating from the day of the battle of Waterloo. His services were rewarded with a C.B.

In the spring of 1816, the 42nd, after sharing in the occupation of Paris, was sent under Dick's command to Edinburgh, where it was received with the greatest possible enthusiasm.[2] In 1817 the regiment crossed over to Ireland, whence, after eight years' service, it embarked for Gibraltar in the autumn of 1825. Dick became a brevet-colonel in May 1827, but he did not relinquish the command of the 42nd until 1828, when he retired on half-pay.

His father, who had amassed a considerable fortune in India,[3] had returned home about the beginning of the century, and in the course of a few years had acquired from the Duke of Atholl portions of the ancient barony of Tulliemet.[4] To this Colonel Dick had succeeded on his father's death in 1821, and on his retirement he settled down on his estate with his wife Elizabeth Anne, daughter of James Macnabb of Arthurstone, whom he had married some years before.[5] In 1830, however, Mrs. Dick died suddenly, and her husband is said to have been a changed man from that time. For eight years he endured the solitude and comparative idleness of life at Tulliemet, but finally in 1838 he applied for re-employment in the Army. Meanwhile the years which had elapsed since his wife's death had brought him promotion and honours. In 1831 he had been made a K.C.H.[6] and aide-de-camp to the King; in January 1837 he had become a major-general; and on Queen Victoria's Coronation in 1838 he had been advanced to be a K.C.B. When therefore he applied for a return to the active

[1] The article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* says that Dick, in spite of his wounds, brought the regiment out of action at Quatre Bras, and was present at Waterloo two days later. But it is well known that the command of the 42nd changed hands three times at Quatre Bras, and Captain Siborne (*History of the War in France and Belgium*, p. 79) states that the regiment was commanded by Brevet-Major Campbell during the rest of the campaign.

[2] The road out as far as Musselburgh was crowded with people, and the crowds in the city itself were so dense that the march from Piershill to the Castle took nearly two hours. A contemporary writes that "the scene, viewed from the house-tops, was the most extraordinary ever witnessed in this city."—*Scots Magazine*, 1816, p. 314.

[3] Tradition says that this fortune was made in tea-planting.

[4] Part of the earldom of Atholl. Dr. Dick's property formed the nucleus of the present Tulliemet estate. The Doctor had a practice in London, and evidently enjoyed a good professional reputation. In 1819 he prescribed with effect for Sir Walter Scott.—Lockhart, *Life of Scott* (1900 ed.), vol. iii. p. 301.

[5] The marriage probably took place about the year 1818.

[6] The date given in Sir N. H. Nicholas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood* is the 21st September 1831, and he is shown as a knight in the *Army List* of January 1832. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, he is said to have been knighted in 1832.

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list, he was appointed to the command of the centre division of the Madras army, and as senior officer in the presidency he ultimately succeeded to the chief command on the death of General Sir Samuel Whittingham in January 1841. The two years during which Dick held this command were critical ones, owing to new regulations with regard to pensions and "batta," which were much disliked by the troops. The General's difficulties were not lessened by the refusal of the Madras Government to realise the unpopularity of the new measures, and he was probably not sorry when, towards the end of 1842, he was transferred to the command of the troops on the north-west frontier of Bengal. But fresh difficulties awaited him there. Being informed early in 1844 that some native regiments then proceeding to Sind were about to mutiny in consequence of a recent reduction of allowances, he sent in a report on the subject to the Government; but the information was unacceptable to the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, and Dick was summarily transferred to the presidency division of Bengal, Lord Ellenborough curtly refusing to give any explanation of this step. Dick promptly sent in his resignation to the Horse Guards, and, pending a reply, obtained leave of absence. In the meanwhile, however, Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Sir Henry Hardinge, and Dick's conduct having been thoroughly endorsed by the military authorities at home,[1] he was appointed colonel of the 73rd Regiment,[2] and was given command of the Cawnpore division, with a promise of employment in the field when occasion should arise.

He had not long to wait. In November 1845 the Sikhs invaded British territory, and two months later Dick was summoned to the frontier. He had missed the early engagements of the war, but he arrived in time to command the third division of Sir Hugh Gough's army at the final victory of Sobraon, on the 10th of February 1846. The enemy had constructed a huge *tête-de-pont* on the left bank of the Sutlej, to cover a bridge of boats over which lay his retreat, and after three hours' bombardment the British infantry was ordered to attack, the 3rd Division leading on the left. The division advanced across an open plain and under a withering fire, and Dick, for a time in advance of all, successively led both his brigades right up to the enemy's intrenchments. Battery after battery was carried, and the victory was already assured, when the General fell, mortally wounded by one of the last shots fired that day from a Sikh gun. He staggered on for a short distance and continued to cheer on his men, but he had soon to be removed from the field, and he died the same evening. He was buried at Firozpur, and over his grave rolled a last salute from the guns which he had helped to capture at Sobraon.

Sir Robert was succeeded in his estate of Tulliemet by his eldest son, William, in whose hands the property remained until 1889, when he disposed of it to the Duke of Atholl. The General's second son, James Abercromby, entered the Army, and from 1851 to 1852 took part in the eighth Kaffir War with the

[1] Dick's action was justified by events. The reduction led to a succession of mutinies, and the discontent it engendered was among the causes of the Mutiny of 1857.

[2] Commission dated 10th June 1845.

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43rd Foot. He died in 1859 while holding a commission as captain in the 52nd.

On the walls of St. Giles' Cathedral is a tablet erected to the memory of Sir Robert Dick by the officers, past and present, of the 42nd, "as a tribute to the high esteem and regard" in which they had held one who had proved himself "a kind friend" to them; and another memorial, now in the Cathedral at Dunkeld, records the affection of the officers who served under him at Sobraon, and other friends in Her Majesty's Service, or that of the East India Company, for a "generous, courteous, and considerate commander," and a "gallant and devoted soldier."

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR EVAN JOHN MURRAY MACGREGOR OF MACGREGOR, BART., K.C.B., K.C.H.[1]

1785–1841

BY THE EDITOR

MAJOR-GENERAL Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor was the only child of Sir John MacGregor Murray of Lanrick, who, as we have seen, in 1798 signalised the restoration of his name by offering to raise a regiment of Fencible infantry.[2] Sir John, whose father, Evan MacGregor or Murray (a brother of the Laird of Glencarnaig), had served as aide-de-camp to Prince Charles in 1745,[3] entered the army of the East India Company along with his three younger brothers, Alexander, Peter, and Robert, and after some twenty-five years' service returned home with the rank of colonel. He was recognised as chief of the clan; was created a baronet; and settled down to the enjoyment of his estate of Lanrick, which he had acquired some years before. In 1775, while still in India, he had married his second cousin, Anne, daughter of Roderick MacLeod, W.S., and his only son, Evan John, was born on the 2nd of January 1785 at Calcutta.

Evan MacGregor (or MacGregor Murray, as he was known during the first half of his life),[4] began his military career in July 1801, when he was gazetted ensign in the Royal Highland Volunteers.[5] In the following December he obtained a commission in the Regular Army as ensign in the 81st Foot, and in February 1802 procured a lieutenancy in the 9th Foot, but at the Peace of Amiens he was placed on half-pay. When war broke out again in 1803 he was appointed lieutenant in the 15th Light Dragoons, and in the following year obtained his promotion as captain. During the early stages of the war the 15th Dragoons were stationed at various places in the south of England, and in 1807, having been transformed in the previous year into a regiment of Hussars, they were brigaded with the 7th and 10th Hussars under the command of Lord Paget, the brigade being the first of its kind which had been seen in the British Army.

[1] From the *Army Lists*, the *Historical Records* of the 1st Foot and 15th Light Dragoons, Oman's *History of the Peninsular War*, and papers lent by Sir Evan's youngest daughter, Miss A. G. Murray MacGregor.

[2] See note on the Clan Alpine Fencibles, p. 181.

[3] See article on "Perthshire in the 'Forty-five," p. 321, *note*.

[4] Sir John resumed the original surname of his family, by Royal licence, in 1822, shortly before his death.

[5] *War Office Commission Books, Various*, vol. lii. p. 62. This was presumably the Royal Edinburgh Highland Volunteers, the Volunteer regiment commanded by his uncle, Colonel Alexander MacGregor Murray, from 1797 to 1799.

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On the 28th of May 1808, Captain MacGregor Murray married Lady Elizabeth Murray, youngest daughter of the fourth Duke of Atholl, but within a few months he had to leave his bride. In October 1808 the Hussar Brigade was shipped off to Corunna, as part of the force under Sir David Baird which was to co-operate with Sir John Moore in his daring advance into Spain, and on the 21st of December Evan Murray took part in Lord Paget's brilliant engagement with Debelle's light cavalry at Sahagun. On this occasion the 15th Hussars, led by Lord Paget in person, charged two regiments of French cavalry, though outnumbered by nearly two to one. The front regiment was ridden down; the other broke and fled; and as a result of the combined operations of the 10th and 15th Hussars, upwards of two hundred of Debelle's force were put *hors de combat.* Of this success a recent historian has written that it was "perhaps the most brilliant exploit of the British cavalry during the whole six years of the war,"[1] and the 15th Hussars have carried "Sahagun" on their appointments ever since. Their loss in the engagement was trifling.

But the success at Sahagun was the high-water mark of Moore's advance. He had hoped to attack Soult at Carrion early on the morning of the 24th of December, when on the evening of the 23rd he learnt that Napoleon was advancing in overwhelming force from Madrid. On the following day, therefore, he began to fall back on Corunna. Paget was responsible for covering the retreat of his army, and perhaps the brightest feature of the miserable days which followed was the behaviour of the British cavalry. Nerved by perpetual conflict with numerically superior bodies of French horsemen, Paget's men did not suffer from the lack of *morale* and discipline which was to be seen in some of the sorely-tried regiments of infantry, and in the actual shock of the charge they were invariably successful. The 15th Hussars bore their full share of the numerous rearguard actions which marked the retreat, but they were not engaged on the day on which Moore finally turned to bay at Corunna. By the end of January the regiment had returned to England, bringing with it only thirty-one horses out of four hundred which had survived the march from Sahagun. The remainder had been destroyed for lack of transport to carry them home.

Throughout the year 1809 the 15th Hussars remained in England, and in January 1810 Evan Murray, apparently despairing of seeing more active service with his regiment, exchanged into the 52nd Foot, which was then serving in Portugal. But he was shortly afterwards appointed to the staff in Cadiz—a chance which he possibly owed to the fact that he was connected by marriage with Major-General Thomas Graham, who in February 1810 was selected to command the British troops employed in the defence of that city. In April Murray procured a majority in the 103rd Foot, but he continued to serve at Cadiz for some time, though he returned home prior to the battle of Barrosa. In June 1811 he exchanged into the 8th Light Dragoons, and, accompanied by his wife, embarked for the East Indies to join his new regiment. Shortly after landing he was given an appointment as a deputy quartermaster-

[1] Oman, *History of the Peninsular War*, vol. i. p. 536.

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general,[1] and the remainder of his time in India was spent upon the staff. In August 1812 he received a brevet of lieutenant-colonel,[2] and in April 1817 he was appointed a deputy adjutant-general.

Evan Murray saw no more active service until the year 1817, when war broke out for a third time with the Maratha States. He accompanied the army of the Deccan under Sir Thomas Hislop in the advance against Holkar, and took part in the great victory which was gained at Mahedpur on the 21st of December. Finding that the small number of European troops in Hislop's force gave him little scope for staff work, Murray had obtained permission to join the flank companies of the 2nd Battalion of the Royal Scots in the attack on the enemy's batteries.[3] The advance was made in the teeth of a heavy artillery fire, but the British line, headed by the Royal Scots, pushed gallantly forward, and the batteries were carried at the point of the bayonet. Holkar's army fled in dire confusion, and no less than sixty-three guns, besides all the stores and camp equipage, were captured. Murray was the first to reach the batteries, and his services were warmly praised by Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, who commanded the attacking force.

Within a fortnight Holkar, crushed by his defeat, signed peace, and Hislop began his march south from Mandaspur. On the 13th of February 1818 he crossed the Narbada, and on the 27th he reached Fort Talneir on the river Tapti, which was garrisoned by some of the Peishwah's Arabs. After a brief resistance the *killedar* (*i.e.* commander) of the garrison, sent to ask for terms, and having been informed that he and his men must surrender unconditionally, undertook to do so. Some delay, however, followed, and as evening was drawing on, Hislop sent a party under his Adjutant-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, to take possession of the fort. Two gates were entered without difficulty, and at the third the *killedar* came out and gave himself up to Conway. A fourth gate was passed, but the fifth, which barred a "long, steep, and narrow passage between high walls," was found closed, and as Conway's party appeared, the Arabs from within the wicket commenced firing at them. A parley, however, was called; the Arabs finally opened the wicket; and Colonel MacGregor Murray, with Major Gordon of the Royal Scots, entered at the head of the party, with swords sheathed, intending (as Murray afterwards wrote) "to receive the submission of the enemy or to fight it out with them." But the wicket was so narrow that only one man at a time could pass, and the two officers had only been followed by three grenadiers[4] of the Royal Scots, when the Arabs fell upon them and

[1] His appointment dated from the 14th of January 1812.

[2] This commission is at first given in the *Army Lists* under date 13th August 1812, but after a few years it is shown as having been antedated to the date of his appointment as deputy quartermaster-general.

[3] As senior cavalry officer with Hislop's force, he had applied for permission to lead the small contingent of mounted men, but this request had been refused.

[4] Letter to his father (in the possession of Miss Murray MacGregor). Hislop in his despatch wrote that besides MacGregor Murray and Gordon "two or three officers and ten or twelve grenadiers of the Royal Scots" had entered the wicket. Colonel MacGregor Murray, in the letter referred to, expressly states that this number was not correct.

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overpowered them by sheer weight of numbers. Gordon and the three grenadiers were killed at once, and Murray fell wounded in seven places. Had the Arabs succeeded in their endeavours to close the wicket, he could not have escaped alive, but a musket had been thrust in from outside to prevent the gate from fastening, and his life was saved by Lieutenant George McGraith,[1] who "put his sword-arm through the wicket and warded off the cuts" that were made at him, while with the other he pulled him out.[2] Fire was then opened on the Arabs through the wicket, and a detachment headed by Captain Peter MacGregor of the Royal Scots[3] rushed in. Captain MacGregor was shot dead, but the enemy gave way, fled for refuge to the houses, and were finally all put to the sword. The *killedar* was hanged on the following morning.

The wounds received at Fort Talneir practically incapacitated Colonel Murray from further service. His wife made her way up from Madras to Haidarabad—by no means a safe or easy journey—and nursed him with devoted care; and a year or two later he made a voyage to China for his health. In the summer of 1821, however, he was finally obliged to return home. In the following June Sir John Murray MacGregor died, and a few weeks later Sir Evan, as chief of the MacGregors, took thirty of his clansmen to Edinburgh to pay their homage to King George IV.[4] Sir Evan had in 1818 received a companionship of the Bath for his services in India, and on the occasion of the King's visit to Scotland he was made a knight of the Hanoverian Order. Three years later he became a brevet-colonel and aide-de-camp to the King.

Though Sir Evan had retired on half-pay in 1823, he accompanied the expedition which was sent to Lisbon in December 1826, to help the constitutional party in Portugal in their struggle with the supporters of Dom Miguel. The British force, however, though it remained in Portugal until the spring of 1828, was not called upon to take an active part in the hostilities, as, shortly after its arrival, the insurgents were defeated by the Portuguese troops.

In 1830 Sir Evan became a knight commander of the Hanoverian Order, and in the following year he was appointed governor of Dominica. In 1836 he was transferred as governor to the Windward Isles, and in 1837 he obtained his promotion as major-general. He became a K.C.B. in 1839, and died at Barbados on the 14th of June 1841, leaving five sons and three daughters.

[1] Of the pioneers of the Royal Scots.

[2] Colonel Murray MacGregor received severe kriss wounds in the left shoulder, left side, and in two places on his right side. He also had "a sabre wound across the mouth, a second right through his nose, and a third nearly cut off his right arm about the elbow joint." Letter from a brother officer (*Atholl Chrons.* vol. iv. pp. 25, 26). A coloured print, published by John Hudson in 1819, and dedicated to Lady Elizabeth MacGregor Murray, represents the treacherous attack on Colonel Murray's party at Fort Talneir.

[3] Formerly lieutenant, Royal Perthshire Militia (68th). See list of officers, p. 145, *note* 13.

[4] The illustration opposite p. 475 represents Sir Evan in the dress in which he appeared at the levée at Holyrood.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM CHALMERS OF GLENERICHT, C.B., K.C.H.[1]

1785–1860

BY THE EDITOR

A VERY gallant soldier and one who saw much active service was Lieutenant-General Sir William Chalmers, son of William Chalmers of Glenericht by his wife Margaret, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, a younger son of Donald Mackenzie of Kilcoy. Through his maternal grandmother (a daughter of Sir Robert Douglas, the editor of the well-known "Peerage"), Sir William Chalmers was descended from the Douglases of Glenbervie. His father was a descendant of the Chalmers of Drumlochy and Clayquhat, a family which had received its first grant of lands in Perthshire in the reign of King Robert the Bruce.[2]

Sir William Chalmers was born at Dundee[3] in 1785,[4] and entered the Army in July 1803[5] as an ensign in the 52nd or Oxfordshire Light Infantry. His mother's brother, Kenneth Mackenzie,[6] was at that time lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and Chalmers was probably indebted to him for his nomination to a commission. Chalmers joined the 52nd at Shorncliffe, at an interesting moment in its history. The regiment had recently been formed into a light infantry corps, and under the able tutelage of Colonel Mackenzie and the in-

[1] Except where otherwise mentioned, from an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 3rd series, vol. ix.; Moorsom's *Historical Record of the 52nd Regiment;* a memoir in *The Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle;* Leeke's *Lord Seaton's Regiment at Waterloo*, vol. i.; Napier's and Oman's *Histories of the Peninsular War;* the *Army Lists;* Siborne's *History of the War in France and Belgium in* 1815; and information contributed by Sir William's daughter, Mrs. Bontein, his niece by marriage, Mrs. Macpherson of Blairgowrie House, and Major Peter Chalmers, Blairgowrie, a descendant of the Chalmers of Drumlochy and Clayquhat. I am also indebted to Mr. W. H. Blyth Martin, town clerk of Dundee, for some particulars concerning Sir William's connection with that city.

[2] *i.e.* the lands of Drumlochy, about two miles north-west of Blairgowrie. R. Scott Fittis, *Romantic Narratives*, p. 250, and Robertson's *Index of Charters*, p. 19, No. 95.

[3] Sir William's grandfather, a younger son of the family, had started in business in Dundee early in the eighteenth century. His son William was successively burgess and town clerk of Dundee, and having made money, purchased the estate of Glenericht, near Blairgowrie.

[4] Both in the obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in an article on Sir William in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, he is stated to have been born in 1787; but the Dundee Register of Baptisms, preserved in the General Register House, shows that he was baptized on the 27th of March 1785.

[5] *War Office Registers, Various*, No. LIV., p. 42.

[6] Kenneth Mackenzie had been the original captain-lieutenant of the 90th Foot (or Perthshire Volunteers) and had left that regiment in 1801 as a major and brevet-lieutenant-colonel. See list of officers of the 90th, p. 97.

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spiring influence of its Colonel, Sir John Moore, who was commanding a brigade at Shorncliffe, it was about to commence the course of instruction in light infantry drill which laid the foundation of its great achievements as an unit of the Light Division in the Peninsula.

In the same year in which he joined, Chalmers obtained his promotion as lieutenant, and in the following year he was appointed adjutant of the 1st Battalion of his regiment, a post which he held for three years.

In the autumn of 1806 the 1st Battalion of the 52nd was sent out to Sicily to join the force assembled there under General Fox [1] for the protection of the King and Queen of Naples. Every British regiment serving at that time in the island was required to augment its strength by raising a company of Sicilians, and in the case of the 52nd this duty was entrusted to Chalmers, as senior subaltern. By the following summer he had raised his company and he was in consequence promoted captain. He commanded the company until January 1808, when he returned home, having been appointed to a vacancy in the 2nd Battalion of his regiment, then stationed at Ramsgate.

In July 1808 Chalmers embarked with his battalion for Portugal, where the first stage of the Peninsular War had been entered upon. The battalion landed too late to take part in the battle of Roliça, but at Vimiero, on the 21st of August 1808, it made an effective charge on the French left flank, and was afterwards specially mentioned by Wellesley in his despatches.[2] The victory at Vimiero was followed by the Convention of Cintra and the departure of the French from Portugal. The 52nd therefore went into cantonments in the Alemtejo, and towards the end of October joined in the advance into Spain under Sir John Moore. On the march to Mayorga the regiment was in Beresford's flank brigade, but when Moore commenced his retreat the 2nd Battalion was transferred to the brigade commanded by General Robert Craufurd (afterwards famous as the commander of the Light Division). Craufurd's brigade was employed in covering the rear of the army during the first part of the retreat, but at Astorga Moore divided his force, and the brigade received orders to march on Vigo. The 2nd Battalion of the 52nd embarked at Vigo on the 13th of January 1809, and Chalmers consequently missed being present at the battle of Corunna.

In the following July Chalmers accompanied five companies of his battalion on the expedition to Walcheren. He took part in the capture of Flushing, and a fortnight later re-embarked for England with the greater part of Lord Chatham's fever-stricken force.

The 2nd Battalion of the 52nd remained at home during the whole of 1810, but in the course of the year Chalmers obtained an appointment as aide-de-camp at Cadiz, and left his regiment in order to take part in Graham's defence of the city. He served at Cadiz until the following year; was present at the battle

[1] Shortly after the battle of Maida (4th July 1806), Lieutenant-General the Hon. Henry Fox had succeeded Sir John Stuart in command of the British troops in Sicily.

[2] "Vimiero" is one of the "honours" on the colours of the 52nd.

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of Barrosa; and in 1812, having joined Wellington's army in Portugal, served in the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, the advance to Madrid, and the great victory at Salamanca. He also took part in numerous engagements during the subsequent retreat from Burgos—a terrible anti-climax to the brilliant campaign of that year.

Chalmers continued to serve on the staff in the Peninsula until the end of the war. In the campaign of 1813 he was brigade-major to one of the brigades of Lord Dalhousie's division (the 7th), and was mentioned to Wellington by Dalhousie as having been "most active, zealous, and enterprising" in the hottest of the battle at Vittoria.[1] A month later, when Soult made his daring attempt to relieve Pampeluna and San Sebastian, he was present at the engagement in the Pass of Maya on the 25th of July, the second battle of Sauroren on the 30th, and the action at Doña Maria on the 31st, during Soult's retreat to the Bidassoa.

Soult having been driven back into France, Wellington resumed the siege of San Sebastian, which had been temporarily interrupted by the ten days' campaign in the Pyrenees. On the 31st of August, the day on which Sir Thomas Graham made his successful assault on San Sebastian, Soult made a last attempt to force his way through the covering army on the Pyrenean frontier, and Chalmers took part in the repulse of Clausel's corps on the heights of San Antonio.[2] On the 7th of October 1813 Wellington crossed the Bidassoa into France, and in the course of two days' fighting the French were driven from the rugged mountain range which culminated in the Great Rhune. On the 9th Chalmers accompanied a portion of the 7th Division which was somewhat imprudently pushed into the village of Sarre, on the extreme right of the British line. The village was still held in strength by the enemy, and the attack was repulsed. Chalmers was severely wounded in this engagement, but he was able to take part in the battle of Nivelle a month later, when the 7th Division finally assisted to storm the French redoubts in front of Sarre. It is probable, however, that his wound continued to trouble him, for we do not hear of him as sharing in any more of Wellington's great victories in the south of France.

Chalmers returned home with the rank of brevet-major,[3] having made himself known, even among the Peninsular veterans, for his courage and daring. As an aide-de-camp he is said to have been unsurpassed, and Wellington frequently employed him on services of the most perilous nature. On one occasion the British army found itself facing the French across a valley, with a projecting range of mountains dividing its right wing from the left. An urgent despatch had to be carried from one wing to the other, and Wellington sent for Chalmers as the man who he knew would do it. Chalmers had already volunteered for the duty, and avoiding a safe but circuitous route behind the British line, he

[1] Wellington, *Supplementary Despatches*, vol. viii. p. 6.

[2] At the beginning of the campaign of 1813 he had been brigade-major to Major-General de Bernewitz, in Dalhousie's division, but at San Antonio his brigadier was Major-General W. Inglis. *Ibid.*, vol. vii. p. 535, and vol. viii. p. 222.

[3] Commission dated 26th August 1813.

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rode straight across the foot of the mountains in face of the whole French army, which was encamped in line along the opposite slope of the valley. He was fired at by the French sentries and his horse was killed, but he picked himself up and ran off on foot, pursued by a body of French horsemen. By dint of "hard running and successful dodging," he made his escape, and the despatch was finally delivered in safety and "in an incredibly short space of time."[1] That this was only one out of many narrow escapes is shown by the fact that he had five other horses killed under him in the Peninsula.[2]

When the memorable campaign of 1815 began, Chalmers was serving as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Kenneth Mackenzie, who was then commanding at Antwerp. Both battalions of the 52nd had been sent over to join the Allied army in the Netherlands, and Chalmers, hearing the distant sound of the guns at Quatre Bras, obtained leave to ride over to the scene of operations, which he reached in time to take part in the battle of Waterloo. Two senior officers of the 52nd were on leave at Brussels, and owing to this, Chalmers, though only third on the list of captains, had the good fortune to command the right wing of his regiment on that eventful day. The 52nd, forming part of Adam's brigade, was kept in reserve during the greater part of the action, but towards the end of the day, when, after the repulse of the leading column of the Imperial Guard, a second column was launched against the Allied right, the 52nd was brought out, and Chalmers, with his cap on the point of his sword, and standing up in his stirrups to cheer on the men, took part in the daring flank attack made by his regiment on Napoleon's veterans. The huge column, raked by artillery in front and attacked by the 52nd in flank, was driven back, and the men of the 52nd, continuing their advance across the field of battle, pursued the enemy beyond La Belle Alliance. The defeat of the Imperial Guard marked the crisis of the great battle, and the charge of the 52nd was certainly not the least of the many heroic achievements of the British army on that day.

Chalmers had three horses shot under him at Waterloo, and received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy for his services.[3] He took part in the advance on Paris with the 52nd, and remained in France until 1817, when, the 2nd Battalion of his regiment having been disbanded, he was placed on half-pay.[4] His days of soldiering were now at an end, and in 1826 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Page[5]

[1] *The Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle*, 1901, p. 165.

[2] At the battle of Barrosa he had bullets through his coat, his hat, and his saddle, but he himself remained unhurt.

[3] The Rev. William Leeke, author of *Lord Seaton's Regiment at Waterloo*, who was serving on that day as junior ensign with the 52nd, tells us that among his brother officers Chalmers was known as "Black Will," on account of his complexion.

[4] In the *Army Lists* from 1818 onwards Chalmers appears on the half-pay of the 57th Foot, but no commission to him in that regiment is to be found in the *War Office Registers Various* at the Record Office. As the 2nd Battalion of the 52nd had been disbanded in May 1816, the cause of his retirement in 1817 may have been his father's death (see text below).

[5] Name as given by the family. In the article on Sir William in the *Dictionary of National Biography* it appears as Price. It is given correctly, however, in a notice on Sir William in *The Scottish Nation*.

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of Arbroath. In 1832 he was made a knight of the Hanoverian Order, and in 1837 King Ernest of Hanover advanced him to be a knight commander.[1] The year 1837 also brought Sir William his promotion as colonel, and on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Coronation, in July 1838, he was appointed a companion of the Bath.[2] He became a knight bachelor by letters patent in April 1844.[3] He was promoted major-general in 1846, and in 1853 was successively appointed colonel of the 20th Foot and 78th Highlanders. He finally attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1854.

Chalmers settled down in Scotland after his retirement, dividing his time between a house in Dundee and his estate of Glenericht, to which he succeeded in 1817, on his father's death. In February 1818 he became a burgess of Dundee "in right of his father," who had been town clerk; and he long held the lucrative post of keeper of the register of sasines for the county of Forfar.[4] He led an active and simple life; rose every morning between three and four o'clock, took long rides before breakfast, and, until within a short time of his death, could walk from Dundee to Glenericht and back, in a day, "as often as not dancing at a ball in the evening." He planted trees at Glenericht to represent the disposition of the British army at Waterloo, and when Queen Victoria used to pass up the glen on her early visits to Balmoral, the old soldier used to station himself at his lodge gate in full uniform and salute Her Majesty with drawn sword.

Sir William died at his house in Dundee[5] on the 2nd of June 1860, and by his special request was borne to his grave by his tenantry, instead of being buried with military honours. He had had three sons and six daughters, but his two eldest sons and three of his daughters, had predeceased him; the estate was left in the hands of trustees; and within five years of Sir William's death Glenericht had passed out of the possession of his family.

[1] Haydn's *Book of Dignities* and Sir N. H. Nicholas' *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. iv. p. xi. At the date of publication of Nicholas' book (1842), Chalmers had not received Queen Victoria's permission to accept the higher grade of the Order. Permission, however, was probably granted in that year, for in 1843 he appears for the first time in the *Army Lists* as a K.C.H. He had been shown as K.H. from 1833 inclusive.

[2] *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, vol. iii. p. lxvi.

[3] Dr. Shaw, *Knights of England*, vol. ii. p. 345. In the article on Sir William in the *Dictionary of National Biography* the date appears as 1848; in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, as 1847. It is, however, given correctly in the notice in *The Scottish Nation*.

[4] In Oliver & Boyd's *Almanack* and Dundee *Directories* he is also shown as clerk of the Peace.

[5] The *Gentleman's Magazine* says that he died "at his seat near Dundee," but the Register of Deaths for Dundee shows that he died in that city, at his house, No. 142 Perth Road.

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GENERAL SIR DUNCAN MACGREGOR, K.C.B.[1]

1787–1881

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL Sir Duncan MacGregor, a soldier who commenced his military career in the eighteenth century and lived into the last decade but one of the nineteenth, was the eldest son of John MacGregor, a member of the family of Learan,[2] in Rannoch, and cashier of the Commercial Bank in Edinburgh, by his marriage with the only daughter of Duncan MacGregor (a brother of Glencarnaig), who, as Duncan Murray, had been severely wounded while fighting for Prince Charles Edward at Prestonpans.

Duncan MacGregor was born on the 16th of March 1787, and in 1799, when not more than twelve years of age, obtained a commission as ensign in the Clan Alpine Fencibles, in which his father was then serving as a captain. In spite of his tender years he did duty in Ireland with the Clan Alpine Regiment,[3] and after less than a year's service was gazetted ensign in the 72nd Highlanders.[4] A year later he obtained his promotion as lieutenant, and in April 1804, when only seventeen, raised a sufficient number of men to procure him a company in the newly-formed 2nd Battalion of the 78th—the battalion to which David Stewart (afterwards of Garth) and Robert Dick were appointed at the same date.[5]

Captain MacGregor was quartered at Fort George until the following March, when his battalion was sent to Hythe to receive from Sir John Moore the same training in light infantry drill that he was then imparting to the 43rd and 52nd Regiments. But the 78th did not long remain at Hythe. In September 1805 the battalion proceeded to Gibraltar, and in the summer of 1806 it was sent on

[1] From notes supplied by Miss Murray MacGregor and Colonel Henry MacGregor, C.B.; Sir Henry Bunbury's *Narrative of the Great War with France*; Stewart of Garth's *Sketches*, vol. ii.; Cannon's *Historical Record of the 31st Regiment*; Captain Burgoyne's *Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders*; the *Annual Register*, vol. 123; and the *Army Lists*.

[2] The MacGregors of Learan were descended from a cadet of the family of Learagan.

[3] During his stay in Ireland Ensign MacGregor was presented to Lord Cornwallis, then lord-lieutenant, as the youngest officer in the British Army.

[4] According to a biographical notice in the *Historical Records of the 93rd*, p. 395 *et seq.*, Duncan MacGregor served with the Clan Alpine Fencibles from July 1799, but no one of his name was gazetted to the regiment in that month. I believe him to have been the Ensign Duncan MacGregor who was appointed on the 31st of August 1799, though he is shown as still serving in the same capacity in the official list of the Auxiliary Forces for 1801, and in the *British Almanack* for 1801 and 1802. His commission as ensign in the 72nd is not to be found in the *War Office Registers*, but it apparently dated from the 12th July 1800.

[5] See respective biographies of General Stewart of Garth and Sir Robert Dick, p. 477–8, and p. 497.

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to Sicily. At the end of June Duncan MacGregor accompanied General Sir John Stuart on his expedition to Calabria; took part in the skirmish at St. Euphemia on the day of landing; and was in the hottest of the fighting at Maida. In that memorable battle, won by the sheer *morale* and discipline of Stuart's troops, the 2nd Battalion of the 78th, though at first driven back by superior numbers and a confusion of orders, rallied with wonderful steadiness, and repulsed an attack which had threatened to break the British centre. The regiment lost heavily, and MacGregor's company suffered more than any other in Stuart's force.[1] Both he and his younger brother, Peter, who was serving as an ensign in the 78th, were wounded,[2] Duncan being hit by a musket-shot in the right shoulder. Along with other of the wounded he was taken prisoner while on the return voyage to Sicily, but was immediately exchanged. Before he had had time to recover his strength he took part in the siege of Scylla Castle, and accompanied his battalion on the expedition which resulted in the capture of Cotrone. By the time, therefore, that the 78th returned to Sicily, his wound had broken out afresh and he was suffering from fever. In the spring of 1807, however, he was able to accompany his battalion on General Mackenzie Fraser's luckless expedition to Egypt—an enterprise in which the 78th lost its Commanding Officer, Lieutenant-Colonel MacLeod, and had five companies killed or made prisoner, at El Hamed on the Nile, during the second siege of Rosetta.[3]

After the withdrawal of the expedition from Egypt in September 1807, the 78th returned to Sicily, and at the end of the year was sent home.

MacGregor was next sent abroad in August 1809, when he commanded four companies of his battalion which took part in the fatal expedition to Walcheren. He shared in the capture of Ter Vere and Flushing, but returned with health so much impaired, that he obtained leave to enter upon a course of study at the Royal Military College at High Wycombe. He left the college in 1811 with a first-class certificate, which at once gained him the appointment of assistant quartermaster-general in Scotland. Having obtained his majority,[4] he served on the staff in the Peninsula, 1813–1814, and was employed in the quartermaster-

[1] Letter in the possession of Miss Murray MacGregor.

[2] Peter MacGregor was badly wounded in the thigh, and lay in the broiling July sun from 8.30 A.M. until sunset, without having his wound dressed. After many months' illness he recovered, but he was eventually drowned off the coast of St. Lucia in March 1815, while serving as a captain in the Royal York Rangers. The fatality was owing to a weakness in the muscles, caused by the wound he had received at Maida.

[3] The statement of Sir Duncan MacGregor's war services in Hart's *Army Lists* says that he took part "in the attacks in the desert," but it seems doubtful if he were at El Hamed, as his name is not given among the list of officers killed, wounded, or taken prisoner in Keltie's *Scottish Highland Clans and Regiments*, and every officer and man who was not killed at El Hamed was made prisoner. I therefore conclude that the attack referred to was the destruction of one of the enemy's batteries on the right bank of the Nile, which was skilfully carried out by a detachment of the 78th five days before the disaster at El Hamed. The survivors among the officers employed in Egypt in 1807 afterwards received permission to wear swords with hilts of rhinoceros horn in recognition of their services.

[4] Commission dated 25th November 1813.

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general's department during Lord William Bentinck's operations in Italy, and the capture of Corsica in May 1814. After the cession of Corsica to the Government of Louis XVIII. MacGregor held a staff appointment in Sicily, and in the spring of 1815 took part in the expedition against Naples, which ended with the abdication and flight of Murat. In 1816, however, both the battalion and the staff to which he belonged were reduced, and he was placed on half-pay.

Eight years of inaction followed, at the end of which (in January 1824) MacGregor was appointed junior major of the 31st Foot, then quartered in Ireland. In the following March he married Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Sir William Dick of Prestonfield.

Early in 1825 the 31st received orders to embark for Bengal, and MacGregor, with his wife and infant son, accompanied the right wing of his regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel R. B. Fearon, which sailed on the *Kent* East Indiaman in February. The voyage was brought to an early and terrible end. The *Kent*, with 637 souls on board, caught fire in the Bay of Biscay during a violent gale; all efforts to extinguish the flames were ineffectual; and had not a small brig, the *Cambria*, come to the rescue, by far the greater part of the passengers and crew must have perished. As it was, over 550 persons were eventually transferred to the *Cambria*, but the *Kent* had been on fire for five hours before help was sighted, and MacGregor was in command of the troops on the burning vessel for many hours afterwards. He met this terrible ordeal with a courage born of a true Christian faith, and Colonel Fearon, in sending in his report on the disaster, paid a warm tribute to MacGregor's "collected counsel and manly example."[1] The survivors of the *Kent*, among whom were Major MacGregor's wife and child, returned to England in the *Cambria*, and two months later MacGregor was put on half-pay as a brevet-lieutenant-colonel.

In March 1826 MacGregor returned to the active list as lieutenant-colonel of the 93rd or Sutherland Highlanders,[2] and for twelve years he commanded the regiment—at first in the West Indies, latterly in England and Ireland. It is evident that this was a thoroughly congenial appointment, and that Colonel MacGregor was deeply interested in the moral and intellectual welfare of his men. He strenuously encouraged attendance at the regimental schools, and both he and his wife endeared themselves to the Highlanders of the 93rd by many kindnesses.

In January 1838 the regiment was sent out to Canada, and for a few months Colonel MacGregor commanded it during the rebellion of that year, but in June

[1] It was announced that a C.B. would be given to one of the officers of the 31st, in recognition of the gallant behaviour of the regiment on the *Kent*. Colonel Fearon wished Major MacGregor to have it, because he himself had been obliged to leave the ship before his junior, on account of an injury which he had received to his head. MacGregor, however, refused to receive the decoration, and it was accordingly conferred on his Commanding Officer. MacGregor afterwards wrote an account of the burning of the *Kent*, which was published in pamphlet form and was translated into several foreign languages. He received the Royal Humane Society's Medal for his conduct during the fire.

[2] Commission dated 26th May 1825.

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he was given a brevet of colonel, and a month later he retired on half-pay, in order to take up the appointment of inspector-general of the Irish Constabulary—a force which had recently undergone reorganisation at the hands of another Perthshire man, Thomas Drummond,[1] who, as under-secretary, was at that time practically ruler of Ireland. MacGregor held the office of inspector-general for some twenty years, and during that period won the confidence alike of the Government and people he served. His services during the attempted rising in 1848 were rewarded with a well-earned K.C.B.;[2] he was promoted major-general in 1851; and retired in 1858 as a lieutenant-general.[3]

The many years of life which still remained to Sir Duncan were spent by him at Blackheath, where he owned a house named Vanburgh Park. His marriage had brought him five sons and a daughter, and he lived to see his eldest son, who in earlier days had been a great traveller,[4] devote himself to philanthropic work, and originate the proposal to found the London Shoeblack Brigade.[5] His third son, Henry Grey MacGregor, followed his father's profession; served on the staff throughout the Zulu War of 1878–1879, the Boer War of 1881, the Egyptian Campaign of 1882, and the expedition to Suakin in 1885. He retired in 1895 as a colonel, and has since been made a companion of the Bath.

Sir Duncan became a full general in 1864, but he lived for many years after that date, and it was not until the 8th of June 1881 that the old veteran passed away at Blackheath, one of the last survivors of the early campaigns of the century.

[1] He was the son of the last Drummond of Comrie.

[2] Sir Duncan MacGregor was a civil, not a military K.C.B.

[3] Commission dated 12th December 1857.

[4] In a canoe named the *Rob Roy* he made various long voyages, of which he subsequently published accounts.

[5] He gave the profit of his books and lectures—some £10,000 in all—to philanthropic institutions.

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN MACDONALD
OF DALCHOSNIE AND DUNALASTAIR, K.C.B.

(From a Portrait by George Watson, P.R.S.A., in the possession of the Misses Macdonald)

GENERAL ANDREW JOHN DRUMMOND
OF STRATHALLAN

(From a Portrait by Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., at Strathallan Castle)

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LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR JOHN MACDONALD OF DALCHOSNIE AND DUNALASTAIR, K.C.B.[1]

1788–1866

BY THE EDITOR

GENERAL Sir John Macdonald of Dalchosnie and Dunalastair, known in his own district as "Iain dubh nan Cath"[2] ("Black John of the Battles"), was the descendant of men who had been as conspicuous for their loyalty to the House of Stuart as for the sufferings which that devotion had entailed upon them. Out of three of Sir John's ancestors who had served in the 'Fifteen, only one had lived to return to Rannoch; and at Culloden there had fallen his great-grandfather, Alexander Macdonald of Dalchosnie, with his younger brother John. The eldest son of the house died of wounds received in the course of the rising of 1745, and the second son, John, was the only member of the family who, having joined Prince Charles' army, escaped unscathed from the campaign. And when, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, it had become evident that the Jacobite cause was irretrievably lost, and all parties had united in resistance to the dangers threatening Great Britain from abroad, the Macdonalds of Dalchosnie, one after the other, entered the service of King George III., and fought and died as devotedly under his banner as their forefathers had done for the Stuarts.[3]

Sir John Macdonald, the most distinguished member of this soldier race, was the eldest son of Alexander Macdonald, younger, of Dalchosnie, who had served with the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd at the siege of Mangalore,[4] and his

[1] From Mackenzie's *Hist. of the Macdonalds;* the Revs. A. and A. Macdonalds' *Clan Donald*, vol. iii.; Cannon's *Historical Record of the 88th Foot;* Lieut.-Colonel Greenhill Gardyne's *Life of a Regiment—The History of the Gordon Highlanders;* an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1866; the *Army Lists;* and notes supplied by Sir John's eldest daughter, Miss E. M. Macdonald.

[2] The name by which Claverhouse is known to Highlanders generally.

[3] Details as to the services of the various members of the family are given in the Macdonald books already referred to, but it may be mentioned that Sir John Macdonald's father was one of the original officers of the battalion which afterwards became the 73rd Foot (see list of officers, p. 86); that two of Sir John's uncles—William, a major in the 37th Foot, and Donald, a major and brevet-lieutenant-colonel of the 92nd—died of the effects of wounds received on active service; that all his four brothers served in the Army—one of them, Alexander, being mortally wounded at the Pass of Maya; and that finally, as will be narrated, the family tradition was maintained by his four sons.

[4] Both in the *Clan Donald* and the *History of the Macdonalds* Alexander Macdonald is said to have served in the capture of Seringapatam in 1799, the authors of these works having been apparently misled by Stewart of Garth, who mentions "Major Macdonald" of the

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wife Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Menzies of Bolfracks. He was born in 1788, and in 1803 became an ensign in the 88th or Connaught Rangers,[1] the regiment of which General John Reid, then in his eighty-second year, was colonel. The 88th at the time was exclusively Irish in character, and it seems probable that Reid's connection with it had something to do with Alexander Macdonald's choice of that regiment for his son. In March 1805 young John Macdonald obtained his promotion as lieutenant, and towards the end of 1806 he accompanied his regiment to the Cape of Good Hope, which had been captured by Major-General David Baird about a year before. Within a fortnight, however, the 88th was shipped off with a force under Brigadier-General Robert Craufurd to Buenos Ayres, to take part in the expedition to which, in the previous summer, Commodore Sir Home Popham had rashly committed the British Government. Monte Video had been captured by Sir Samuel Achmuty early in 1807, but an attack on Buenos Ayres, which was made by the incompetent General Whitelocke shortly after the arrival of Craufurd's reinforcements, ended in utter disaster. The 88th, sent into the town by the General's orders with muskets unloaded, was decimated by a murderous fire from the houses, and after desperate fighting, those who were left of the regiment surrendered. On the following day Whitelocke agreed to withdraw from the country, and John Macdonald returned home after a fortnight's campaign, having been wounded in the head and right thigh in the luckless attack on the Argentine capital.[2]

The 88th remained in England for over a year after the South American adventure, but early in 1809 it was sent out to Portugal, which, at that time, owing to the recent withdrawal of the army which had been commanded by Sir John Moore, lay at the mercy of Soult. The regiment took part in the operations by which Wellington drove the French from Oporto, and it fought at Talavera two months later; but though Macdonald is known to have been in Portugal from the spring of 1809 onwards, there is no record of his having taken part in any general action until September 1810, when he was present with his regiment at Busaco. The 88th, forming part of Picton's division, greatly distinguished itself on that occasion by the manner in which it charged and routed a column composed of some of Napoleon's choicest troops, and its services were warmly praised by Wellington. Macdonald accompanied the 88th on the subsequent retreat to Torres Vedras, and joined in the pursuit of Masséna in

73rd as being present on that occasion (*Sketches*, 1st ed., vol. ii. p. 202). It is clear from the *Army Lists*, however, that Alexander Macdonald retired from the 2nd Battalion of the 42nd in 1786, with the rank of lieutenant; and the officer alluded to by Garth was probably one James Macdonald, who in 1799 was a captain and brevet-major in the 73rd.

[1] When John Macdonald obtained his first commission "he was so far from having reached his eventual height of six feet, that he was compelled to wear his sword strapped across his shoulder to keep it from dragging on the ground."—*History of the Macdonalds*, p. 515.

[2] Statement of Sir John's war services in the *Army Lists*. Curiously enough, he is not given in the *Historical Record of the 88th* among the list of officers wounded at Buenos Ayres. Both in the *Clan Donald* and the *History of the Macdonalds* Sir John is stated to have been wounded at the assault on Monte Video, but that port had been captured in February 1807, and the 88th did not arrive there until June.

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the following spring, taking part in the rearguard actions at Pombal and Redinha on the 10th and 12th of March. It appears to have been about that time, however, that, although not more than twenty-three years of age, and only a captain in the British Service,[1] he was given command of the 14th Portuguese Regiment,[2] and we next hear of him as serving under Beresford in the south, his regiment forming part of Hamilton's Portuguese division. Macdonald took part in the skirmish at Campo Mayor in March 1811; was present at Beresford's unsuccessful siege of Badajoz in April; and a few days later fought in the desperate battle at Albuera, where Hamilton's division did good service. A year afterwards we find him serving in the final capture of Badajoz; and in November 1812, during Wellington's retreat from Burgos, he took part in the rearguard action at Alba de Tormes, when Hamilton's Portuguese, acting in conjunction with one of Hill's brigades, covered the retirement of the cavalry across the Tormes River, in the face of a heavy and prolonged artillery fire.

In the following year, when Wellington for the last time advanced into Spain, Macdonald's regiment formed part of the right column under Sir Rowland Hill. He fought at Vittoria, where Hill's division drove the French from the heights on the left of their position; and in the terrible fighting in the Pass of Maya, on the 25th of July, he had two horses shot under him. Soult, having been foiled at Sauroren in his endeavour to relieve Pampeluna, attempted to force his way through to the relief of San Sebastian, and on the 30th of July threw himself on Hill near Buenza with an overwhelming force. Hill's men fought stubbornly, but his left was gradually driven back, and Macdonald's Portuguese were ordered to cover the retirement of the 92nd from a ridge where the Highlanders had been hotly engaged. To do this it was necessary to hold some houses in the valley between the ridge and the position to which the 92nd had been withdrawn, but Macdonald's men, for once refusing to face the vastly superior numbers of the enemy, abandoned the houses and took to their heels. Their colonel, furious at the behaviour of his regiment, "rode up to the standard-bearer, snatched the flag from his hands, and galloped to within one hundred yards of the houses, where he remained for a considerable time with the enemy's shot flying about his ears, while he waved the colour round his head to induce his men to follow."[3] In this gallant attempt to rally his men Macdonald was twice wounded, but he was able to take part in the rearguard action on the following day at Doña Maria, when Soult, having received news of Wellington's second victory at Sauroren, was obliged to commence his retreat to the Bidassoa.

A month later Macdonald had recovered from his wounds, and on the 2nd of October he surprised the French post in the valley of Banca in the Pyrenees, and captured the fortified rock of Arolla. Arolla, a position of great natural strength, was believed to be impregnable, and Macdonald, who had with him only a small

[1] Commission as captain dated 7th Sept. 1809. [2] *Bulletins of the Campaign of* 1813, p. 543.

[3] *History of the Gordon Highlanders*, vol. i. p. 371. Hill, however, wrote to Wellington that Major-General Pringle, commanding the rearguard, had spoken "in terms of the greatest praise" not only of Macdonald, but also of his regiment (Wellington, *Despatches*, vol. vi. p. 641, *note*).

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body of men, had been ordered to avoid it. Marching, however, on a foggy night, he is said to have lost his way and to have suddenly found himself within gunshot of the fort. Perceiving at once "that either to retreat or to advance would equally expose himself and his men to an exterminating fire," he determined, if possible, to surprise the garrison. With great promptitude, and the agility inborn in a Highlander, he climbed the rock; surprised and killed the sentry; and, followed by his men, carried the fortress by assault.[1] For this success Macdonald afterwards received permission to carry on his crest a flag gules inscribed with the word "Arolla," but for some time it appeared more than doubtful if he would live to be rewarded for his gallantry. In the assault on the rock he was dangerously wounded in the right shoulder and lung, and it was at first believed impossible that he could recover. With characteristic Highland sentiment he had given orders to his Portuguese bandsmen that, should he fall in battle, he was to be played to his grave to the tune of "Lochaber no more," and his recovery from the desperate wounds received at Arolla is said to have been largely aided by hearing the familiar strain practised assiduously, in expectation of his early demise. It is probable that it was some months before he was again fit for active duty, for the next occasion on which we hear of him as being in the field is at the battle of Toulouse on the 10th of April 1814—the final action of the war. Some of the sinews of his neck had been severed at Arolla, and he ever afterwards carried his arm in a sling.

Macdonald, who in 1813 had received a brevet majority for his services,[2] was obliged to retire on half-pay on the conclusion of hostilities. In 1817 he became a brevet-lieutenant-colonel,[3] but he was not employed again until the end of 1821, when he was appointed junior major in the 91st, or Argyllshire Regiment, which almost immediately afterwards was sent out to the West Indies. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the regiment in 1824, but three years later was placed on the unattached list and returned home. Finally, in 1828, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 92nd, or Gordon Highlanders, and there is no doubt that, as commanding officer of that distinguished regiment, John Macdonald found his *métier*. He had many ties with the 92nd. Two brothers had held commissions in the regiment. Alexander, the elder one, had died of wounds received at Maya; and his uncle, Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald, after serving with the Gordon Highlanders in Holland, Egypt, Walcheren, and the Peninsula, had been severely wounded in both legs at Arroyo dos Molinos, but had lived to command his regiment in the memorable charge at Waterloo.[4]

[1] *History of the Macdonalds;* information supplied by Miss E. M. Macdonald; and statement of Sir John's war services in the *Army Lists*. Neither Wellington nor Napier refer to the capture of Arolla in more than the briefest manner.

[2] Commission dated 26th August 1813. It was probably a reward for his gallantry at Buenza on the 30th of July.

[3] Commission dated 4th September 1817; erroneously given as "1827" in the *Army List* for 1829.

[4] Lieutenant-Colonel Donald Macdonald died in 1829, after many years of suffering caused by his wounds.

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With such antecedents, and the distinguished reputation which he had won for himself, John Macdonald was warmly welcomed by officers and men of the 92nd, and it is evident that during the long period of his command his energies were unsparingly devoted to the interests of the regiment. At the time of his appointment, different causes—among them a prolonged residence in the West Indies—had severely impaired the health and the *morale* of the 92nd, but under the firm hand of Colonel Macdonald its former prestige and *esprit de corps* were quickly regained.[1] Though a stern disciplinarian, somewhat hot-tempered, and often unsparing in his censure, he was of a kind and generous disposition, and had a true Highlander's knowledge of his men and care for their welfare. It is evident that these qualities brought him both the love and respect of his regiment.[2]

Colonel Macdonald commanded the 92nd successively in Ireland, the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and Scotland. In 1831 he was given a C.B., and he received a brevet of colonel in 1837, but he did not relinquish the command of his regiment until he obtained his promotion to the rank of major-general in 1846.

In January 1848 he was appointed to the command of the forces in Jamaica, but a rebellion was feared in Ireland, and before Macdonald had sailed for the West Indies he was selected to command the flying column intended for the suppression of the disturbance. The insurrection, however, came to nothing, and in October of the same year Macdonald was placed in charge of the troops in Kilkenny, one of the most disaffected parts of the country. He remained at Kilkenny until 1854, when, having been promoted lieutenant-general, he was obliged to relinquish his command, in spite of a petition to the contrary from the inhabitants of the district.

In 1855 he was appointed colonel of the Gordon Highlanders, and in the following year he received a K.C.B. A further recognition of the services of himself and his family[3] was a Royal warrant granting him certain honourable augmentations to his crest and coat of arms.[4]

[1] In the *History of the Gordon Highlanders* are printed farewell addresses received from the inhabitants of different towns in Ireland in which the 92nd was quartered during the first period of Colonel Macdonald's command. These recall the tributes to the good behaviour of the same regiment in Ireland thirty years before, while commanded by another Perthshire man, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Erskine (see his biography, p. 472).

[2] Colonel Gardyne relates that "a refrain used to be sung about the Colonel, which, after describing the very forcible language in which he sometimes rebuked them," continued as follows:—

> "But if a cocket hat e'er reckoned
> To meddle wi' the Ninety-Second,
> He'd rue the day and hour he spoke,
> And raised the birse o' Heather Jock."
>
> —*History of the Gordon Highlanders*, vol. ii. p. 56, *note*.

[3] *i.e.* Sir John Macdonald's father, uncles, and brothers.

[4] The augmentations to the coat of arms were various. The augmentation to the crest (besides the flag already mentioned, inscribed "Arolla" and entwined with a laurel wreath),

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After his retirement from the Army Sir John devoted himself to the improvement of his estates, and many an old soldier of the 92nd found his way to a farm in Rannoch. He had succeeded to Dalchosnie on the death of his grandfather, John Macdonald, in 1809; and in the course of his life he added to the property by purchasing Kinloch Rannoch, Crossmount, and historic Dunalastair, formerly the residence of the Robertsons of Struan. In 1826, while lieutenant-colonel of the 91st, he had married Adriana, daughter of James McInroy of Lude, and he lived to see four sons grow up, and, true to the family tradition, enter the Army. The two eldest obtained commissions in the 92nd, and three of them served in the Crimea. The third son, Captain Charles William Macdonald of the 93rd Highlanders, after serving at the Alma, at Balaclava, and in Sir Colin Campbell's relief of Lucknow, met his death in the attack on the Begum's Palace at Lucknow on the 11th of March 1858. The fourth son, Donald, a captain in the 79th, also served in the Crimea and the Mutiny, and died in August 1871 while on parade during big gun drill—his death being due to heart-disease, rendered fatal by the concussion of the guns.

Sir John Macdonald died at Dunalastair on the 24th of June 1866, and was buried in the Episcopal Church at Kinloch Rannoch, beneath the old colours of the regiment whose interests he had served so faithfully during many years of his life. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Alastair McIan, who subsequently rose to the rank of major-general, and from 1881 to 1885 commanded the forces in Scotland.[1] In 1884, however, General Macdonald sold his numerous estates; and the family which for two hundred years had upheld the best traditions of Perthshire men, is no longer to be found in Rannoch.

consisted of the addition of flames to the cross crosslet of the Macdonalds. In the *History of the Macdonalds* the cross crosslet itself, with flames issuing from it, is said to have formed the addition, and in the *Clan Donald*, the hand which holds the crosslet.

[1] Details of his services are given in *A Military History of Perthshire*, 1899–1902.

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MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN MACDUFF, C.B.[1]

1800 (?)–65

BY THE EDITOR

MAJOR-GENERAL John MacDuff, a gallant soldier who spent many years of his life on foreign service, came of a family long known in Strathbraan as the lairds of Balanloan. The General's grandfather, Alexander MacDuff, a younger son of the family, had fought under Prince Charles' banner in the 'Forty-five, and had afterwards settled down at the farm of Westwood in Strathord, which he and his eldest son David rented from the Duke of Atholl. David MacDuff in course of time was appointed ground-officer on the Duke's Strathord property, and having married Mally, daughter of John Macfarlane, tacksman and factor of Duneaves, became the father of two sons and two daughters, all of whom maintained their connection with Perthshire throughout their lives.

John MacDuff, the second son of this marriage, is believed to have been born in 1800,[2] and, if so, it was at the youthful age of fourteen (*i.e.* in February 1814) that he obtained a commission as ensign in the 92nd or Gordon Highlanders.[3] But it was an unpropitious moment for a young soldier. The war which had raged without intermission for eleven years and, with but a brief interval, for twenty, was now drawing to a close, and within a few months of his appointment MacDuff found himself on half-pay. A year later the military activity caused by the campaign of the Hundred Days procured him an ensign's commission in the 15th Foot, but in the spring of 1816 he was once more placed on the half-pay list, and his military career cannot be said to have definitely commenced until April 1825, when he was appointed ensign in the 42nd Highlanders. Two years later, in June 1827, he procured a lieutenancy in the 40th Foot, but the regiment was then stationed in Van Diemen's Land, and MacDuff appears to have served with the depôt companies at home until the year 1829 or 1830,[4]

[1] Principal authorities :—Captain Raymond Smythies' *Historical Records of the 40th Regiment;* Keltie's *Scottish Highlands, Clans and Regiments;* Malleson's *History of the Indian Mutiny;* obituary notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and *Illustrated London News;* the *Army Lists;* and information contributed by General MacDuff's niece, Miss M. C. Latham.

[2] The obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* says that he died on the 25th of September 1865, " aged 65 "—a statement which is confirmed by Miss Latham. On the other hand, the notice in the *Illustrated London News* says that he died " in his 65th year."

[3] He is believed to have owed his commission to the fourth Duke of Atholl, to whom his father, as already mentioned, was ground-officer.

[4] A detachment from home, which included one ensign, reached Bombay in July 1829, and MacDuff may have been with this. The account of his war services in Hart's *Army*

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when, the 40th having been transferred to India, he joined the regiment in the Bombay Presidency.

The 40th was quartered successively in the Southern Maratha country and in Bombay territory until early in 1839, when, war having broken out with Afghanistan, the regiment was sent to form part of a reserve force in Lower Sind, destined to secure communications with Quetta and Kandahar. Karachi was captured after a feeble show of resistance, and the 40th remained there for some eighteen months, cholera and fever working havoc in its ranks during that period. In the latter half of 1840 the regiment was moved up to Upper Sind, where for several months it was employed in the pursuit of lawless hordes which were devastating the province. In March 1841 the 40th advanced to Quetta, and in the following October, having suffered from disease even more severely at Quetta than at Karachi,[1] it was sent on to reinforce Major-General Nott at Kandahar. Affairs in Afghanistan wore a grave aspect when the 40th reached its destination. The object for which hostilities had been undertaken had indeed been apparently achieved. Dost Mahomed had been defeated and sent into exile, and Shah Sujah had been enthroned in his stead; but the authority of the new ruler was by no means established; the British occupation of the country was very unpopular; and the Afghans everywhere were rising. Early in November came the news of the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes at Kabul, and orders for Nott to send a brigade to reinforce the troops at the capital; but deep snow made this impossible, and throughout the winter of 1841–1842 Nott's division remained in garrison at Kandahar, its gallant defence of that city forming a bright contrast to the disasters which overtook the Kabul army on its terrible retreat to India. The cold at Kandahar was intense; supplies—and particularly fuel—were scarce; and owing to constant rumours of attack from without or of insurrection from within, the troops were constantly under arms. The General, however, was not content to wait to be attacked, and the 40th, at that time the only British regiment of his force, took part in three successful sallies which he made in the course of the winter.

In April 1842 the tide of ill-luck turned at last. The Afghans were defeated before Jalalabad; the gallant garrison which had been besieged there for five months was relieved by General Pollock; and a month later reinforcements under Major-General England reached Kandahar. In August the 40th formed part of the force with which Nott advanced from Kandahar to join hands with Pollock, and MacDuff took part in the capture of Ghazni and the defeat of the Afghans near Maidan. On the 17th of September Nott marched into Kabul,

Lists states that he served in India upwards of fourteen years with the 40th Foot. He was certainly in India until the end of 1843, but he appears to have returned home prior to the autumn of 1845, as his name is not given in the list of officers of the regiment who embarked for England at that date (*Historical Records of the 40th Regiment*, p. 336, *note*).

[1] The regimental surgeon of the 40th, who had served in the Walcheren expedition, gave it as his opinion that Quetta in 1841 was more unhealthy than even the notorious island in the Scheldt.

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which had been reached by Pollock's division two days before; and a month later, the prisoners who had been taken on the disastrous retreat from Kabul having been rescued, the combined British force set out on its return to India. Two months' marching brought it to Firozpur, where the men who had redeemed the disgraces and disasters of the previous year were royally welcomed by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough.

In January 1843 the 40th moved to Meerut, where MacDuff, who some years before had become a captain in his regiment,[1] found himself in the division commanded by another Perthshire man, Sir Robert Dick. In November the regiment received orders to join a force assembling at Agra under Sir Hugh Gough for an advance into the territories of the young Maharajah Sindia, and on the 29th of December MacDuff, in command of the Grenadier Company of his regiment, took part in the brilliant victory gained over the Marathas at Maharajpur. Sindia's famous batteries were in a position commanding the road from Agra, and as the British artillery was too feeble to silence them, they had to be stormed by the infantry. MacDuff's regiment formed part of a centre column under Major-General Valiant, which, after assisting in a combined attack on Maharajpur, in which twenty-eight guns were captured, was launched against the enemy's position at Chonda. Three successive sets of intrenchments had to be carried, and the Marathas defended their batteries with desperate valour; but at the end of the day no less than fifty-six guns had been taken, and the enemy had been defeated with heavy loss. The 40th took a prominent part in this action and suffered severely both in officers and men, the command of the regiment changing hands three times in the course of the day. A bronze star made from Sindia's captured guns was subsequently presented by the East India Company to every officer and man of Gough's force, and the name "Maharajpur" was added to the "honours" of the 40th Regiment.[2] The simultaneous defeat of another Maratha force at Punniar brought the brief campaign against Sindia to a close, and a month later the 40th returned to Meerut. In November 1844 it was sent to Calcutta, and in the following autumn it embarked for England, whither MacDuff appears to have preceded it.[3]

The 40th Foot was quartered in England until 1847, when it was sent over to Ireland. A month later MacDuff was promoted junior major of the regiment, but in June 1849 he quitted the 40th for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the St. Helena Regiment, which was then in a bad condition and needed a firm and experienced hand. MacDuff served with the St. Helena Regiment until the autumn of 1852, when, having been appointed to the command of the 74th Highlanders, he joined his new regiment at Fort Beaufort in Cape Colony. The longest and costliest of the Kaffir wars was drawing to a close, but MacDuff arrived in time to command the 1st Infantry Brigade in a force under the Governor, Sir George

[1] He had purchased a company in the 40th on the 13th of April 1839.

[2] The regiment had also been granted the right to carry "Kabul," "Kandahar," and "Ghazni" on its colours in recognition of its services in Afghanistan.

[3] See *note* 4, p. 521.

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Cathcart, which advanced into Basutoland with the intention of punishing Moshesh, the Basuto chief, who had been plundering the colonists north of the Orange River. Cathcart had hoped that the mere presence of his force would overawe the Basutos, but he had underrated their fighting powers and the impregnable character of their country. The Basutos were anxious to fight, and at their first encounter with the British near Platberg, the cavalry and 2nd Infantry Brigade were driven back with some loss. Cathcart having then realised that his two or three thousand men were too few to enforce submission on the Basutos, was fain to accept some cattle he had captured as a pledge of Moshesh's future good behaviour, and retraced his steps to Cape Colony. His force was broken up at the end of the year, and MacDuff in a farewell order was thanked by his divisional commander for the assistance he had derived from his "judgment and experience." He returned with the 74th to Fort Beaufort, but in February 1853 was sent to command the troops at Duhne, in Kaffraria, where he remained until peace was concluded in the following month. The 74th was then marched back to Fort Beaufort, and was quartered there until November 1853, when it was sent to India.

Colonel MacDuff commanded his regiment successively at Trichinopoli and Jakkatala [1] in the Madras Presidency for a year, at the end of which,[2] having been given a brevet of colonel,[3] he was temporarily appointed brigadier in command of the provinces of Malabar and Kanara. He returned to the 74th in January 1856, but again left it for a few months during the following winter to act as a brigadier at Bellary. Finally, in September 1857, after the outbreak of the Mutiny, he received a permanent appointment as brigadier on the staff of the Madras Presidency, and two months later was given a brigade in the force under General Whitlock which was to co-operate with Sir Hugh Rose in his campaign in Central India. Owing to Whitlock's dilatory methods, his force as a whole saw but little fighting, and MacDuff was not able to join him until nearly a month after the only important action in which he was engaged (*i.e.* the defeat of the Nawab of Banda on the 19th of April 1858). MacDuff, however, was in time to take part in the advance which was made early in June on Kirwi, where a large treasure was captured. Whitlock's force was then divided for the purpose of maintaining order in the Bundelkhand and Jumna districts, and in the execution of this task MacDuff's brigade was required to be constantly on the march, in spite of the fearful heat of an Indian summer. After a brief respite, we read of the brigade being engaged in minor operations in the neighbourhood of Kalpi during the height of the monsoon, and in December MacDuff was pursuing the rebels into Sindia's territory. It was not until the end of February 1859 that his brigade was allowed some much-needed months of rest in camp at Nagode, and by the time the force was broken up in the following July, the General was able to congratulate his men

[1] Now known as Wellington.
[2] *i.e.* in February 1855. Keltie, p. 607, and MS. *Digest of Services* of the 74th.
[3] Commission dated 28th November 1854.

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on the fact that they had marched nearly three thousand miles, and that in spite of untold difficulties of transport they had conveyed large quantities of treasure, public stores, and ammunition, without the loss "of a single cartridge."[1]

After this MacDuff returned to the command of a brigade at Bellary, but he remained on the strength of the 74th until January 1862, when he was appointed local major-general on the Bengal staff. In that capacity he commanded the troops in Oudh, and in 1862 his long and faithful services were rewarded with a C.B. In the following year he obtained his promotion as major-general, but in 1864 he had a severe attack of fever, and his naturally fine constitution had been so shattered by his many years of service in bad climates that he was obliged to resign his appointment.

He returned home to New Mill in Strathord, the residence of his elder brother Alexander, who had for many years been factor to the Duke of Atholl;[2] and at New Mill General MacDuff died on the 25th of September 1865, deeply lamented by all who knew his many sterling qualities and his kindly and genial nature.

Balanloan had been sold in 1784,[3] and the elder branch of the MacDuffs had died out shortly afterwards. The General was a bachelor, and though his elder brother was married and had a family, none of his children left any posterity. With the death, therefore, of the last of Alexander MacDuff's sons, the male line of this old Strathbraan family became extinct.

[1] *Historical Records of the 43rd Regiment*, p. 278.

[2] Alexander MacDuff became factor at Blair to the sixth Duke of Atholl (then Lord Glenlyon) in 1838. He held this office until 1858, when he took the farm of New Mill from the Duke, and became factor on his Strathord property. His son James succeeded him as factor at Blair.

[3] *Atholl Chrons.*, vol. iv. app. p. xxvi.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR JOHN CAMPBELL OF AVA, BART.[1]

1807–55

BY W. G. BLAIKIE MURDOCH

JOHN CAMPBELL, second son of General Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava,[2] and Helen, daughter of John Macdonald of Garth, was born on the 14th of April 1807. In November 1821, when only fourteen, he received an ensign's commission in the 38th Regiment, to the command of which his father had recently been appointed. Joining his regiment at the Cape, on his way to India, Campbell served as aide-de-camp to his father throughout the first Burmese War, 1824–1826, and in spite of his youth we read that "his conduct during the . . . war elicited such frequent notice in General Orders, that he received the thanks of the Governor-General in Council." In 1824 he was promoted a lieutenant, without purchase, and two years later was promoted to a company.[3] He remained in Burma until 1829, when he returned to England and joined the depôt of his regiment. In 1831 Campbell was again appointed aide-de-camp to his father (then lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick), and he remained on his staff until 1837, when he purchased the majority of the 38th. In 1840 he purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment, and he commanded it for fourteen years, successively in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, Nova Scotia, and at home.

His elder brother having died before his father, Campbell succeeded to the baronetcy in 1843 on Sir Archibald's death. In 1851 he was promoted colonel by brevet, and in 1854 was posted, with the rank of brigadier-general, to the command of a brigade of the 3rd Division (General Sir Richard England's) in the Crimea. In command of his brigade, Campbell was present at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman. After the latter engagement he was promoted major-general, and owing to the absence of Major-General Bentinck, who had been

[1] From the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Army Lists*, Lord Raglan's despatches, *The Crimea*, by Sir Evelyn Wood, W. H. Russell's *British Expedition to the Crimea*, and obituary notices in the *Illustrated London News* of the 29th September 1855 and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1855.

[2] See his biography, p. 481 *et seq.*

[3] Campbell was promoted captain on the 11th July 1826, but neither *Army Lists* nor *War Office Registers* show to what regiment he was appointed. He became a captain in the 38th on the 11th January 1828.—[ED.]

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wounded at Inkerman, he commanded the 4th Division during the winter of 1854–1855.[1] Bentinck returned to the Crimea towards the end of the spring of 1855, and Campbell commanded a brigade in the successful expedition to Kertch, which resulted in the destruction of many important coast defences and of immense quantities of stores destined for the garrison of Sevastopol. The evacuation of Anapa having rendered unnecessary the further proposed operations on the Circassian coast, Campbell and his brigade returned to the headquarters before Sevastopol on the 16th of June. On hearing of the assault of the Great Redan, which it had been decided should be made two days later, Campbell volunteered to lead the detachment of the 4th Division to the attack. He behaved with great gallantry in this action, rushed out of the trenches with a few followers, saying that at all events he would be among the earliest arrivals at the Redan, and was killed close to the abattis in front of the redoubtable work, while cheering on his men. His services were praised in the highest terms by Lord Raglan, who wrote in his despatches that he deeply lamented the loss of an officer who "had devoted himself to his duty without any intermission, and had acquired the confidence and respect of all"; and it was announced that only his untimely death had deprived him of the honour of knighthood. He was buried on the 19th of June at Cathcart's Hill, close to the quarters he had occupied during the preceding winter.

In 1841 Sir John Campbell had married Helen Margaret, only child of Colonel John Crow, of the East India Company's Service. He was succeeded by his eldest son, the present Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava.

[1] General Bentinck had succeeded to the command of the division on the death of Sir George Cathcart, who was killed at Inkerman.

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GENERAL SIR JAMES HOPE GRANT, G.C.B.[1]

1808–75

BY ELEANOR C. SELLAR

IT would seem to be the destiny of the Scot that he should cling to his native strath and mountains with a more passionate attachment than the men of other lands, yet that he should wander farther from them in the fulfilment of his calling, and in the pursuit of those aims, for which by the characteristics of his race he is fitted. The subject of this sketch, James Hope Grant, the youngest son of Francis Grant of Kilgraston, by his marriage with Annie, eldest daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, postmaster-general for Scotland, was born on the 22nd of July 1808. For a period of nearly twenty years he played a part of ever-increasing prominence and distinction in the wars that consolidated our empire in India, and that carried the fame and prestige of our arms to China.

During that time of eventful living, of brilliant and heroic achievement, Hope Grant was brought into line with some of the finest soldier statesmen that have upheld the great traditions of the race. To have been associated with the heroes of the Mutiny; with Nicholson and Neville Chamberlain at Delhi; with Lord Clyde, Outram, and Havelock, at Lucknow; is to be measured by the standard of giants, not alone in fighting power, dauntless courage and gifts of leadership, but in those qualities of high-souled chivalry and stainless honour, which make the memories of that time a mingled strand of pride and pain.

Perthshire may be proud to number one of her sons in the forefront of that heroic band. A typical Scot he was, though it may be conceded to those who accuse the Scots of claiming all the best things as their prerogative, that it was to a rare degree and in singularly happy combination that he possessed the best characteristics of his race—their courage, their kindliness, their humour (willing at all times to turn a joke against themselves), their sagacity, their deep and simple piety, their unfaltering truthfulness.

Thus he stands before us, in the memory and appreciation of the friends who survive him, and in the more searching revelation of his own journals and papers. Here, in detailed diaries kept for his own use, and with no view to the public eye, we might expect and forgive some trace of egotism, some touch of

[1] From *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, 1857–58, and *Incidents in the China War of* 1860, both compiled from the private journals of General Sir Hope Grant by Colonel Henry Knollys; the *Life of General Sir Hope Grant*, by the same author; Field-Marshal Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*; the article on Sir Hope Grant in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and the *Army Lists*.

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GENERAL SIR JAMES HOPE GRANT, G.C.B.

(*From an Engraving after a Portrait by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.S.A.*)

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self-congratulation on actions and leadership that won for him the highest commendation from his superiors in command, and a too scanty acknowledgment from a Government about whose rewards there ever has been a certain element of uncertainty.

> "It sounds like stories from the land of spirits
> If any man obtains that which he merits."

That Sir Hope was disappointed in respect of the honours conferred on him is apparent—indeed he makes no secret of it; but his disappointment is not marred by one jealous or vindictive word about those who were preferred before him. Nothing is more striking in his diaries than his generous appreciation of the qualities and achievements of his brother-officers; there is never a belittling word of either superior or subordinate; always a readiness to admire and to commend. This generosity alike in the expression of praise and in the reticence of blame, the total absence of a tinge of professional jealousy, the expression of his strong and simple faith in the wise overruling of a personal Providence in matters public as well as private, are the notes which give a personal value to his writings, and enable us to know the man.

For a knowledge of the soldier, we have to look at the military history of our Eastern Empire, and there over a period of seventeen years we shall find the figure of Hope Grant conspicuous for courage and leadership wherever the fighting was hardest, and his name prominent in despatches as "evincing the highest qualification of a cavalry leader."

He entered the Army in August 1826 as a cornet in the 9th Lancers, and in the course of the next sixteen years was promoted successively to be lieutenant, captain, and major in his regiment.[1] His first experience of active service was in China in 1842, when he acted as brigade-major to Lord Saltoun. He was present at the capture of Chin-Kiang-foo, and at the landing before Nankin—for his share in which he was awarded a C.B.—and in the course of the campaign he gained an experience of the country, and of the nature of the enemy, which were admirable training for the responsible position he was called on to hold in China at a later period of his career. Subsequently to the operations of 1842 he was appointed an assistant adjutant-general, and when Lord Saltoun left China in 1844, Hope Grant rejoined the 9th Lancers, who were by that time in India. At the end of the following year hostilities broke out for the first time with the Sikhs, and Grant served with his regiment at the battle of Sobraon in February 1846. In the second Sikh War, three years later, he fought in the battles of Chilianwala and Gujrat, being in these actions brought for a second time in contact with Sir Colin Campbell,[2] with whom he was later to be associated in so much glorious fighting. At Chilianwala there befell him one of those

[1] Commission as lieutenant, 26th Feb. 1828; as captain, 29th May 1835; as major, 22nd April 1842.

[2] Sir Colin had served in China with Lord Saltoun's brigade, in command of the 98th Foot.

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disasters which belong to the chances of war, and which he himself feared would ruin his prospects. Two squadrons of the 9th Lancers formed part of a cavalry brigade, which, being suddenly attacked by the Sikh cavalry, became panic-struck; and for a time nothing that Hope Grant or the other officers could do succeeded in rallying it. The entry in his diary when called on to send a report of this incident to the Commander-in-Chief is characteristic of the man. "This no doubt was a difficult task, and it caused me much sorrow. But I saw the only way was to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, as well as I could"—and so in the manly, soldierly document, there is not one word of excuse or extenuation, scarcely of attempted explanation.

At the outbreak of the Mutiny on May the 10th, 1857, Hope Grant, now a lieutenant-colonel,[1] was commanding his regiment at Umballa, and on the troops there being ordered to advance on Delhi he was appointed to command the cavalry division. It was a memorable march—this opening act of a drama of which the prelude was the sudden death by cholera of General Anson, the Commander-in-Chief. A few days later the advanced detachment was to come upon that pathetic band of refugees from Delhi, whose sufferings and privations were an indication of the sudden and scorching effect of the flame of mutiny that was spreading like a prairie fire throughout the land. Onward the column swept, dealing out swift justice and signal retribution on its march. The road to Delhi was barred by the enemy, who had taken up a strong position at Budli-ka-Serai. This was the first organised encounter with the Sepoys, and in no subsequent fighting did they show a more desperate or determined front. But the flank charge made by Hope Grant's cavalry was irresistible. The mutineers were completely routed, all their guns captured, and our troops gained possession of the Ridge, that slope of rising ground from which a small British force and a no less heroic band of loyal native troops, besieged for over three months during the intolerable heat of an Indian summer, an army of 40,000 desperate men, maddened by fanaticism and a thirst for blood. The tale of that siege, of what was done and dared, resisted and endured, belongs to the great annals of the nation's history and cannot be told in a short sketch. It was a drama played to a terrible accompaniment of bloodshed and suffering, against a background of heroic resolution, of unfaltering courage, and of steadfast endurance on the part alike of officers and men.

At the present day gardens and trees have grown up between the Ridge and the city in all directions, obliterating traces of our lines, covering up with a rich vegetation the seams and scars of the battlefield. So, too, the knowledge of the heroic action and splendid endurance of our troops, of the gallant leadership, the chivalry, the magnificent courage of their leaders—of John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, Hope Grant, Baird Smith, Henry Daly, and many others—has

[1] He had been given a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy on the 7th of June 1849, and on the 29th of April 1850 he became junior lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Lancers. He succeeded to the command of the regiment on the 28th of November 1854, and received a brevet of colonel on the same date.

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done for the suffering of the story of Delhi what the gardens have done for the actual scene of the siege. The memory of the pain is softened, and the mind can dwell with thankfulness on the memories and deeds of the men, some of the greatest that India ever trained for her own salvation and for the glory of the British people. On a scene so crowded with heroic figures, amid such continuous acts of valour, when day followed day bringing no abatement of anxiety or responsibility to the leaders on the Ridge, it is difficult to give prominence to one day's fighting more than to another. But two incidents may be alluded to, as throwing light on the feeling of confidence and devotion that Hope Grant aroused in his followers. On the night of the 19th of June, an especially determined attack was made by the Sepoys on the British position. During that fierce fighting from sunset till midnight Hope Grant with his cavalry kept back the furious and constantly renewed attacks of the mutineers on the rear of the British camp. Charging at the head of a few men at the enemy's ranks, his horse was shot beneath him. Unhorsed, surrounded by the enemy, he must have fallen, had not his native orderly, Rooper Khan, ridden up to him saying, "Take my horse, it is your only chance of safety." Hope Grant refused, but taking a firm grip of the animal's tail, was dragged by his faithful *sowar* out of the crowd. A moment before, one of his own 9th Lancers, seeing his General dismounted, had pressed his horse upon him.

On the memorable day of the storming of Delhi, which cost us the life of John Nicholson, but which led to the capture of the city a few days later, there occurred one of those miscarriages of an organised plan, which must frequently take place in military operations. The guns in support of the fourth column did not arrive in time; the attack on the Lahore gate failed; and Hope Grant with his cavalry had to check the advance of the temporarily victorious Sepoys. Drawn up within five hundred yards of the walls, and unable to charge owing to the nature of the ground, they had to endure a heavy musketry fire from houses and gardens without the city, and a continuous discharge of grape from the Lahore bastion. For more than two hours they sat on horseback, men and horses falling around. Hope Grant and four of his staff had their horses shot under them. But "nothing daunted," he wrote, "these gallant soldiers held their trying position with a patient endurance; and on my praising them for their good behaviour, they declared their readiness to stand the fire as long as I chose." It was not until the news came that the infantry had established themselves within the town that Hope Grant withdrew his men, with the consciousness that he had not only prevented the enemy from following up the success gained over the fourth column, but that he had occupied their attention with a very considerable result on the main operations.

A brief respite after the fall of Delhi, and Hope Grant was hurried off to command a column moving south to join in the second relief of Lucknow. He was destined to play a prominent part in the operations which led to the withdrawal of the beleaguered garrison, for Sir Colin Campbell, generously contenting himself with exercising a general supervision, entrusted him with the immediate

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command of the troops which effected the relief. The record of all those weeks of memorable fighting, from the time when Hope Grant joined Sir Colin Campbell outside Lucknow till the final capture of the city on the 21st of March 1858, is it not told in every history of the Mutiny, and with especial vividness and sympathy in Lord Roberts' "Forty-one Years in India"? In these pages we have a striking picture of our hero at the Sikandarbagh; at the meeting of the beleaguered force and the relieving army; in the great battle at Cawnpore on the 6th of December; in the subsequent pursuit and rout of the Gwalior contingent; and in the final storming of Lucknow. And when the capital of Oudh was in the hands of the British, and the back of the Mutiny had been broken, difficult and responsible work still fell to Sir Hope Grant.[1] Through the greater part of the hot weather of 1858 he was continually engaged, and invariably with success, in minor operations against the rebels with whom the province of Oudh yet swarmed; and during the following winter and spring he was employed in stamping out the last smouldering embers of rebellion on the Nepal frontier.

As we follow Hope Grant's career through those arduous months of fighting, every incident increases our admiration for the soldier and our attraction towards the man.

The following is an extract from a despatch from Sir Colin Campbell (by that time Lord Clyde), to Lord Canning, dated 7th January 1859:—

"Sir Hope Grant's despatches during the last six months have told the story of the admirable part taken by him in this war. I cannot say too much in his praise. He has the rare merit of uniting the greatest boldness in action, a firm and correct judgment, and the most scrupulous regard for his orders and instructions."

Hope Grant's services in the Mutiny were not to be rewarded by a long spell of peace, for in October 1859 he was appointed to the command of the British troops in the joint French and English expedition against China. Active operations did not begin until towards the end of July 1860, but at the end of three months the Chinese had been three times defeated in the open, with the loss of an immense number of guns; the Taku Forts had been carried by assault; and Pekin had surrendered to the Allies. In this campaign, which has been called "the most successful and the best carried out of England's little wars," Sir Hope, in his dealings with the French General, displayed a diplomatic skill on a level with the sound military judgment he showed in the conduct of the campaign, the main responsibility for which rested with him. From Lord Herbert, one of the best war ministers Great Britain has ever had, he received the assurance that everything in connection with the expedition had been done with "firmness, temper, skill, success." The Government rewarded him by converting the K.C.B. he had received during the Mutiny, into a G.C.B.

Then followed a brief period of rest in England, and of great enjoyment on the links at St. Andrews. But his country required his services for other work

[1] Early in 1858 Hope Grant's services were rewarded with a K.C.B., and on the 28th of February 1858 he was promoted major-general "for distinguished service in the field."

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than the oiling and polishing of golf clubs, of which he writes with enthusiasm, and in November 1861 he sailed for India, to take over the command in Madras. Before his departure, Perth conferred the freedom of the city on the son of whom she and all Scotland were proud.

During their residence in Madras Sir Hope and Lady Grant [1] identified themselves with much benevolent and philanthropic work, especially in connection with institutions for military orphans, and the education of soldiers' children. In 1865, however, Sir Hope, by that time a lieutenant-general and colonel of his old regiment, the 9th Lancers,[2] was appointed quartermaster-general at home, and he and his wife said a last farewell to India. He remained at the Horse Guards until 1870, when he was given command of the troops at Aldershot. In this, his last appointment, which he held until his death on the 7th of March 1875, he and his wife devoted much of their time and money and the energies of their kindly warm hearts to schemes for the promotion of the welfare of the soldiers, and of all classes under Sir Hope's jurisdiction. But his tenure of the command at Aldershot will be chiefly remembered for his introduction of the Prussian system of army manœuvres—an innovation not effected without some opposition, but the value of which is now unquestioningly admitted. Other memorable features of Sir Hope's administration were the introduction of the "war game" and of courses of military lectures; and finally the reformation of the entire system of outpost duties.

At Aldershot Sir Hope's pronounced Protestantism brought him into conflict with some of the Army chaplains, causing vexation in his last months to a nature that loved peace, though his life had been dedicated to war. But the influence of his strong faith, of his fine character, of his high standard of honour in the least as in the greatest things of life, was a power for good on all who served under him. His remark to a friend a day or two before the end sums up the faith of the man, who had faced death on a hundred fields:—"No, indeed; I do not mind dying. I look upon it as if I were going from one room to another. There will be a little painful interval, and then it will be nothing more than if I were passing under an archway."

He was buried in the Grange Cemetery at Edinburgh, and on his tombstone we read—

"A good soldier of Jesus Christ."

[1] In 1847 Hope Grant had married Elizabeth Helen, daughter of Benjamin Tayler, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service.

[2] His commission as lieutenant-general was dated the 25th November 1864; he became colonel of the 9th Lancers on the 6th February 1865; and on the 10th May 1872 he was promoted full general.

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ADMIRAL THE HON. SIR JAMES ROBERT DRUMMOND, G.C.B.[1]

1812–95

BY THE EDITOR

OF the officers serving in the British Navy during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, none enjoyed a more distinguished reputation than did Admiral Sir James Robert Drummond, second son of James, eighth Viscount Strathallan and Lady Amelia Murray, second daughter of the fourth Duke of Atholl. Born on the 15th of September 1812, James Drummond's boyhood was passed under the shadow of the attainder which had been visited on his family for its share in the 'Forty-five ;[2] and though in 1817, on the death of his grand-uncle, General Andrew Drummond, his father succeeded to the family estates, it was not until 1824 that the forfeited title was restored. Lord Strathallan's second son, like many another scion of an attainted house, was to show that this act of Royal favour had not been misplaced.

James Drummond entered the Naval College at Portsmouth in 1826, and after serving successively as volunteer, midshipman, and mate,[3] chiefly in the Mediterranean, obtained his promotion as lieutenant in December 1832. In the following summer he was appointed to the *Revenge*, and in March 1834 to the *President*, then stationed in North American waters, but five months later he was transferred as flag-lieutenant to Admiral Sir Bladen Capel in the *Winchester*, on the East Indian station. He became a commander in 1838, and in 1841 was appointed to the command of the sloop *Scout*, with which he served in the Mediterranean until 1845. During the Carlist rebellion of 1843–1844 the *Scout* was stationed on the south-east coast of Spain, to protect British interests, and Drummond in many difficult situations showed a judgment and a discretion for which he was to be conspicuous in years to come. He was promoted captain in 1846, but obtained no ship until 1852, when he was given command of the *Retribution*, of twenty-eight guns, one of the largest steam frigates then afloat.

[1] From Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea ;* O'Byrne's *Naval Biographical Dictionary ;* notes supplied by Sir Evan MacGregor, G.C.B. ; and Sir James Drummond's letters and other papers, kindly lent by Lady Drummond.

[2] See article on "Perthshire in the 'Forty-five," p. 321 *et seq.*, and biography of General Andrew John Drummond, pp. 436–7. The eighth Lord Strathallan was the son of that "Willy" Drummond who had joined the Prince's army in December 1745. See p. 326.

[3] *i.e.* 2nd lieutenant.

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CAPTAIN JAMES DUNDAS, V.C.,
OF OCHTERTYRE
ROYAL ENGINEERS

ADMIRAL
THE HON. SIR JAMES DRUMMOND,
G.C.B.

MAJOR-GENERAL
CHARLES WILLIAM CAMPBELL

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In the autumn of 1852 Captain Drummond took the *Retribution* out to the Mediterranean, and the following summer found him at Malta. By that time the relations between Russia and Turkey were very strained, and when, early in June 1853, news of Prince Menschikoff's abrupt departure from Constantinople was received at Malta, the *Retribution* accompanied the squadron which was hurried up to the Dardanelles under Admiral Sir James Dundas—the steam frigates, when necessary, towing the older men-of-war. Drummond, in command of an advanced-guard of six ships, was at once sent on to Constantinople to procure intelligence, and during the next few months he acted the important and often difficult part of intermediary between his somewhat over-deliberate Chief and the British Ambassador to the Porte, the fiery Lord Stratford de Redcliffe.

By the end of November war had been declared between Turkey and Russia, and both French and British fleets had moved up to the Bosphorus. Early in December came the news of the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope, and the *Retribution*, in company with a French frigate, was sent to render such aid as was possible to the few survivors of the disaster. A month later Captain Drummond was despatched on an even more important mission. The question of peace or war between Great Britain and Russia was hanging in the balance; public opinion in England had been violently excited by the destruction of the Turkish fleet; and the *Retribution* was sent to Sevastopol, ostensibly to deliver letters to the Russian Admiral, and to demand the release of some British engineers taken on board a Turkish merchant vessel, but really to supplement the scanty information then possessed with regard to the redoubtable fortress. Drummond executed his dangerous errand with great ability. Early on the morning of the 6th of January 1854, under cover of a dense fog, he steamed close up to the mouth of the harbour, and was within a mile of the massed Russian fleet before he was discovered. A small steamer hurried out to stop him, but by the time it was near enough to communicate, he had quietly slipped past the outer forts and was inside the harbour. The message was then delivered, and Drummond, for some time politely disregarding an order to depart, kept his ship anchored with the Russian guns trained upon her, while officers and men made the best use of their eyes. Finally, on receiving a scarcely veiled threat that the batteries would open fire, he stood somewhat further out, but by dint of much diplomacy he kept up correspondence with the Russian Admiral for five hours—after which he returned to headquarters with a sketch of the defences of Sevastopol harbour, which caused considerable modification of the views previously held in official circles as to the possibility of a successful naval attack. He received the thanks of the Admiralty for the daring and skilful manner in which he had carried out the reconnaissance, and the incident at once established for him a reputation as one of the most promising captains in the Navy.

The eight months which elapsed before operations commenced in the Crimea were busy ones for the few steamers in the Black Sea fleet, and Drummond, enjoying the good opinion both of Admiral Dundas and his Second-in-Command,

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Sir Edmund Lyons, was constantly admitted to their counsels or employed on independent cruises. By his advice it was that in March 1854 the British fleet was sent up to Varna on the very day (as it afterwards proved) on which the Russians crossed the Danube; and in April, after Great Britain and France had finally declared war, he commanded a division of four ships in the bombardment of Odessa. Early in May he accompanied Admiral Lyons on a cruise along the Circassian coast, and was successful in capturing two brigs laden with soldiers on their way to the Crimea. Some three weeks later he was sent with two steamers to make another reconnaissance of Sevastopol, and on his return to Varna strongly urged that the Russian fleet should be brought to action. But the summer months were allowed to slip away without any great blow being struck at sea; to Drummond's disappointment, comparatively little was even done in the way of coast warfare; and by the time the autumn had set in, the operations of the fleet were obliged to be subservient to those of the army.

The campaign in the Crimea, however, once launched, Drummond threw himself heart and soul into whatever work came to hand, and with a laudable absence of professional jealousy did his utmost to further the interests of the sister Service. His efforts were all the more valuable in that he was an intimate friend of Lord Raglan, and, as such, he was often called upon to avert friction between the naval and military Commanders-in-Chief. But his genial, kindly nature made him extend a helping hand wherever he could, and many was the sick or wounded officer who was restored to health by a prolonged stay on his ship. Small wonder therefore that he gradually became the recognised intermediary between the two Services, and that in after years it was said of him that there were "few men to whom the Army and Navy owed more during the Crimean War" than to Captain Drummond.

Drummond took part in the bombardment of the seaward forts of Sevastopol on October the 17th — the first great cannonade of the beleaguered fortress. Though the *Retribution* lost her mainmast, her casualties were few, but the Allied fleets, as a whole, suffered a loss disproportionate to the damage they could inflict, and when active siege operations were resumed in the following spring, the ships were only employed individually on bombardments by night.

Four weeks after the first bombardment came the storm of the 14th of November, which caused so much disastrous loss to both fleet and army. Drummond at the time was anchored off Balaclava, entertaining the Duke of Cambridge, who had been suffering from fever, and his seamanship was taxed to the uttermost to save the *Retribution*. Six ships alongside of her were driven on to the rocky coast, and became total wrecks; the rudder was lost; two cables parted; the engines were only fed by wood fires; and eight of the upper-deck guns had to be thrown overboard. The seas washed right over the vessel, and at one moment Drummond was actually swimming on the deck. Yet in the end his cool courage and mastery of his profession gained the day, and his exertions won the highest appreciation and undying gratitude of his Royal guest.

The *Retribution* having been rendered temporarily useless by the storm, Lord

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Raglan endeavoured to secure Drummond's services for the very important post of senior disembarkation officer at Balaclava, but his request was not acceded to by the naval Commander-in-Chief, and Drummond was ordered to take his ship down to the Bosphorus to refit. In the following month the *Retribution* was ordered home, but her captain had proved himself too valuable to be dispensed with, and by a special order from the Admiralty he was directed to remain in the Black Sea. He therefore returned to Crimean waters to take over command of the *Tribune*, and, as before, devoted himself to alleviating, as much as lay in his power, the terrible sufferings of the troops.

In May 1855 Captain Drummond took part in the successful expedition to Kertch, which, resulting in the destruction of coast defences and immense quantities of supplies destined for Sevastopol, fully justified the expectations which from the first he had based upon a system of coast warfare. In August he was promoted to the *Albion*, of ninety guns, and left to join his new ship at Therapia, but on the entry of the Allies into Sevastopol in the following month he returned once more to the Crimea to serve on a joint Anglo-French prize commission. He finally left for England in October, and arrived home at the end of the year. His services were rewarded with a C.B., the Order of the Medjidie, and the cross of the Legion of Honour.

During a brief spell of rest which now ensued (*i.e.* in February 1856), Captain Drummond married Catherine, third daughter of Admiral the Hon. George Elliot. But the years to come were to bring with them activity in many different spheres, and Drummond was to prove his worth no less at the council board than he had already done in the Black Sea. After a year's harbour service in command successively of the *Victory* and *Mœander*, he was in May 1857 appointed private secretary to Sir Charles Wood, then first lord of the Admiralty,[1] and he held the responsible post of a sea lord during the greater part of 1858. From December 1858 to June 1861 he was commodore of Woolwich dockyard; for five years onwards from June 1861 he again had a seat at the Admiralty Board; and from 1866 to 1870 he was superintendent of the dockyard at Devonport. Meanwhile in 1864 he had been promoted rear-admiral, and in 1870 he became vice-admiral. He was knighted in 1873, and in January 1874 received his last active appointment, that of commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron. This post he held for three years. Finally, in September 1877, he retired from the Service with the rank of admiral, to which he had been promoted eight months before.

In 1880 Sir James was advanced to be a G.C.B., and in July 1883 he was appointed gentleman-usher of the Black Rod. The remaining years of his life, therefore, were for the most part spent in an official residence at Westminster, and though from 1893 onwards ill-health rendered him unfit for his duties in the House of Lords, by Queen Victoria's special desire he retained his appointment. At last, after a painful illness, he passed away in the Isle of Wight on the 7th of October 1895.

[1] In 1857 Drummond also became aide-de-camp to the Queen—a post he held until his promotion to rear-admiral in 1864.

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A nation happily ignorant of modern naval warfare knows but little of the administration of its fleet, and though at the time of Admiral Drummond's death there were many who had read of his daring reconnaissance of Sevastopol in 1854, probably few among the general public realised what had been his value to his country in later years. Yet are there men who can testify to Sir James' ability as an administrator, to the thoroughness of his work, and to his extraordinary insight and clearness of judgment. Much consulted by his colleagues, his advice was sought by a large circle of friends and acquaintances both within and without the Services; all alike were received with the courtesy, kindliness, and tact, which had made his name beloved by soldiers as well as by sailors in the Crimea. Had the rules of the Service not necessitated his retirement in 1877, there is little doubt that he would have returned to the Admiralty as first sea lord—the highest post open to a British naval officer.

Sir James left three daughters, and a son, Colonel Laurence Drummond, who, as an officer in the Scots Guards, has served with distinction in several campaigns, and from 1904 to 1906 commanded the 3rd Battalion of his regiment.[1]

[1] Details of his services will be found in *A Military History of Perthshire*, 1899–1902.

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GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. SIR THOMAS MONTAGU STEELE OF EVELICK, G.C.B.[1] 1820–90

BY THE EDITOR

ANOTHER Perthshire man who did good service in the Crimea was General Sir Thomas Steele, representative, in the female line, of a family long established in the Carse of Gowrie, the Lindsays of Evelick.[2] The elder son of Major-General Thomas Steele by his marriage with Lady Elizabeth Montagu, second daughter of the fifth Duke of Manchester, Thomas Steele the younger was born in London on the 11th of May 1820, and received his education successively at Cheam school and the Royal Military College at Sandhurst. In January 1838 he obtained a commission as ensign in the 64th Foot, but within a few months he had exchanged to the Coldstream Guards, on the strength of which regiment he was destined to remain for some five and twenty years. In the early 'forties, however, service at home seemed to offer small promise to an enterprising young soldier, and in July 1842 Steele sailed for India as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Lord Tweeddale,[3] who had been appointed governor of Madras. In 1844 he became a lieutenant and captain in his regiment, but he served on the staff in Madras until 1848, when he returned home, Lord Tweeddale's term of office having expired. Steele then resumed regimental duty, and in 1851 obtained his promotion as captain and lieutenant-colonel.

Three years later, when Great Britain and Russia were on the verge of

[1] From Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea* (sixth edition, 1877); *The War in the Crimea*, by General Sir Edward Hamley, K.C.B. (London, 1891); the article on Sir Thomas Steele in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; *A History of the Coldstream Guards from 1815 to 1895*, by Lieutenant-Colonel Ross of Bladensburg; an obituary notice in the *Times* of the 26th of February, 1890; Lord Raglan's despatches printed in the *Gazettes*; the *Army Lists*; Douglas' *Peerage* (1813 edition); and information contributed by Sir Thomas Steele's family.

[2] In 1720, when Sir Alexander Lindsay of Evelick married the Hon. Amelia Murray, daughter of the fifth Lord Stormont, the estate was entailed upon their heirs. Their last male representative, Captain Sir Charles Lindsay, was drowned off the coast of Demerara in 1799, and Evelick then devolved on his two sisters as co-heiresses, the elder of whom, Charlotte Lindsay, had married the Right Hon. Thomas Steele, paymaster of the Army. Her son, Major-General Thomas Steele, in due time inherited his mother's rights in the estate, and, having bought up those which had devolved upon her younger sister, became the sole proprietor of Evelick. He also owned a property named Thornly Grange in Northamptonshire. As narrated in the text, Major-General Steele was the father of Sir Thomas.

[3] George, eighth marquess of Tweeddale, had married Lady Susan Montagu, younger sister of Lady Elizabeth Steele.

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hostilities, Steele was appointed military secretary to Lord Raglan [1] his experience on the staff in India no doubt helping him to a much coveted appointment. He accompanied Lord Raglan to the Bosphorus in April 1854, and served throughout the war in the Crimea. His share in the opening battle of the campaign was by no means an unimportant one. Lord Raglan had taken up a position at some distance from the main British attack, and while Codrington's brigade of the Light Division was gallantly fighting its way up the smooth slopes above the Alma, its ranks torn by the shells from the Russian batteries in the Great Redoubt, Steele was sent by Sir de Lacy Evans, the Commander of the 2nd Division, to convey to the Duke of Cambridge his opinion that the 1st Division, which had been temporarily halted on the northern bank of the river, should be sent across in support of the Light Division. Steele delivered his message in such a manner that it was understood to be an order from Lord Raglan himself, and the 1st Division was ordered to resume its advance, just as Codrington's brigade, finding itself unsupported, and opposed on front and flanks by overwhelming numbers, yielded the Redoubt, which it had triumphantly won, and fell back down the hill. The order to the 1st Division came, therefore, too late to enable the men of the Light Division to maintain themselves in their position, but it was in time to turn the fortune of battle; and Steele accompanied his regiment in an advance which, carried out along the entire British line by fresh troops, and supported by a well-directed artillery fire from the right flank, finally swept the heights and snatched victory from threatened defeat. In the despatch relating to the Alma, he was mentioned for his zeal, intelligence, and gallantry.

A month later Steele was present in the battle at Balaclava; and at Inkerman, on the 5th of November, we hear of him as being one of several officers sent to inform General Bosquet of the seriousness of the attack directed on the British position, and to ask for the help which was so opportunely given at certain stages of the battle. For his services on that day he was again mentioned in despatches, and before the month was out he received a brevet of colonel.

Throughout the following winter and spring Steele served as military secretary to Lord Raglan, and when, in June 1855, death robbed the army in the Crimea of its gallant and chivalrous leader, he continued to serve in the same capacity [2] under the new commander, General Sir James Simpson. He thus saw the fall of Sevastopol and the end of hostilities, but his appointment ceased in November 1855, when General Simpson was succeeded by Sir William Codrington. He returned home a C.B. and aide-de-camp to the Queen, and with a fine row of medals and Orders to testify to his services.[3]

In July 1856 Steele was posted to the 1st Battalion of the Coldstream, then commanded by another Perthshire man, Colonel Gordon Drummond; and the same year saw his marriage to Isabel, daughter of E. M. Fitzgerald. In

[1] His appointment dated from the 23rd of February 1854.

[2] Except from July 5th to August 6th, 1855, when he acted as assistant adjutant-general.

[3] *i.e.* the Crimean medal with four clasps, the Turkish medal, the Medjidie (third class), the Legion of Honour (fifth class), and the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus.

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December 1860, Colonel Steele, by that time a widower,[1] was promoted major in his regiment and took over command of the 2nd Battalion. In the following summer he was transferred to the command of the 1st Battalion, and in November 1862, on obtaining his promotion as a regimental lieutenant-colonel, he became commanding officer of the Coldstream Guards, an appointment which he held until a year later, when he retired on half-pay.

In 1865 Colonel Steele married Rosalie, daughter of T. McCarty of New York. In the same year he was promoted major-general, and in 1871 he became a K.C.B.; but he remained without employment until 1872, when he was given command of the Dublin district—a post which he filled for two years. In January 1874 he became a lieutenant-general, and in the following September he was given the colonelcy of the 61st, or South Gloucestershire Regiment. From 1875 to 1880 Sir Thomas commanded the Aldershot division, in succession to Sir Hope Grant, and from October 1880 onwards for five years he was in command of the troops in Ireland,[2] a post requiring much tact and ability in view of the then disturbed state of the country. Finally in May 1887 he was placed on the retired list. In 1877 he had been promoted full general; the year 1884 had seen him appointed colonel of his old regiment, the Coldstream Guards; and he was raised to the rank of G.C.B. on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887.

Forty years before, on the death of his father, General Steele had succeeded to Evelick, but throughout his life his Perthshire home saw but little of him. The intervals of military duty were for the most part spent in England, or on the Continent; and it was at Frimley Park, his residence at Farnborough, that he died on the 25th of February 1890, at the age of seventy.

Sir Thomas Steele left four sons, the eldest of whom, a captain in the 17th Lancers,[3] followed him to the grave within a few months. Details of the military services of two of the younger sons,[4] who hold commissions respectively in the Coldstream Guards and the 1st Royal Dragoons, will be found in "A Military History of Perthshire, 1899–1902."

[1] Mrs. Steele died in 1858, leaving one son (see text below).

[2] On taking over this command Sir Thomas was sworn a member of the Irish Privy Council.

[3] Captain Thomas Augustus Steele (Sir Thomas's son by his first wife) had served with the 17th Lancers in the Zulu War of 1879.

[4] *i.e.* the two elder sons of Sir Thomas's second marriage.

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MAJOR-GENERAL CHARLES WILLIAM CAMPBELL[1]

1836–94

BY THE EDITOR

MAJOR-GENERAL Charles William Campbell was the senior of three officers to be mentioned here, whose earliest experience of war was gained amidst the terrible scenes of the Indian Mutiny. The eldest son of Lieutenant Charles William Campbell of Boreland, an old Peninsular soldier,[2] by his marriage with Charlotte, fourth daughter of John Campbell of Kinloch—Charles Campbell the younger was born on the 4th of April 1836, and in December 1854 became an ensign in the service of the East India Company, being appointed to the 71st Bengal Native Infantry in March 1855.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny on the 10th of May 1857, Campbell was stationed with his regiment in the Mariaon cantonments near Lucknow, where the coming storm had been for some weeks foreseen by Sir Henry Lawrence. A mutiny of the 7th Oudh Irregular Infantry on the 3rd of May had been quelled by his prompt measures, and a few weeks of respite followed, during which no opportunity was lost of laying in stores and preparing for a possible siege. Finally, however, on the evening of the 30th of May, the storm burst; the native regiments at Mariaon mutinied; and though, owing to Lawrence's promptitude, they were unable to reach the city, and comparatively few Europeans in the cantonments actually lost their lives, almost every house there was plundered or burnt, and by the morning the greater part of the native troops had made off to stir up the flames of rebellion throughout Oudh. The 71st Native Infantry had headed the revolt,[3] and Campbell, deserted by his men, joined the small troop of Volunteer Cavalry which was shortly afterwards raised by Sir Henry Lawrence from among the unattached officers and civilians resident in Lucknow.

During the first fortnight of June all the country stations in Oudh were successively lost, but the rebels were engaged in besieging Cawnpore, and Lucknow

[1] From Malleson's and Holmes' *Histories of the Indian Mutiny*; Rees's *Personal Narrative of the Siege of Lucknow*; Sir Hope Grant's *Incidents in the China War*; the *Army Lists*; and notes supplied by General Campbell's widow and the Military Department at the India Office. For a portrait of General Campbell, see illustrations opposite p. 534.

[2] Lieutenant Campbell served in the Peninsula both with the 39th Foot and as aide-de-camp to Major-General Frederick Adams. He was present at Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, Nivelle, the Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse, but was placed on half-pay after the peace of 1815.

[3] One of the first houses to which the mutineers had set fire was the officers' mess of the 71st Native Infantry. The officers in the dining-room made their escape as soon as they became aware of the fire, but Lieutenants Campbell and Thain, of the 13th, "would not allow the mutineers to disturb them in their game of billiards till a volley of musketry, too much even for their *sang-froid*, at last obliged them to conclude it."—Rees's *Siege of Lucknow*, p. 15.

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was therefore left alone. It was, however, a time of strenuous work and anxiety for all, and Campbell was engaged in many reconnaissances in the surrounding district. On the 28th came the news of the massacre at Cawnpore, and on the 29th the Volunteer Cavalry was sent out to reconnoitre a force of Sepoys which was advancing towards the village of Chinhut, some ten miles north-east of Lucknow. On this reconnaissance Campbell and four others distinguished themselves by charging and routing some eighteen rebel troopers, but they were obliged to return to Lucknow without exact information as to the strength of the enemy's force. On the following day, therefore, Sir Henry Lawrence, believing that only the advanced-guard had reached Chinhut, sallied out with some 700 men of all arms, among whom was the troop of Volunteer Cavalry, in the hope that he might be able to strike a blow before the arrival of the main body. The Sepoys, however, were found in great numbers drawn up in a strong position in front of Chinhut; the British artillery failed to check a simultaneous attack which was made by the enemy on both flanks; and Lawrence, deserted at the critical moment by his native cavalry and many of the native gunners, saw himself in danger of being surrounded, and was obliged to give the order to retreat. Closely pursued as his men were by the enemy's horse artillery, which, galloping on either flank, poured in a continuous fire of grape, the retreat soon degenerated into a rout, and on approaching the Kokrail, a stream across which ran the road to Lucknow, some 400 of the rebel cavalry were seen preparing to dispute the passage of the one bridge on which depended the safety of the fugitives. The situation was critical, but it was saved by the Volunteer Cavalry—by that time the only mounted troops left to Lawrence's force. Without an instant's hesitation some thirty horsemen, with their commander, Captain Radcliffe, at their head, "hurled themselves at the dense masses in their front," and such was the terror which they inspired, that, "before they could strike a blow, the enemy broke and fled, leaving the bridge free."[1] The pursuit was followed up for nearly a mile, and many of the enemy's infantry were sabred, though not without loss—three of the troop being killed and some five being wounded, of whom Campbell was one.[2] To this splendid charge alone was due the fact that the remnant of the British force finally reached Lucknow in safety.

The reverse at Chinhut was the opening scene in the siege of Lucknow. By the evening of the 30th of June the Residency was surrounded, and Campbell from that day forward took his share in the privations, the toils, and the dangers, which make the defence of the Residency stand out as the most wonderful of the many heroic achievements of the Mutiny. Day after day, under the burning sun of an Indian summer; with numbers steadily decreasing from wounds and sickness; with bodies worn out by anxiety, over-work, and bad food; in an atmosphere poisoned with the stench of dead animals which no one had time to bury—the garrison endured a storm of shot and shell from behind defences

[1] Holmes, p. 264.

[2] He was severely wounded in the left thigh, and was promoted lieutenant from that day—no doubt as a reward for his gallantry.

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which "would have moved the laughter of the youngest cadet who was then studying fortifications at Woolwich." The defenders were so few that no reliefs were possible, and every man remained continuously at his post. Sir Henry Lawrence had believed it possible that by dint of great efforts the Residency might be held for a fortnight, and little did he think when he breathed his last on the 4th of July, that the men he had inspired by his leadership would hold out without relief for nearly three months, and that, reinforced by Outram and Havelock, they would keep the flag flying over the Residency until finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell in November.

The wound Campbell had received on the 30th of June did not prevent him from playing his part in the defence of the Residency. He was a first-rate marksman, and as such his services were peculiarly valuable. He was again wounded prior to the arrival of the first relieving force, and severe fever ensued; but by the time the garrison had been withdrawn by Sir Colin Campbell he had recovered sufficiently to take part in the victory gained at Cawnpore on the 6th of December. His health, however, had suffered severely from his wounds and the privations of the siege; he was sent home on sick leave in January 1858; and he thus took no further part in the suppression of the Mutiny. During his absence in England he was transferred to the 10th Bengal Native Infantry.[1]

By the beginning of 1860 Campbell had returned to India, where he soon found that the experience he had gained with the Lucknow Volunteer Cavalry was to stand him in good stead. An expedition under Sir Hope Grant was being fitted out for a joint Anglo-French campaign in China, and in February Campbell was attached for duty to Fane's Horse, a picked Sikh regiment which was being raised by Lieutenant Fane, an officer who had distinguished himself during the Mutiny as a commander of Irregular Cavalry. The expedition left India in the spring of 1860, and after more than a month's stay at Hong-Kong reached Ta-lien-wan Bay in June, but mainly owing to delays caused by the defective state of the French transport, a landing was not effected at Pehtang before the beginning of August. On the 12th of that month the Allied forces advanced from Pehtang to Sinho, some two miles north of the Pei-ho river, and on this, their first encounter with the enemy, Fane's Horse distinguished themselves by repelling an attack of some 4000 Tartar cavalry upon the division commanded by Sir Robert Napier. The capture of the Taku Forts followed on the 21st, and a few days later Tientsin was occupied without resistance. Campbell commanded a troop of Fane's Horse during the opening stage of the campaign, but served in the subsequent advance to Pekin as orderly officer to Brigadier Pattle, the General commanding the Cavalry Brigade. On the 13th of October Pekin opened its gates to the Allied forces, and on the 24th the campaign ended with the signature of the treaty of peace. Early in November Sir Hope Grant began his march from Pekin to the coast, but Campbell remained with Fane's Horse in garrison at Tientsin, and his regiment did not return to India until the following year.

With the close of the China campaign of 1860 Campbell entered upon a long

[1] Appointment dated 30th April 1858. India Office records.

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era of peace, varied only by the ordinary routine of military duty, and by an unsuccessful attempt, made in 1867, to contest the Breadalbane title and estates.[1] He served with Fane's Horse [2] until August 1864, when he was transferred to the 2nd Bengal Cavalry; in December 1866 he was promoted captain in the Bengal Staff Corps; and in December 1874, major. Six years later he became a lieutenant-colonel and commandant of his regiment. In the summer of 1882, while at home on sick leave, owing to a strain he had received in his back, Colonel Campbell learnt that the 2nd Bengal Cavalry were to form part of the contingent to be sent from India to join Sir Garnet Wolseley's campaign in Egypt. Though advised that he was quite unfit for active service, he insisted on joining his regiment at Suez, and commanded it during the earlier part of the advance from Ismailia, but on account of the injury to his spine he was obliged to go to hospital prior to the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. In 1884 he was given a brevet of colonel, and in 1886 he retired with the rank of major-general after thirty-two years' service.

Two years later General Campbell married Gwynnedd, only daughter of the late W. E. Brinckman, R.N., and in the course of the next few years there were born to him a son and three daughters.

India, however, and the brief campaign in Egypt had set their mark upon him, and he was not destined to long enjoy his years of retirement. After much suffering caused by the injury he had received in his spine, he died on the 30th of August 1894, at the comparatively early age of fifty-eight.

[1] Campbell himself was a claimant in the suit, as his father had died in 1861. Boreland had previously passed out of the hands of the family, so he had inherited no property.

[2] In 1861 Fane's Horse was put on the permanent establishment as the 19th Bengal Cavalry. The same year saw the abolition of the East India Company, and Campbell in consequence transferred to the newly-constituted Bengal Staff Corps.

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MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT BYNG CAMPBELL, C.B.[1]

1838–97

BY THE EDITOR

ANOTHER Perthshire man who at the outset of his career passed through the fiery ordeal of the Indian Mutiny, and who lived to be well known for his services on the Indian frontier twenty years later, was Major-General Robert Byng Campbell, representative of an old Strathbraan family, the Campbells of Kinloch. In earlier days, as at the present time, Strathbraan sent no inconsiderable proportion of its sons to fight their country's battles, and the Kinloch family were no exception to this rule. Robert Byng's great-grandfather, Charles Campbell of Kinloch, had been "out" in the 'Forty-five, and after thirty years of exile in Brazil had had the family estate restored to him;[2] his grandfather, John Campbell of Kinloch, like many another Jacobite's son, had held a commission in the Army of King George III.; while his father and two uncles had served for many years in the military forces of the East India Company, his uncle, Charles Campbell of Kinloch, rising to the rank of major-general in the Company's Service.

Robert Byng Patricia Price Campbell was the eldest son of Colonel John Campbell (second son of John Campbell of Kinloch), by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of Dr. Mathew, formerly of the East India Company, and then residing in Perth. Born at Perth on the 26th of February 1838, Robert Campbell, along with his younger brother, Ronald,[3] was educated at the Perth Academy, and in September 1855 was gazetted ensign in the East India Company's Service, being appointed two months later to the 59th Bengal Native Infantry, then stationed at Amritsar.

[1] Principal authorities:—Malleson's and Holmes' *Histories of the Indian Mutiny; The First Bengal European Fusiliers at the Siege of Delhi* (*Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1858); Sir James Hope Grant's *Incidents in the Sepoy War;* Colonel Frederick Lance's *History of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry; A Record of the Expeditions against the North-West Frontier Tribes since the Annexation of the Punjab*, compiled from official sources by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Paget (second edition 1884, revised and brought up to date by Lieutenant A. H. Mason); Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India; The Afghan Wars*, by Archibald Forbes; the *Army Lists;* and information contributed by General Campbell's family, and by the Military Department at the India Office. A portrait of General Campbell will be found opposite p. 552.

[2] Charles Campbell had succeeded to the property on the death of his elder brother John, who, as a lieutenant in John Roy Stewart's Regiment, had been killed at Culloden (Duke of Atholl's MS. Roll of the '45). Another brother, James, also lost his life there.

[3] John Ronald Campbell, third son of Colonel John Campbell, served for many years in the Punjab Frontier Force. He commanded a squadron of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry in the Jowaki Campaign of 1877–1878 (see text below), and served throughout the Afghan War of 1878–1880. He retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1889, and died in 1891.

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Campbell was still at Amritsar when the Mutiny broke out in May 1857, but though rebellion was rife among many of the regiments in the Punjab, the 59th showed no sign of disaffection. At last, however, on the 9th of July, news having been received that the mutineers were in the ascendant at Jhelam, Brigadier John Nicholson felt compelled to disarm the regiment as a precaution. Campbell was thereupon sent to join the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Delhi, and served with that distinguished corps until the capture of the city on the 20th of September.[1] Shortly afterwards, having obtained his promotion as lieutenant,[2] he was attached to the 2nd European Fusiliers, and early in October he accompanied a force under Brigadier Showers which was sent to restore order to the west and south-west of Delhi. In the course of two or three weeks the expedition marched through the Rawari and Jaghar districts, reduced two native princes to submission, and made large captures of specie and war material.

Campbell next saw service with the faithful remnant of one of the mutinous regiments, the 11th Native Infantry, and was engaged in the task of rescuing refugees from Rohilkand. Finally, in March 1858, having been attached a month before to the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, he took part in Sir Colin Campbell's operations for the capture of Lucknow, and accompanied a detachment of his regiment which was sent over to the northern bank of the Gumti with a force under Outram and Hope Grant, to attack the enemy in flank. The river was crossed on the 6th of March; on the 9th Outram captured a building known as the Yellow House, thereby turning the enemy's first line of works on the southern side of the Gumti; and during the next week Sir Colin's troops gradually fought their way into the heart of Lucknow.

Meanwhile, on the 10th of March, Campbell's squadron was sent out with a force of cavalry under Brigadier Charles Hagart, to search for rebel *sowars* along the Sitapur road. On the return to camp, Campbell had been engaged in burning a village in which some mutineers had taken refuge, when he was informed that Captain Sandford, the officer commanding the rearguard, was missing. Hearing that he had entered the village, Campbell with one Sikh volunteer went back to look for him. Sandford's helmet was shortly seen at a distance, and though it was regarded as sure evidence that the wearer had been killed, search was continued for the body. In the meantime, however, a hot fire was opened upon the search party; the Sikh was severely wounded in the leg and thigh just as the helmet had been recovered; and Campbell "at the imminent risk of his life . . . carried away the wounded man amidst a shower of bullets."[3] Captain Sandford's body was at last seen lying on the roof of a house, close to the loop-

[1] *Army Lists*, India Office records, and brother officers, alike testify to Campbell having served with the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers at Delhi, but, curiously enough, his name is not to be found in a list of officers who served with the regiment during the siege, appended to the article in *Blackwood* already referred to; although a Lieutenant Campbell, who does not appear in that list, is mentioned in the text of the article as having been with the regiment during the operations of the 18th and 20th September.

[2] Commission dated 2nd September 1857.

[3] *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, p. 252.

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holes of a mud tower occupied by the enemy, and some twenty men of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, under Lieutenant Dighton Probyn[1] and Campbell, were dismounted in order to recover it. The approach to the house on which the body had been seen was commanded by the fire from the tower, and at the end were fifteen yards of open space directly under the enemy's loopholes, but Campbell and two native officers in the most gallant manner made their way to the house and brought the body off in safety.[2] For this service Campbell was recommended by Sir Hope Grant for the Victoria Cross, but the honour was never conferred upon him.

The rebels were finally expelled from Lucknow on the 21st of March, and on the 22nd Campbell took part in an action fought by Sir Hope Grant at Kursi, about twenty-five miles from Lucknow, in which two squadrons of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, to quote their General's own words, charged the rebels no less than five times " in the most magnificent style." [3]

The engagement at Kursi concluded the operations near Lucknow, and in April Campbell accompanied Brigadier Walpole on his march into Rohilkand. He took part in the fatuous attack on Fort Ruiya, in which the 93rd lost their gallant Colonel, Adrian Hope ; helped to drive the rebels from Sirsa, near Alaganj, a few days later ; and fought in Sir Colin's victory at Bareilly on the 5th of May. The 2nd Punjab Cavalry, under the command of Captain Samuel Browne, spent the hot weather in Rohilkand, and towards the end of May Campbell took part in a successful engagement at Mohanpur, some miles to the north of Bareilly. In the following year he was engaged in pursuing the rebels in the Terai. He had been definitely appointed to the 2nd Punjab Cavalry in October 1858,[4] and from 1859 to 1864 he acted as adjutant of the regiment.

It was not long before Campbell was again on active service. A few months after the final suppression of the Mutiny he accompanied an expedition under Brigadier-General Neville Chamberlain which was despatched to exact reparation from the Kabul-Khel Waziris for the murder of a British officer. Some 4000 men of all arms left Kohat on the 15th of December 1859, and on the 22nd the enemy's fortified position at Maidani was carried with small loss. A few days later representatives were sent in from certain sections of the tribe, and at the end of a month the force returned to Kohat, having captured large quantities of stock, and having reduced to submission the Waziris on both banks of the Kuram River.

In May 1864 Campbell was transferred from the 2nd Punjab Cavalry to command the cavalry of the Corps of Guides, and in September 1867, while on leave

[1] Sir J. Hope Grant, in his *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, alludes to Campbell as belonging to Probyn's Horse, *i.e.* the 1st Sikh Cavalry, but Lieutenant Probyn (now General the Right Hon. Sir Dighton Probyn, V.C., G.C.B.), was at that time second-in-command of the 2nd Punjab Cavalry, and Campbell never served in the 1st Sikh Cavalry.

[2] The account of this incident is from Campbell's extremely modest letters on the subject. Hope Grant's version differs in some minor details. [3] *Incidents in the Sepoy War*, p. 262.

[4] In April 1858 he had been posted to the 54th Bengal Native Infantry. On the abolition of the East India Company in 1861 he transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps.

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of absence in Europe, he was promoted captain. His next experience of frontier warfare was in the autumn of 1868, when he commanded a detached squadron of the Guides which formed part of the force despatched under Major-General A. P. Wilde to punish the aggressions of the tribes inhabiting the Black Mountain. In the course of a month, the Black Mountain tribes and others lying further to the east of the Indus were brought to terms, but owing to the impassable nature of the country, the brunt of the work done by the expedition fell to the share of the infantry.

In April 1873 Campbell (by that time second-in-command of his regiment), again went home on leave, and in July 1874 he married Ada, daughter of Leveson Campbell of Fairfield in Ayrshire. He returned to India in January 1875, and in the following September was promoted major in the Bengal Staff Corps.

In the summer of 1877 trouble broke out with the Jowaki Afridis, and Campbell, in command of a column consisting of 200 infantry of the Guides, took part in a combined march through the southern portion of the Jowaki country. Little or no opposition was met with in front, but as the columns advanced further into hostile territory, the Jowakis pressed so closely on their rear that it became impossible to return by the route intended; and had Campbell not gained early possession of a pass to the south-east, the force would have had serious difficulty in making its way out of the enemy's country. Property of considerable value was destroyed during the expedition, but only one section of the Jowakis had been affected, and as the tribe as a whole remained recusant, an expedition on a larger scale was planned for the winter. Three columns under Brigadier-General C. B. Keyes were to advance from the south, while another force was to co-operate on the north from Peshawar. Campbell, in command of 380 bayonets of the Guides, accompanied one of General Keyes' columns. The southern force commenced operations on the 9th of November, and, largely owing to the rapidity of the advance, little serious opposition was encountered; but in a country notorious for its mountain fastnesses, much hard marching necessarily fell to the lot of all, and the Guides had their full share of work. One stronghold after another, hitherto believed by the Afridis to be impregnable, was penetrated, and by the time operations ceased, towards the end of January 1878, the country inhabited by both sections of the Jowakis had been thoroughly explored; much valuable surveying had been done; and the enemy had been driven to ask for terms.

The year which had just opened was a busy one for all on the frontier. In March, Campbell, who had been mentioned in despatches for his share in the Jowaki expedition, was despatched from Mardan in command of a force consisting of the Hazara Mountain Battery and some cavalry and infantry of the Guides, to punish the Ranizai village of Skakot, the inhabitants of which had been giving trouble. The expedition was well planned and well executed. The force left Mardan on the 13th of March, and arrived within two miles of Skakot at 2 A.M. on the 14th. The villagers awoke at dawn to find themselves surrounded, and after some delay, agreed to unconditional surrender. Hostages were given as pledges for the fulfilment of the terms imposed, and by that same evening Campbell

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and his little force were back again in Mardan, with the knowledge that they had marched fifty miles in twenty-four hours and had gained a complete success without a shot having been fired on either side. Campbell's conduct of the expedition brought him the well-earned thanks of the Indian Government. A week later he took part in a somewhat similar expedition commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. Jenkins of the Guides, which was despatched to overawe some refractory villagers belonging to the Utman Khel tribe.

This frontier warfare, however, was only the prelude to a great drama which was to open a few months later. In November 1878, hostilities broke out with the Afghans, and the Guides accompanied Lieutenant-General Sir Samuel Browne on his march through the Khaibar, Campbell thus being again brought into contact with an officer with whom he had been closely associated during the Mutiny. On the 22nd of November Ali Musjid was captured, and Browne, continuing his advance, encamped for the winter on the plain of Jalalabad. An illusory peace, however, was signed at Gandamak in May 1879, and Browne afterwards withdrew to Peshawar, his division suffering terribly on the way from cholera and the midsummer heat.

Suddenly in September came the news of the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort at Kabul, and active preparations were at once begun for a new campaign. In the first instance the advance on Kabul was to be made by Major-General Sir Frederick Roberts *viâ* the Shutargardan Pass, and by the 7th of October he had defeated the enemy at Charasia and was within sight of his goal; but the Khaibar Field Force (of which, as before, the Guides formed part), was greatly delayed by the difficulty of obtaining transport and supplies. The Guides, however, under Colonel Jenkins, pushed on in advance to Jagdalak, and when on December the 7th word was received of the combination of hostile tribes threatening Roberts at Kabul, forced marches enabled them to reach Sherpur by the evening of the 11th. Campbell was in command of the Guides infantry[1] during the days of severe fighting which followed. Side by side with the 92nd Highlanders his men fought their way up the steep slopes of the Takht-i-Shah on the 13th of December, and on the 14th the Guides and 72nd Highlanders stormed the Asmai Heights, on the other side of the Kabul River. But the Afghans came back in such overwhelming numbers that the newly-won ridge had to be abandoned, and the whole force was withdrawn inside the Sherpur cantonments. On the 23rd the enemy delivered their grand attack on the British position, their efforts being particularly directed against the eastern face of the cantonments, part of which was held by the Guides, who were in a very exposed position. The assault was made with great fury and in large numbers; the *ghazis* rushed up and died in hundreds below the walls; but nothing could shake the steadiness of the defence; and at the end of the day the Afghans fell back with a loss of 3000 men, and the great tribal combination which a few days

[1] The Guides cavalry was commanded by another Perthshire man—Major (now Major-General) George Stewart. See his record of service in *A Military History of Perthshire*, 1899-1902, pp. 85, 86.

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before had seemed to threaten destruction to the British force, was completely broken up.

Campbell's next engagement was at Charasia in April 1880, when his regiment, which had been sent out to cover the convoy of some supplies to Sir Donald Stewart (then on his way north from Kandahar), was fiercely attacked by a large number of Afghans. After a stubborn defence of many hours' duration, the Guides were relieved by a brigade despatched to their assistance by Sir Frederick Roberts. The regiment remained at Kabul until the following August, when it accompanied Sir Donald Stewart on his return march to India.

In November 1879 Campbell's services in the frontier campaigns and in the first stage of the Afghan War had been rewarded with a brevet-lieutenant-colonelcy, but it was some years before he received any recognition of the prominent part he had taken in the fighting round Kabul, in which his regiment had greatly added to its laurels. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel in 1881, and in November 1883 he received a brevet of colonel, but it was not until the Jubilee of 1887 that a well-deserved C.B. was conferred upon him.[1] In 1884 he had succeeded to the command of his regiment, and he held this post until February 1891, when, having been for twelve months on leave in Europe, he was transferred to the Unemployed Supernumerary List.

In 1879, on the death of his uncle, General Charles Campbell, he had succeeded to the representation of the family, but Kinloch had been sold in 1868, and the remaining years of Robert Campbell's life were spent in the south of England.

He was promoted major-general in 1893, and died on the 13th of October 1897, leaving five daughters and a son, Hector, who now holds a commission in the regiment, detachments of which his father so often commanded in the field.

[1] His claims were warmly pressed by Major-General Sir Charles (then Colonel) MacGregor, who had held high appointments on the staff throughout the Afghan War (see his biography, p. 552 *et seq.*). He wrote that he knew "scarcely any who more thoroughly earned the C.B. than Campbell," and added that he had been, moreover, an officer "of very distinguished service before the Afghan War was heard of."—*Life and Opinions of Sir Charles MacGregor*, vol. ii. p. 296.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES METCALFE MACGREGOR, K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E.[1]

1840–87

BY THE EDITOR

ONE of the most brilliant soldiers known to modern India was General Sir Charles Metcalfe MacGregor, second son of Major Robert Guthrie MacGregor,[2] by his marriage with Alexandrina, daughter of General Archibald Watson.[3] Major Robert MacGregor was the great-great-grandson and direct representative of Rob Roy;[4] and though his son's life was spent in the East, and he saw but little of Perthshire, no MacGregor more treasured his connection with the ancient home of his race than did Sir Charles, and he was in many respects a typical descendant of his warlike ancestors.

Born at Agra on the 10th of August 1840, Charles MacGregor was sent home at an early age to be brought up in Scotland by his maternal grandmother. He was educated successively at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and at Marlborough, and finally, towards the end of 1856, returned to India with his elder brother Edward, both brothers having obtained commissions as ensigns in the Company's Service.[5] After doing a short spell of preliminary duty, Edward MacGregor was posted to the 41st Bengal Native Infantry at Sitapur, and Charles, in February 1857, was sent to join the 57th Native Infantry at Firozpur in the Punjab.

Some three months later came the terrible news of the outbreaks at Meerut and Delhi, and the 57th Native Infantry, although at first only disarmed as a precaution, was disbanded on the 1st of June. To young MacGregor's great disappointment, more than two months elapsed before he obtained leave to join the force engaged in besieging Delhi, and he thus missed the grand assault on the 14th of September; but he arrived in time to be attached to the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers in the street fighting which finally drove the mutineers from

[1] From *The Life and Opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe MacGregor*, edited by Lady MacGregor (Edin. and London, 1888); *Blackwood's Magazine*, June and July 1858; Lord Roberts' *Forty-one Years in India*; the *Army Lists*; *The Afghan Wars*, by Archibald Forbes; and additional notes contributed by Lady MacGregor.

[2] Late Bengal Artillery. Major MacGregor was severely wounded during the first Burmese War, and, having lost the use of a leg in the capture of Bhartpur in 1825, became later in life a manager of the Agra Bank.

[3] Also of the Bengal army.

[4] Rob Roy was the third son of Lieutenant-Colonel Donald MacGregor of Glengyle.

[5] Charles MacGregor's commission as ensign was dated the 20th of October 1856.

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MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES MACGREGOR,
K.C.B., C.S.I., C.I.E.

MAJOR-GENERAL ROBERT BYNG CAMPBELL, C.B.

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the city.[1] His boyish pleasure, however, in having at last reached one of the centres of operations, was soon tempered by the receipt of sad news of his brother. On the outbreak of the mutiny in Oudh Edward MacGregor had escaped from Sitapur to Lucknow, and after surviving the first three months of the siege had died of fever rendered fatal by the privations he had undergone.

Early in November 1857 Charles MacGregor accompanied the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers on an expedition sent from Delhi to restore order in the Rawari district,[2] and in the severe engagement which ensued at Narnul a few days later he distinguished himself by capturing one of the eight guns taken from the enemy. At the end of the month the column returned to Delhi, and early in December the Bengal Fusiliers were sent to Aligarh as part of a force under Colonel Seaton. Some 1200 Sepoys were successfully engaged at Ganjairi on the 14th of December; at Patiali, three days later, a crushing defeat was inflicted on the same rebels; and after scoring a third success at Manipuri, Seaton's column moved on to Fategarh, where troops were concentrating for Sir Colin Campbell's second advance on Lucknow. When operations finally began in March, the 1st Bengal Fusiliers formed part of the force under Outram and Hope Grant which was sent across the Gumti to co-operate on Sir Colin's northern flank. The regiment bore a prominent share in the capture of the Yellow House on the 9th of March, and MacGregor on this occasion again gave proof of an intrepidity which had brought him into notice both at Narnul and Patiali, and which, boy as he was, was fast gaining him the confidence of his men. On the 16th the Fusiliers re-crossed the river to the assistance of the troops in Lucknow, and MacGregor helped to storm the Residency, in which his brother had died. The Residency taken, the Fusiliers pushed on westwards through the city, and the young officer ended the day with a hand-to-hand encounter with a rebel, from which he emerged victorious, thanks to his skill as a swordsman.

After the fall of Lucknow MacGregor, now a lieutenant,[3] was employed under Sir Hope Grant in the suppression of the rebellion in Oudh, and in August 1858, to his great delight, he was attached for duty to one of the regiments of Hodson's Horse. Although among officers and men of the Bengal European regiment he had already won recognition for his gallantry in the field, the rough-and-ready life in an Irregular cavalry regiment was much more congenial to his independent, daring, and somewhat untamed spirit, than the routine of an infantry corps on the Regular establishment, and in his new surroundings he soon found wider scope for his abilities. At an engagement at Bahram Ghat, near Daryabad, on the 17th of September, he was severely wounded while charging the enemy

[1] Curiously enough his name is not to be found in the list of officers attached to the regiment at Delhi (*Blackwood's Magazine*, January 1858), but, as already shown elsewhere, that list cannot be regarded as complete (see biography of Major-General Robert Byng Campbell, p. 547, *note*).

[2] Brigadier Showers had marched a column through this district in October (see biography of General R. B. Campbell, p. 547), but on his return to Delhi, it had been reoccupied by the enemy.

[3] He had been promoted lieutenant on the 17th of November 1857.

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in a manner which called forth the warmest praise from his Commanding Officer, and this occasion was only the precursor of many on which he proved himself to be possessed of the highest qualifications of a cavalry soldier. He was prompt, daring, and resourceful in action; spared no pains to become a skilled horseman; and above all was peculiarly successful in reconnaissance. In November 1858 Hodson's Horse crossed the Gogra with a column under Sir Hope Grant, and for the greater part of a year afterwards they were engaged with detached parties of rebels on the Nepal frontier. In an engagement at Jarwa Ghat on the 31st of March 1859 MacGregor slew four Sepoys in hand-to-hand combat; a month later he received a second wound in a skirmish near Maharajganj; and in the following November he ended by killing Murad Buksh, the *subahdar*[1] of the battery which had fired on the women and children at Cawnpore. By the time hostilities ceased he had been four times mentioned in despatches and had received the thanks of the Governor-General. Meanwhile, with characteristic energy, he had employed his spare moments in working for his promotion examination, and had written some anonymous letters to the *Delhi Gazette* on the subject of Irregular Cavalry—the first of a long series of writings on military subjects which were eventually to make his name famous throughout India.

In the spring of 1860, MacGregor, as a lieutenant in Fane's Horse, accompanied the Anglo-French expedition to China. One hundred and seventy men from Hodson's Horse volunteered to transfer with him,[2] and the young officer joined his new corps, burning for opportunities of adding to his laurels. His chance was not long in coming. In an engagement at Sinho on the 12th of August the division with which Fane's Horse was serving was attacked by a large force of Tartar cavalry, and some eighty or ninety horsemen made a sudden rush from the flank on a battery guarded only by MacGregor and five and twenty men. Without an instant's hesitation the order was given to charge; the Tartars were met in full shock and broken up; and the guns were saved. The gallant young officer, however, was severely wounded in the face and shoulder by a matchlock fired point-blank at ten yards' distance, and he was unable to rejoin his regiment until more than a month later, by which time all opposition to the advance of the Allies had ceased. His charge at Sinho was praised in the highest terms by Sir Hope Grant, who was commanding the British forces in China, and it was even referred to in the House of Lords by Lord Herbert, then war minister, when moving the address of thanks to the troops. Young MacGregor's hopes of winning the Victoria Cross therefore ran high; but soon after reaching Pekin his strict sense of justice led him to protest, perhaps somewhat aggressively, against what he considered an unfair punishment inflicted on one of the men who had volunteered from Hodson's Horse, and the action he took in the matter lost him a recommendation for the much-coveted reward. At the close of the campaign he resigned his appointment in Fane's regiment and returned to India,

[1] *i.e.* captain (of native officers).

[2] Fane's Horse was being raised for service in China. See biography of General Charles William Campbell, p. 544.

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where he at once resumed the interrupted studies of the previous year and his writings on Irregular Cavalry.

In April 1861, though not yet twenty-one, he was appointed second-in-command of the 2nd Regiment of Hodson's Horse,[1] and during the next three years he devoted his energies unsparingly to the improvement of the efficiency of his regiment and to making himself thoroughly proficient in every detail of a cavalry officer's duty. In January 1864, however, the appointment of second-in-command was abolished, and, pending his promotion to the rank of captain, MacGregor was obliged to revert to the position of second squadron officer, a set-back which he felt bitterly. In the following autumn he received the appointment of brigade-major to the column commanded by Brigadier-General Dunsford in the expedition against Bhutan. He was wounded at the capture of Daling Fort on the 6th of December, and again in March 1865, when the stockade at Bala was carried. But the Bhutan campaign, so far as MacGregor was concerned, was chiefly remarkable for the opportunities it afforded him of developing his turn for intelligence work. In June 1865 he exchanged his brigade-majorship for the post of a deputy assistant-quartermaster-general on the north-east frontier of India, and his energies were henceforth directed to amassing all the information possible about the little-known country of the Bhutanese. While the campaign was still in progress he made a reconnaissance into the heart of the enemy's country, and by the time peace was signed he had collected a mass of material, which, in 1866, was embodied in a published Military Report on Bhutan, a narrative of the campaign, and other pamphlets.

In March 1867 MacGregor was sent home on sick leave, but he had not been many months in England when war broke out with Abyssinia, and, as an assistant-quartermaster-general, he took part in Sir Robert Napier's difficult and brilliantly successful campaign, being present in the engagement at Arogi and the capture of Magdala. By August 1868 he had returned to India to find himself appointed to the quartermaster-general's staff there, and in October he at last obtained his promotion as captain.[2] This was shortly followed by a brevet-majority, and a year later came a brevet of lieutenant-colonel—bestowed, though somewhat tardily, in recognition of his work on the Bhutan frontier.[3] Meanwhile, in October 1868, he had been selected to edit an official Gazetteer of Central Asia, and during the next five years he was incessantly engaged upon what proved a task of great magnitude. Parts III., VI., and VII., dealing respectively with Baluchistan, Kokhan, and Kashmir, were compiled under his supervision by others, but MacGregor himself was responsible for Parts I., II., IV., and V. of the work, *i.e.* the volumes devoted to Afghanistan, Persia, Asiatic Turkey and Caucasia, and the all-important North-West Frontier. The compilation of the Frontier Gazetteer, in particular, necessitated incessant journeys and laborious research,

[1] On the Bengal establishment. By that time, as a result of the abolition of the Company, he had transferred to the Bengal Staff Corps.

[2] *i.e.* in the Staff Corps.

[3] His brevet-majority was antedated to the 21st of October 1868, and his brevet-lieutenant-colonelcy to the 10th of November 1869.

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and when the volume was finally completed it contained a mass of valuable material. As a result of MacGregor's indefatigable labours in connection with the Gazetteer as a whole, he acquired a knowledge of Frontier questions shared by no one else in India, and his busy, practical brain began to evolve schemes for the reorganisation of the defence of the Frontier and for a bolder policy beyond it, which were to bear fruit in later years.

His labours in connection with the Gazetteer had been interrupted for a brief spell by his marriage, in September 1869, to Frances Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Henry Durand, then lieutenant-governor of the Punjab; but in the spring of 1873 his wife died while on her way to England, and MacGregor, after hurrying home to entrust his only child (a daughter) to the care of relations, returned to India to drown his sorrow in work. By the end of the year the greater part of the Gazetteer had appeared in print, and MacGregor, whose appointment as an assistant quartermaster-general had been extended for another five years, was posted to the Presidency Division of Bengal. Here fresh labours awaited him. Famine was threatened in Behar and Northern Bengal, and in February 1874, when the anticipated scarcity was near at hand, he was sent to Northern Behar as director of transport. In this capacity he was responsible for the conveyance and distribution of the grain imported into the stricken districts within his jurisdiction, and how well he discharged his laborious and responsible duties may be read in the reports sent in by Sir Richard Temple, then lieutenant-governor of Bengal. In after years Sir Charles was wont to look back upon his work in Northern Behar as the most arduous he had ever experienced.

After serving for some months on a Special Ordnance Commission, MacGregor, in the spring of 1875, undertook a journey through Persia, Khorassan, and Armenia, in order to explore fresh routes and generally to acquire information. This journey greatly developed his ideas of Frontier policy; he foretold the Russian occupation of Merv; and from that time onwards the keynote of all his writings on this subject was the strengthening, and, if possible, the occupation, of Herat, as a measure indispensable to the safety of India. From Armenia Colonel MacGregor proceeded to England, and in the following year he returned to India *viâ* Armenia, the Persian Gulf, and finally Baluchistan. His travels gave him fresh material for his busy pen, and enabled him to throw valuable light not only on the vexed question of the boundaries of Afghanistan, but also on the probable course of the war which, in April 1877, broke out between Russia and Turkey. It was daily expected that Great Britain would be drawn into the war, and MacGregor, on his return to India in the spring of 1877, threw himself with his usual fervour into schemes for the improvement of the communications with the Frontier. In December 1875, on his return to England, he had been appointed a companion of the Star of India; in June 1877 he became a brevet-colonel;[1] and in January 1878 his services were further rewarded with a companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire.

Early in 1878 the Turko-Russian war drew to a close, but by the following

[1] He had obtained his promotion as major in the Staff Corps on the 20th of October 1876.

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autumn Russian intrigues at Kabul were precipitating hostilities between Great Britain and Afghanistan. In December, after Sir Samuel Browne's successful advance through the Khaibar, MacGregor was sent to organise the communications and transport of his division, which were in an unsatisfactory state, and the fact that his exertions had restored mobility to Browne's force largely contributed to the peace which was signed at Gandamak in May 1879. In September the murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort caused a renewal of the war, and MacGregor, as chief of the staff, accompanied Sir Frederick Roberts in his daring advance on Kabul by the Shutargardan Pass. The Afghans were defeated at Charasia on the 6th of October, and on the 12th Roberts entered the Bala Hissar in state. MacGregor was forthwith appointed president of a court commissioned to inquire into the circumstances of the massacre, and in spite of the paucity of direct evidence he was able, a month later, to draw up a report which was generally regarded as establishing the Amir's guilt. Yakub Khan, however, had no sooner been deported to India than the tribes began to close in on Kabul. On the 10th of December upwards of 6000 Kohistanis were defeated on the north, near Karez, but on the 11th, Brigadier-General Massy, while crossing the Chardeh Valley, to the west of the city, was driven back by some 10,000 of the enemy, and retired to the Sherpur cantonments with a loss of four guns, closely pursued. MacGregor did good service that day. While attention was mainly directed to securing the line of retreat to Kabul, he and some fifty horsemen established themselves in the Nanachi Pass, further to the north, and by this means checked an advance of the main body of the Afghans by the direct route to Sherpur. Later in the day he returned with his party to the scene of the engagement, and, covered by the fire of a few hastily collected infantry, retrieved the guns and brought them off in triumph. During the anxious days which followed, MacGregor, as chief of the staff, took an active part in the dispositions for strengthening the position at Sherpur, and his indomitable spirit was reflected in the splendid defence maintained on the 23rd of December, when a crushing defeat was inflicted upon the hostile tribes.

MacGregor remained on General Roberts' staff until the following May, when he became chief of the staff to Sir Donald Stewart, who had by that time reached Kabul. But he longed for an independent command, and when news arrived of the disaster at Maiwand, and Roberts set out on his famous march, Colonel MacGregor accompanied him in command of the 3rd Infantry Brigade. His brigade was in reserve at the victory gained at Kandahar on the 1st of September, but it was afterwards sent back to India through the country of the recusant Maris, a difficult march which gave MacGregor a much-desired opportunity of showing his capabilities as a commander. On his return to India at the end of the year he was appointed quartermaster-general, with local rank of major-general, and during a brief visit to England in the spring of 1881, a C.B. which had been conferred upon him in July 1879 was converted into a K.C.B.

Sir Charles MacGregor's term of office as quartermaster-general was marked by more than ordinary activity in all departments, but above all by the progress

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made in the Intelligence Branch. Finding himself, however, hampered in his reforms by the policy of "masterly inactivity" which had so long prevailed on the North-West Frontier, he set to work on an exhaustive study of the question of Indian defence, which finally appeared in print in June 1884 under the title of "The Defence of India." His picture of the dangers to which India was exposed was drawn in so convincing a manner that it occasioned something like a scare in official circles, and though only written in an unofficial capacity, and intended by its author for private and carefully selected circulation, it was at once suppressed by the Indian Government. The same fate was meted out to a six-volume history of the Afghan War, compiled from notes written with Sir Charles MacGregor's usual clearness of vision and candour, and considered of too confidential a nature for general publication.

During a year's furlough at home (1882–1883) the indefatigable Sir Charles devoted himself to the restoration of the unity of his clan. Meetings of clansmen were held at various centres, and among the many proposals put forward by Sir Charles were the formation of a clan roll and the foundation of a MacGregor asylum and school. He even began to collect materials for a comprehensive history of the clan, but this appears never to have been written. In February 1883 he married Charlotte Mary, third daughter of Frederick W. Jardine, and two months later he returned to Simla to resume his duties as quartermaster-general. His attention was now chiefly directed to urging the appointment of an international commission to lay down the north and west boundaries of Afghanistan, and by the time "The Defence of India" had passed through the press, the proposed commission had been agreed upon by the Governments concerned. In April 1885 he saw a further result of his labours in the agreement made with the Amir Abdul Rahman that the defences of Herat should be improved under the direction of officers sent from India.

But meanwhile Sir Charles' incessant labours were beginning to tell even on his iron constitution, and the trying changes of temperature experienced in a visit to the Pishin frontier during the hot weather of 1885 caused a break-down from which he never recovered. In the following November, on relinquishing his post as quartermaster-general, he was appointed to the command of the Punjab Frontier Force, but it was only with a severe effort that he was able to enter upon his new work, and in April 1886 he left India, too ill even to issue a farewell order to his troops. After months of suffering borne with a true soldier's heroism, he passed away at Cairo on the 5th of February 1887.[1] By his desire his remains were brought to Scotland, and laid to rest in the burying-place of the MacGregors at Glengyle.

Few men of his time could show a more active record for the forty-six years of his life than could Sir Charles MacGregor. He was essentially a man who lived for his work; but in spite of a hasty temper and a somewhat uncom-

[1] On the termination of his appointment as quartermaster-general Sir Charles had reverted to the rank of colonel. The substantive rank of major-general, keenly desired by him, was granted on the 22nd of January 1887, but he did not live to hear of it.

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promising attitude towards the world in general, his was a warmhearted, generous nature, which had often extended help to a friend in time of need. His services to India were widely recognised; and a monument in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral, medals given for reconnaissance, and a portrait in the United Service Institute at Simla, remain as fitting memorials of a man who devoted his life to the service of his country, and whose work has left an indelible mark on all questions affecting the North-West Frontier of India.

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TWO PERTHSHIRE V.C.s

MAJOR WILLIAM GEORGE DRUMMOND STEUART, YOUNGER, OF GRANDTULLY AND MURTHLY,

AND

CAPTAIN JAMES DUNDAS OF OCHTERTYRE[1]

BY THE EDITOR

THE long list of Perthshire's Men of Action would be incomplete without a mention of two officers who gained that much-coveted distinction, the Victoria Cross.[2]

The first of these—Major William George Drummond Steuart—was the only son of Sir William Steuart of Grandtully and Murthly. Born in 1831, he entered the Army in 1848 as an ensign in the 93rd Highland Regiment, and after four years' home service obtained his promotion as lieutenant, becoming a captain two years later.

In February 1854, on the outbreak of the war with Russia, the 93rd Highlanders embarked for the Crimea, where they were destined to see much fighting and to win great renown. Steuart was present in the battle of the Alma, and at Balaclava was one of the famous "thin red line," which unsupported repulsed the charge of a large body of the enemy's cavalry. He also served in the siege of Sevastopol, and remained in the Crimea until July 1856, when his regiment returned to England.[3]

The following summer found the 93rd on its way to India, where the laurels gained in the Crimea were to be more than doubled. The regiment reached Calcutta in September 1857, just in time to join Sir Colin Campbell's advance to the relief of Lucknow. The heroic achievements of Sir Colin's little force are matters of history; foremost among them stand the operations of the 16th

[1] Authorities for the note on Major Steuart,—Captain Burgoyne's *Historical Records of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders*, the *Army Lists*, and notes contributed by Major Steuart Fothringham of Grandtully and Murthly; for the note on Captain Dundas,—the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Dr. Rennie's *Bhotan and the Dooar War*, the *Army Lists*, and information supplied by his brother, Commander Dundas of Ochtertyre. For a portrait of Captain Dundas, see illustration opposite p. 534.

[2] Major Steuart and Captain Dundas, so far as I have been able to discover, are the only recipients of the Victoria Cross who have actually belonged to Perthshire, although *A Military History of Perthshire*, 1899–1902, mentions two men connected with the county —Major Lord Fincastle (now Earl of Dunmore) and Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Dick-Cunyngham—who also gained that decoration.

[3] At some period during the campaign he was slightly wounded by a piece of shell.

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of November—the capture of the Sikandarbagh and Shah Najaf—deeds with which the name of the 93rd will ever be associated. While the artillery was being brought to bear on the Sikandarbagh, Captain Steuart with some Highlanders and a few of the 53rd Foot advanced towards two of the enemy's guns which were maintaining a heavy flanking fire and which covered the approach to the barracks—a large cross-shaped building surrounded by out-houses. Steuart captured the guns in a most gallant manner, and by this means his little force was able to gain possession of the barracks—an action which, to quote a well-known authority, "was as serviceable as it was heroic, for it silenced the fire most destructive to the attacking force." [1] The possession of this building secured the left of the British advance and greatly facilitated the ultimate withdrawal of the garrison of Lucknow.

Six Victoria Crosses in all were bestowed on the 93rd Highlanders for their gallantry on November the 16th, but it was decreed that only one of these should be given to the officers. Votes were therefore taken, and Captain Steuart was chosen by his brother-officers to receive the much-prized honour.

After the withdrawal of the Lucknow garrison Sir Colin's army was hurried back to Cawnpore, and Steuart took part in the great battle which ensued there on the 6th of December. On this occasion his regiment was once more in the thick of the fighting, and two days later it formed part of the force under Sir Hope Grant which completed the destruction of the Gwalior rebels as they were attempting to cross the Ganges into Oudh.

After two months of minor operations the 93rd once more fought its way into Lucknow under Sir Colin Campbell, and it distinguished itself no whit less than on the previous occasion. Steuart took part in the storming of the Begum's palace on the 11th of March 1858, and with characteristic daring led a small party beyond the building in pursuit of the mutineers.

Lucknow captured, the 93rd was sent into Rohilkand under Brigadier-General Walpole, helped to defeat the enemy at Alaganj, and fought under Sir Colin Campbell at Bareilly. There the regiment remained throughout the hot weather, and in the following winter took part in the pacification of Oudh, which was finally accomplished by the beginning of 1859.

A year later William Steuart left the Service, having attained the rank of major. On his return home the tenants on his father's estates presented him with a sword of honour in recognition of his gallantry. He died on the 26th of October 1868, when not more than thirty-seven years of age.

The other Perthshire man who gained the Victoria Cross was Captain James Dundas, eldest son of George Dundas (Lord Manor) by his wife Elizabeth Mackenzie, and grandson of James Dundas of Ochtertyre.

Born in 1842, Dundas was educated successively at Edinburgh Academy, at Trinity College, Glenalmond, and at Addiscombe College, and was gazetted 1st

[1] Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. i. p. 323.

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lieutenant in the Bengal (now Royal) Engineers in 1860. His life in India began two years later, when he received an appointment in the Public Works Department of Bengal.

Early in 1865 he joined the column commanded by Major-General Tombs in the expedition against Bhutan, and with Captain W. S. Trevor was awarded the Victoria Cross for his bravery at the attack on the block-house at Dewan-Giri on the 2nd of April.[1] Some two hundred Bhutanese had barricaded themselves in the block-house, and though the rest of the position had been taken and the main body was in full retreat, they continued to offer a stubborn resistance. It was essential that the defences should be carried before the enemy should have time to rally, and a party of Sikhs was therefore ordered to storm the block-house. The men, however, hesitated. A wall fourteen feet high had to be scaled; they had been fighting on steep and difficult ground for nearly three hours under a fierce sun; and none of their own officers were with them. Captain Trevor and Lieutenant Dundas thereupon volunteered to lead the way, and followed with alacrity by the Sikhs, climbed the outer wall and entered the block-house head-foremost through a hole not more than two feet wide, between the wall of the house and the roof. Both officers were wounded, but the block-house was captured, and this success may be said to have ended the campaign.

Dundas rejoined the Public Works Department, and during the next fourteen years gained for himself a high position by means of his abilities and thorough knowledge of his profession. In 1872 he was promoted captain, and in 1877, on the death of his uncle Sir David Dundas, he succeeded to the property of Ochtertyre. But he did not long enjoy his possessions. In 1879, at the commencement of the second phase of the Afghan War, he accompanied Sir Frederick Roberts' force to Kabul, and was killed on the 23rd of December by the premature explosion of a mine, while destroying some of the buildings occupied by the enemy in the neighbourhood of Sherpur. To the last he showed himself worthy of the decoration he had won in Bhutan, and on the walls of more than one cathedral, as well as in the chapel of Trinity College, Glenalmond, may be found tributes to the "regard and admiration" in which he was held by his brother-officers and many others who knew him.

[1] Date given by Dr. Rennie (*Bhotan and the Dooar War*, p. 292), and other writers. The date mentioned in the *Gazette* is the 30th of April.

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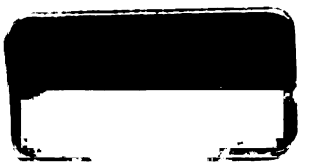

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